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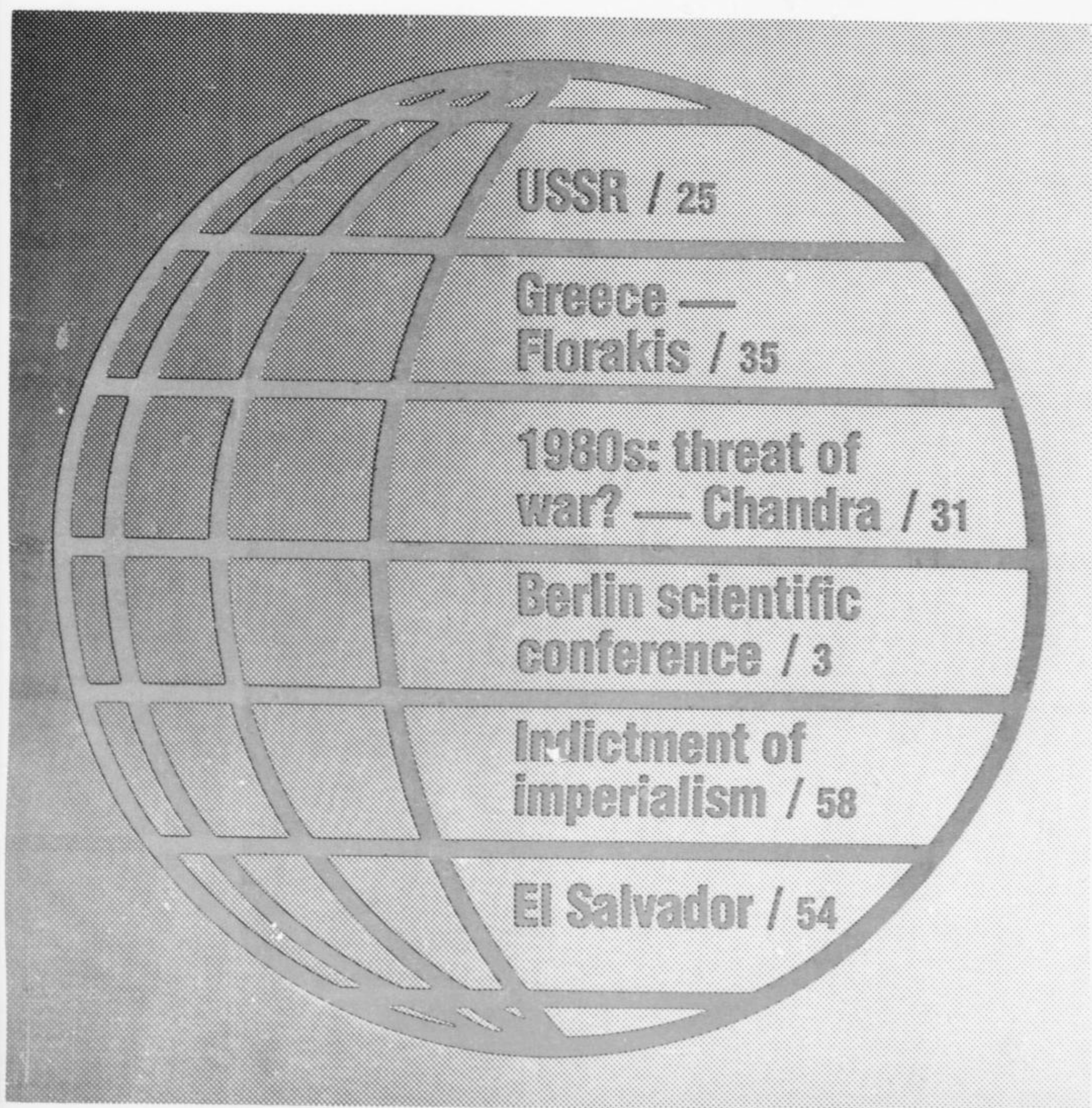
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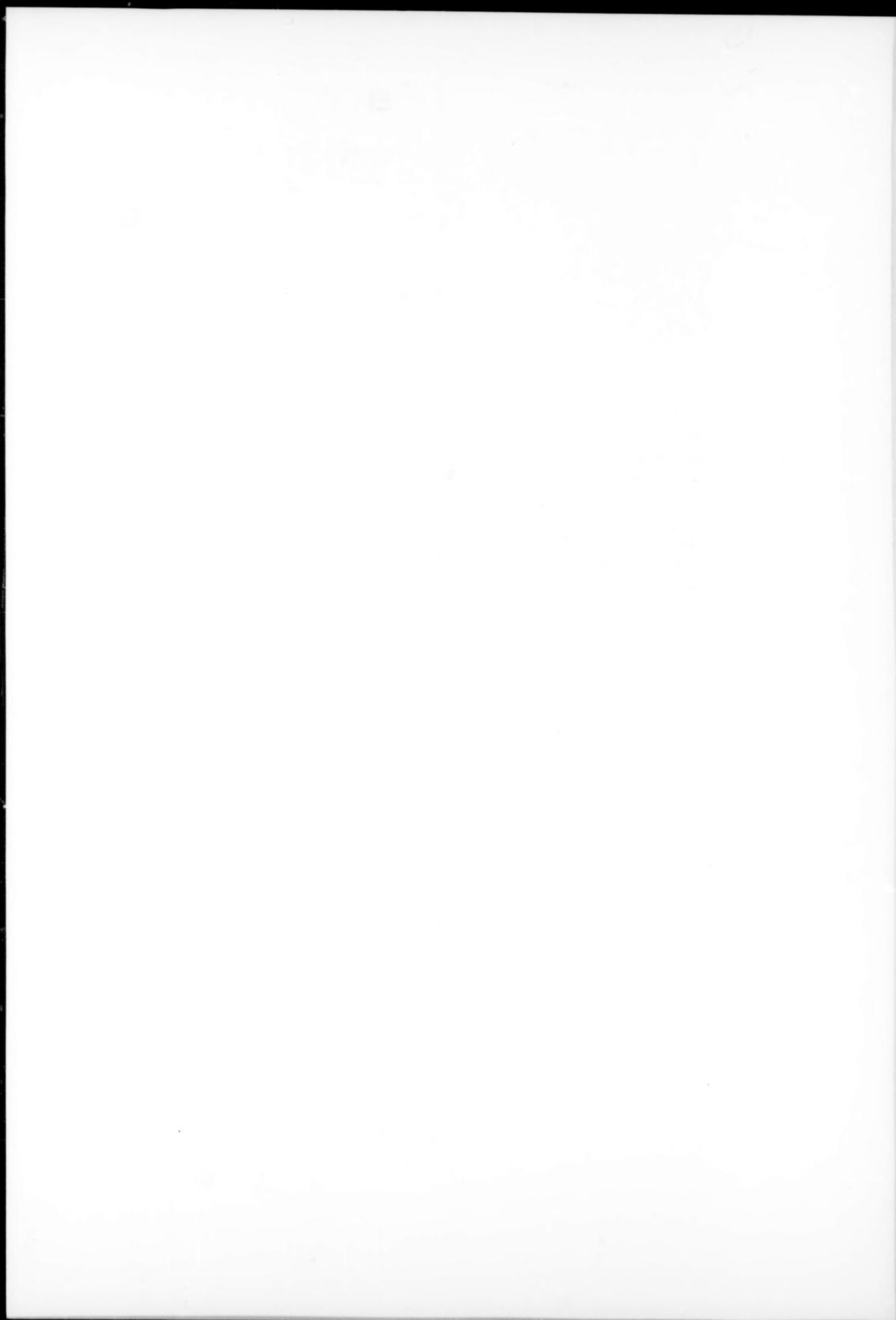
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Against imperialism, for social progress

As we have already reported (*WMR*, December 1980), an international scientific conference, "Joint Struggle of the Working-Class and National-Liberation Movements Against Imperialism, for Social Progress," was held in Berlin from October 20 to 24, 1980. Below we begin our report on the deliberations of the Conference. Coverage will be continued in the next few issues of *WMR*.

STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE MAIN REVOLUTIONARY CURRENTS

Erich Honecker
General Secretary of the
SUPG Central Committee,
Chairman of the GDR Council of State

Allow me to begin by expressing my gratification that distinguished representatives of communist and workers' parties, other revolutionary parties and national liberation movements are gathered together for the first time in such numbers at this conference. Our comrades and friends come from all continents of the globe, struggle under the most varied concrete conditions of their countries, and have gained a wealth of experience. Whether we happen to live in Europe, Africa, Asia or Latin America, what binds us all together is the noble goal of renewing human existence in the world from the ground up, the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

This conference unites representatives of the three main revolutionary currents of our time — the world socialist system, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement. It offers the opportunity of a comradely exchange of views on a multitude of issues which confront us all or are connected with the current stage of our respective struggles. In so doing it meets a historical necessity. For international developments are following a stormy course, with events often overtaking one another and giving rise to not a few new problems. We must decide on our attitude to these problems, must analyze them and draw conclusions from them, in order to give the mass of the people clear answers and to make progress in finding solutions.

The conference meets on the eve of the 63rd anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a victory which marked a turning point in human history and ushered in

those fundamental transformations which since then have determined the face of our globe. The victory of the Soviet Union and the other states of the anti-Hitler coalition over German fascism in the Second World War further accelerated this process. To date socialism has taken on genuine shape on three continents and is beginning to establish a foothold on a fourth. The anti-imperialist fronts have broadened and grown in strength. In the citadels of capitalism the struggle for the rights of the working people, for their interests and goals and against the rule of the monopolies, has experienced a significant upswing.

Of truly historic moment is the fact that the accursed imperialist colonial system has collapsed. The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are gradually divesting themselves of the heavy burdens which that system bequeathed to them, and are striking out in new directions. International developments are increasingly being determined by forces which are changing the face of our planet in the direction of progress, for the welfare of mankind.

What is particularly important is that the struggle for peace, on whose results the continued existence of nations let alone their happy future ultimately depends, is today being waged from positions which are incomparably stronger than ever before. The 70s in particular have demonstrated this. Precisely in Europe, where in our century two devastating world wars were unleashed, the calamitous cycle of war — peace — war has been successfully broken.

This is one of the greatest successes of the efforts of all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces which have been able to benefit from the support of the grown might and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. It is a success which gives encouragement to everyone who is striving to avert the danger of a new world war, to have controversial international issues resolved by means of political settlements, to ensure a stable peace and to continue with the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence however bitter the imperialist resistance may be.

The fact is that the world of today is no longer the world of yesterday. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been, with the help of international solidarity and support, victorious over all aggressors and the forces of domestic reaction. The hard won victory of the peoples in the struggle for

the independence and sovereignty of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Zimbabwe and other countries represents a powerful contribution to the cause of the liberation of humanity. Now the struggle for the final elimination of the last remnants of colonial oppression and the shameful policy of apartheid is being ignited.

The popular revolutions in Afghanistan, Iran, Nicaragua and Grenada have destroyed major strongholds of despotism and opened the way to the liberation of these nations. The fascist dictatorships in Portugal and Spain have been swept away, and the reactionary colonels' regime in Greece overcome. The struggle against oppressive fascist and military-fascist regimes, such as those in El Salvador, Bolivia, Chile and South Korea, has received new impulses.

It has become increasingly evident in recent years that the people who have won their freedom and independence, have become a powerful international force. The movement of non-aligned nations is turning out to be an important factor in world politics. This movement, whose anti-imperialist aims we have always actively supported and continue to support, is struggling resolutely against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for peace and for a just system of international political and economic relations based on equality.

In the capitalist countries, against all the prognoses of bourgeois ideologists, the class struggle has by no means diminished in intensity. Mass unemployment, increasing inflation and social insecurity weigh heavily on the working people. The struggle for the defense and extension of democratic freedoms, for peace and international security, is unfolding in these countries and assuming new dimensions and forms. This shows that the working class, as the main force of social progress, both represents the interests of all working people and increasingly operates as a unifying force for the whole people and nation.

The result is a spreading realization that the imperialist system, the international monopolies and their financial organizations, stand in the way of further advances along the road to peace, democracy, national independence and social progress. After all, practice is constantly confirming anew that the replacement of capitalist society is a historical necessity.

In its efforts to halt the revolutionary process, to assert its sphere of domination and exploitation and to win back lost positions, imperialism has — precisely at the turn of the decade from the 70s to the 80s — passed over to a fierce counter-offensive. By means of the confrontation course, which is being pursued especially by the USA but also by other imperialist powers, history's last and at the same time strongest social order to be based on exploitation, is trying to slow down the advance of the peoples along the path of peace and progress. The ultimate aim — however impossible of fruition — is to turn the clock back.

In view of all this our common responsibility for the future of our planet is growing. We are convinced that the exchange of views at this conference will help to promote joint action among the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of all continents, the socialist countries, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement in the struggle for a happy future for all peoples.

We look upon the collapse of the imperialist colonial system, brought on by the seismic force of the national liberation movement and its natural allies — the socialist countries and the international revolutionary working-class movement — as the most important achievement of the revolutionary forces since the emergence of the world socialist system. The national liberation revolutions have led to a further exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, which is affecting all spheres of social life.

A political awakening without precedent today characterizes the once colonial world. As we know, the ongoing debate on what path of social development to choose is assuming special significance in the liberated states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Experience has shown that a development along capitalist lines can neither safeguard national independence economically nor appreciably improve the social situation of the mass of the people. What the objective requirements of progress dictate more and more is deep-going changes, economic, social and political, that are anti-capitalist in nature.

The revolutionary working-class movement has always regarded the just struggle of the colonially oppressed peoples as an integral part of the worldwide revolutionary struggle. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who were the first to deliver a scathing indictment of the brutality displayed by the colonial powers in their day, afforded the working class the insight that their struggle against the capitalist yoke could be successful only if it went hand in hand with the struggle to end the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. The founders of scientific communism were convinced of the mounting strength and the invincibility of the anti-colonialist liberation movement. They considered the attainment of national independence to be the first objective of the struggle being waged by all democratic forces in the colonial and dependent countries. At the same time, they stressed that political independence was not synonymous with social emancipation. Independence can only become an expression of human emancipation if it is provided with a stable foundation through radical socio-economic changes. Foremost among those are far-reaching agrarian reform and the development and mastery of modern productive forces.

Lenin demonstrated that "in the history of the development of the world revolution" the colonially oppressed peoples "will be called upon to play a big part and to merge with our struggle

against international imperialism."* Looking back at the last few decades, we can see that the struggle of the revolutionary working-class movement has increasingly become intertwined with the struggle of the national liberation movement against imperialism and colonialism. They have shared interests and a common enemy. This is bringing them closer and closer together. There are quite a few obstacles that must be overcome along this road, and they will be overcome.

Our joint struggle is thus continuously gaining in strength, as imperialism is finding out to its cost. It is therefore concerned to make the world forget that it is historically responsible for the backwardness and poverty of large parts of our globe. Its hypocritical doctrine postulating that "all are equally responsible for everything" cannot erase the fact that the legacy of centuries of slavery and exploitation in its former colonies is entirely of its own making. The blame for hunger, misery, illiteracy and all forms of social, national and racist oppression falls squarely on its shoulders.

Since the example of socialism is exerting a growing power of attraction on the liberated states of Africa, Asia and Latin America, international monopoly capital is employing every means of interfering in their internal affairs, and resorting to economic pressure and ideological subversion. Yet on the strength of their own bitter experience the people in most of these countries see in capitalism not their hope, but their enemy. They are increasingly looking to socialism in their longing for justice, a decent life and peace.

This explains why imperialism is directing the main thrust of its offensive against the socialist states, against existing socialism and the world communist movement. In its fight against the working class in the developed capitalist countries, it will be recalled, it combines a militant anti-communism and anti-Sovietism with the propagation of the alleged possibility of reconciliation between classes, as expressed in the slogan of "social partnership." It is worthy of note that imperialism is now increasingly advocating these doctrines in those countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are dependent on capitalism.

As regards those countries which are undergoing revolutionary changes, the propaganda agencies of big business are primarily extolling the ideology of what they describe as "democratic socialism" or "socialism with a human face." But never and nowhere have those who sing the praises of such a socialism ever managed to establish socialism. Socialism is a reality where the universally valid scientific doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin is consistently applied and successfully translated into practice.

Another stratagem used by bourgeois and Maoist quarters to sow confusion is the spread of their

theories about the "superpowers" and the division of the world into "rich and poor" countries. These theories are designed to conceal the real causes of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation and to separate the progressive forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America from the other revolutionary forces of our time. The aim is to induce them to cooperate with imperialism, although they would only stand to lose from such a relationship. The theories are intended to divert attention from the fact that in the so-called rich capitalist countries there are poor and rich, oppressed and oppressors.

Certain quarters fear that social struggles might grow into a socialist revolution. They are seeking to contain the urge of peoples for radical changes, alleging that reforms provide the "only realistic" way out of backwardness and oppression.

The imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologists are doing all in their power to blunt the anti-imperialist edge of the emergent national consciousness in the liberated countries by attempting to set nations, ethnic groups and tribes against each other and to embroil them in conflicts. The object is to continue the imperialist policy of "divide and rule," to hamstring joint action by all anti-imperialist forces.

Now as before there can be no question of relations on an equal footing between capitalist industrial nations and countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America exploited by capitalism. Theories which speak of "equal dependence" do not alter this fact in any way. In economic relationships determined by capitalism those who are weaker economically are exploited by those who are in a stronger position. As we see it, this is the crux of the matter.

Imperialist ideologists and politicians are coming up with ever new theories which provoke many discussions but do not take us any further. All they do is to disguise the pattern of inequality and dependence between the imperialist states and the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In our estimation, there is nothing to be gained by purely academic discussions about the "North-South conflict", the "contrast between rich and poor," the "disparities between oil-exporting and non-oil-exporting countries" or the "gap between industrial and developing nations." The struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order is an organic component of the entire anti-imperialist struggle. Hence the transformation of international economic relationships is a matter affecting all revolutionaries. It is a cause for which the progressive forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary working-class movement in the strongholds of monopoly capitalism and with the socialist countries.

As past experience has shown, the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America inevitably find themselves confronted with the neo-colonialist policies of imperialism in their striving for economic independence. By resorting to new and

*V.I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East," *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160.

more flexible methods, the latter wants to keep them in their traditional state of dependence and secure, on a long-term basis, the plundering of their natural resources, the exploitation of cheap labor and the existence of markets dependent on itself. Under present-day conditions the imperialists are putting greater emphasis than ever on the export of capital. Between 1970 and 1977 alone their capital export to the emergent nations more than tripled in absolute terms.

Not least, politicians in the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany, which are known to be among the mainstays of the racist regime in South Africa and of the Israeli aggressors, miss no opportunity to boast of their so-called development aid. However, they prefer to maintain a discreet silence over the rising profits taken out of these countries. After all, between 50 and 100 billion dollars in profits are squeezed out of these countries each year. This far exceeds the total volume of government-owned and private capital invested in these countries.

Neither do multilateral arrangements as concluded between the EEC countries and a large number of states in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific provide a solution to the problem. Even if they take into account some economic demands of the developing countries, they represent, in essence, a continuation of the traditional pattern of dependence. In most of these countries it is being realized that such arrangements are no substitute for basic changes in the structure of international economic relationships on a democratic and equal footing.

According to World Bank forecasts the average per capita income of the developing countries in 1990 will be less than one-twelfth that of the capitalist industrial nations. Countries with a particularly low income are expected to attain less than one-fortieth of that figure. If in 1975, 800 million people out of 2.1 billion were living in extreme poverty, the figure predicted for the year 2000 is 1.3 billion. The foreign debt of the developing countries is expected to exceed the 400 billion dollar mark by the end of 1980.

The urgent appeal of our friend and comrade Fidel Castro at the non-aligned summit in Havana that we should "fight together for a genuinely new world economic order from which all stand to gain" has not gone unheeded in the GDR. We emphatically support demands to limit the power of international monopoly capital and to respect the national interests of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in this area, just as in any other.

Similarly, we have attached great importance to the 11th Special Session of the United Nations which dealt with concrete questions of a new international economic order and the international development strategy of the United Nations for the Third Development Decade. There has been clear evidence that the progressive forces in the countries liberated from colonialism and those in the capitalist states are in agreement with the socialist

countries on the basic issues of their joint struggle against neo-colonialism.

If imperialism employs subtle neo-colonialist methods, this does not at all mean that it is giving up its attempts to carry out its expansionist and hegemonist policies by means of force, pressure and blackmail. Between 1946 and 1975 the USA alone staged on 215 occasions armed interventions or threatened military force, several times even including the use of atomic weapons.

Subversive methods are being increasingly developed and employed with a view to overthrowing revolutionary-democratic governments, the arsenal including economic sabotage, trafficking in human beings and terrorist activities. The aim is to engender political instability and to create pretexts for undeclared wars, such as that against revolutionary Afghanistan, or for direct military intervention, as is obviously being contemplated by the USA in the Persian Gulf. New facts are constantly coming to light which prove that imperialism remains aggressive in nature.

Since the end of the Second World War in 1945, more than 90 sovereign states have come into existence which have cast off the colonial yoke once and for all. In the international arena they are making an important contribution to the struggle for peace, security and disarmament. It is with deep respect that we are observing and supporting their multifarious activities.

A lasting peace and steps to avert the danger of nuclear world war are in the best interests of all nations. The socialist countries need peace in order to continue their successful work of building a new society and to implement their policies geared to the well-being of the people. Peace is needed by all forces fighting for social and national liberation, for it makes their struggle easier. Indeed, peace is mankind's most precious possession.

One cannot but feel concern over the fact that certain imperialist quarters, primarily the USA and the FRG, are stepping up NATO's arms drive and escalating the arms race. They are out to gain military superiority over the socialist countries, creating a direct threat to peace. In 1980 alone NATO's direct spending on arms is attaining the staggering sum of almost 200 billion dollars. Together with the money earmarked for the implementation of NATO's 1980 long-term modernization programs, something like 300 billion dollars is being spent by the NATO countries for military purposes.

By the end of the 70s the USA had set up 429 major bases and 2,297 minor facilities abroad in furtherance of their imperialist designs. Currently, they are in the process of expanding this system still further. One GI out of four is now stationed outside the United States. The U.S. President has declared entire regions of the world, notably the oil-rich areas, to be "national spheres of interest" of the USA, threatening to employ military means to keep them in its orbit.

All these decisions have not been taken overnight. Rather, these dangerous moves fit into a long-term pattern as reflected in the long-term arms

program which NATO adopted in Washington and in the disastrous missile deployment decision taken in Brussels. The USA is systematically proceeding from a policy of détente to a policy of confrontation, seeking to commit the whole of NATO to this line.

The "new nuclear strategy" proclaimed by the President of the USA is increasing the risk of nuclear war considerably. But the world's peoples do not want ever more and ever newer weapons, what they want is an assured world peace and disarmament.

Under socialism there is no one who profits from the manufacture of arms. Peace and socialism go together. This is borne out by the numerous moves that have been initiated by the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other Warsaw Treaty states, notably with a view to bringing about a solution to a key problem on which the successful handling of many other international issues depends. I am referring to the ending of the arms race and the need to back up political détente by disarmament.

We are in favor of progressively reducing troop levels and armaments on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. This idea has been set out in the proposals submitted by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states in May 1980.

The GDR wholeheartedly endorses the memorandum entitled "For peace and disarmament, for guarantees of international security" submitted by the Soviet Union to the UN General Assembly.

The imperialists, who are doing their utmost to prevent liberation struggles by the nations, demand that the revolutionary forces should maintain the political and social status quo as a prerequisite for détente and peaceful coexistence. But the maintenance of the international exploitation and discrimination brought about by imperialism can never serve peace. The peoples' struggle for freedom and self-determination is at the same time a struggle for international understanding and peace. Therefore, the socialist countries will at all times support this just struggle.

It goes without saying that this has nothing in common with an export of revolution. But likewise we take a determined stand against any export of counter-revolution.

As in the past the myth of the "threat from the East," the legend of an alleged threat to the West from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty is exploited by the imperialists to justify their own material and psychological preparations for war. We consider it an integral part of the struggle for peace to unmask this "lie of the century."

The potential for peace in the world could be considerably larger if the present leaders in Peking did not pursue a hegemonistic and anti-Soviet policy. The alliance between imperialism and the Peking hegemonists presents a threat to world peace. This policy runs counter to the interests of the nations of the world and, naturally, also counter to the interests of the Chinese people.

The struggle against the arms race shows to what extent the primary objectives of the socialist countries, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement converge. Their joint action has helped to shift the international balance of forces further in favor of world peace, democracy and social progress.

We are witnessing a growing resistance in the capitalist countries to the imperialist policy of the arms race and the resulting dangers to peace. As is borne out by the militant campaigns against the neutron bomb, the Brussels missile decision and other NATO steps toward an arms build-up, the working people of these countries are becoming increasingly aware of the disastrous consequences of the arms madness of their ruling classes and are taking a more resolute stand against them.

The demands of many countries for worldwide détente and disarmament, which find particular expression in the non-aligned movement, are growing more and more insistent. The 11th Special Session of the UN General Assembly time and again underlined the close connection between worldwide disarmament and the assurance of a development based on economic independence from the imperialist countries.

The struggle for the creation of nuclear-free zones is more urgent than ever. The demand for demilitarizing the world's oceans and transforming them into zones of peace has gained in importance. The countries of the Middle East are threatened by the imperialists' aggressive global strategy. The massive militarization of the Indian Ocean is in sharp contradiction to the most vital interests of the peoples in this region, threatening the security interests of socialism.

There is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence and détente throughout the world nor to arms limitation and disarmament. The states of the socialist community unswervingly support the continuation of this policy which was successfully advanced in the 70s and has proved its viability. In future the struggle will not be easy either nor will successes fall into our laps. The broader the front of like-minded forces for peace and disarmament, the more effectively the forces of peace act in unison and offer determined resistance to the imperialists' aggressive policies, the wider the opportunities of securing lasting peace throughout the world.

If one looks at the facts as they are, one finds that the weight carried by the socialist community in the world is a powerful factor in the solution of the crucial issues facing mankind. The more socialism brings the advantages of its profoundly humanist order of society to bear, the more stable it becomes and the greater is its international influence. The socialist revolution, as is borne out by the experience of the SUPG and the GDR, is a prolonged historical process of fundamental socio-economic changes. At every step we have been aware of the fact that the basic question of any revolution is the question of power. In the GDR this question was solved irrevocably under the leadership of the SUPG in favor of the working class and its allies. We

have continued to strengthen the power of the workers and farmers and to defend it staunchly. This was and is the root cause of our successes.

The German Democratic Republic, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, has undergone a stable development and grown into a cornerstone of peace in Europe. Our country provides further proof of the fact that only socialism is capable of ensuring social security, growing prosperity, equality of the sexes and a high level of education for all children in the country. The development of the workers' and farmers' state is accompanied by a steady advance of socialist democracy.

Nobody can deny the fact that the successes scored by socialism are of historical import in the confrontation with imperialism.

Following their victory in the liberation struggle a number of countries set up a new, revolutionary state power. They started to nationalize the decisive means of production and organize production in the interests of the people.

As Marxist-Leninists it fills us with satisfaction to note that the revolutionary forces of these countries are turning their attention to the basic findings of scientific socialism and embarking upon the road of socialist development under the leadership of revolutionary vanguard parties. These countries have already won impressive successes in eliminating the consequences of colonialism and implementing the rights of the people to education, work and respect for their dignity.

The securing and successful continuation of the revolutionary process in these countries is enhanced by the interaction of all anti-imperialist forces. Of great benefit in this process is the close alliance with the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community and the international working-class movement. Another valuable aspect is the cooperation between the parties and the exchange of experience and opinions on questions of strategy and tactics.

It is a well known fact that the countries of the socialist community render internationalist help to the progressive states. They assist them in political matters and to a growing extent in the economic, scientific and technological fields. But the contribution made by the socialist countries to the solution of the problems facing these states is even more comprehensive. Existing socialism, on account of its expanded potential and its growing international influence, contains the imperialists' striving for world hegemony, thus considerably expanding the range of action of these countries. Cooperation between the countries of the socialist community and the countries that have shaken off the yoke of colonialism is based on such internation-

ally accepted norms as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as non-interference in internal affairs, equal rights and mutual advantage.

It is evident to everybody that highly qualified cadres for the various spheres of social and economic life are crucial to the further advance of Asian, African and Latin American countries along the road of social progress. Taking due account of the vital interests of these countries, we therefore pay great attention to the training of local cadres. While the socialist countries assist them in a disinterested manner in training their own national intelligentsia, the imperialist countries are impairing their intellectual potential by systematically enticing away many of their specialists.

As our program lays down, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany actively promotes the consolidation of the close alliance between the German Democratic Republic and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism. It establishes friendly relations with them to mutual advantage. It promotes close cooperation and solidarity with them. Currently, our country maintains diplomatic relations with 87 countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Since 1971 more than 350 treaties, inter-governmental agreements and special agreements at the ministerial level have been concluded. They form a solid contractual basis for the expansion of mutual relations. These relations are marked by the spirit of friendship, trust, cooperation, solidarity and support in the joint struggle for peace and social progress and against imperialism.

Nobody today is unaware of the fact that the German Democratic Republic has broken with the German imperialist past once and for all and that it successfully develops friendly relations on an equal footing with the African, Asian and Latin American countries. We will honor the spirit and letter of the treaties of friendship and cooperation and all the agreements concluded. I would like to reassure the representatives of 116 communist parties, other revolutionary parties and national liberation movements gathered here at this conference that we shall continue, in line with our internationalist policy, the struggle for peace and security in the world and consistently support the national liberation struggle waged against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

Great achievements have been scored in the course of the last few decades in our joint struggle against imperialism. Much remains to be done. We are convinced that in the future too, our strength will lie in joint action. The SUPG and the socialist GDR will at all times be at the side of the fighters for national and social liberation and against imperialism.

The cause of freedom and socialism is invincible

Boris Ponomarev

Political Bureau alternate member and
Secretary, CPSU Central Committee

In our day, communication and interaction between the communist and workers' parties and various contingents of the national-liberation movement are especially important. We have followed the speech by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, with great attention and fully share his assessment of the importance of this conference and of the problems we are to discuss.

Our delegation does not, of course, claim to cover every aspect of so vast a topic as the one facing this conference. We look to a broad exchange of opinions. And, certainly, special importance is attached to what will be said here by the direct participants in the national-liberation movement.

The conference is taking place in a complicated international situation. Through the fault of imperialism, the danger of war has again increased; the forces of world reaction are trying to mount a counter-offensive and to regain lost positions. This concerns the future of many hundreds of millions of people on all continents. And, understandably, this question will constantly figure in the work of the conference.

Lenin regarded the national-liberation movement as an organic part of the worldwide revolutionary process. The communists were the first to see the tremendous revolutionary potentialities of the peoples oppressed by imperialism, and consistently championed their right to independence and sovereign development. The communists have always been and continue to be consistent champions of the liberation of the peoples.

The Great October Socialist Revolution dealt a crushing blow at imperialism both in its heartland, the metropolitan countries, and in the colonial and semi-colonial periphery. That is what started the crisis of the colonial system. The rout of the bloc of fascist and militarist countries in the Second World War radically altered the balance of forces in favor of socialism, making it easier for the colonial peoples to fight for the abolition of imperialist domination. World socialism provided favorable international conditions for the successful outcome of the struggle to break up the colonial empires. Capitalism has entered a new phase of its general crisis, which has been growing.

It was the Soviet Union which initiated the adoption by the United Nations in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. From the vantage point of the past two decades, the historic importance of this

initiative is especially clear. It is a concentrated expression of the essence of the policy of the USSR and of the other socialist countries with respect to the national-liberation movement.

An important contribution to the liberation struggle of the peoples was also made by the working class and the communist parties of the developed capitalist countries. Everybody knows of the role played by the communist parties of, say, France, Portugal, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and other West European countries in supporting the struggle of the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In the developing countries, the communists are also waging a dedicated struggle for carrying the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution to its completion, for the socialist perspective, and for improving the living standards of the mass of the people. They firmly support the anti-imperialist steps taken by the national governments to consolidate their gains, but oppose any anti-democratic measures, impingement on the interests of the working people, and any steps that run counter to the principles of national independence.

The world of countries that have won national independence is now an impressive and multifaceted picture. The processes under way there are having a tremendous effect on the life and future of dozens of peoples, comprising more than 50 per cent of the world population. This entails the emergence of statehood, national revival, economic and cultural construction or, in other words, a complete renewal of their way of life, marshalling everything that is valuable and unique in their past history and that the colonialists tried to suppress.

This is an immense world that includes countries with most diverse political, social and economic conditions, different development levels, national characteristics and cultural traditions. As no other zone in the world, it is exceptionally variable and politically unstable. But there is something that unites the vast majority of these countries, something that cements them, and that is their anti-imperialism, their determination to put an end to colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and all the other manifestations of national oppression.

The socialist-oriented states have an outstanding and increasingly active role to play in that world, and in international relations as a whole. India, Nigeria and other countries of this type are now a major factor countering imperialist strategy.

Active participation of the new states is now

highly important for the successful solution of global problems, for reliably ensuring world peace and security.

The results of the liberation struggle in the 1970s

In the 1970s, substantive changes have occurred in world politics. They were highlighted by:

- new shifts in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism and national liberation;

- major successes of the détente policy with the effect of greatly curbing “freedom of maneuver” for the more aggressive imperialist forces;

- expansion of the anti-imperialist struggle, with the involvement of virtually every region of the national-liberation zone in the struggle and enrichment of its content.

Another crushing blow was struck at the system of traditional colonialism. The last of the colonial empires, that of Portugal, collapsed. An end was put to racist rule in Zimbabwe. Over these years, the victory of Vietnam, and the patriotic forces of Laos and Kampuchea was an event of tremendous importance. With the support of world socialism, they succeeded in defeating the foremost power of contemporary imperialism that had tried to stamp out the liberation struggle of the peoples in this part of the world through extensive armed intervention. Powerful blows were struck at imperialism by the people's revolutions in Ethiopia and Afghanistan, and the victory of the people of Nicaragua. This has again confirmed the futility of imperialism's efforts to maintain its domination by reliance on dictatorial regimes. The revolution in Iran was another serious setback for imperialism.

However, the inequality of the developing countries in the world capitalist economy persists; imperialist exploitation has not yet been ended. Far from shrinking, the gap between them and the imperialist states has widened in many important economic indicators.

Encountering imperialism's dogged efforts to retain its economic privileges, many of the young states, for their part, have resorted to the decisive measure of nationalizing the property of foreign companies. This bold step has injected real content into state sovereignty, and facilitates the establishment of control over their natural resources.

In the 1970s, the question of abolishing the entire neo-colonial structure of exploitation was put on the agenda. A platform of struggle for a new international economic order free from inequality and exploitation was worked out at a succession of international forums. The greater unity and joint defense of economic interests, coupled with the socialist countries' support, have invested the movement against economic neo-colonialism with real strength.

Referring to the political course of the newly-free countries, Leonid Brezhnev said: “It may definitely be said about the majority of them that they are defending their political and economic rights in a struggle against imperialism with mounting ener-

gy, striving to consolidate their independence and to raise the social, economic and cultural level of their peoples.”

Neo-colonialist policy and urgent problems in the anti-imperialist forces' cooperation

The multi-tiered neo-colonialist strategy of imperialism, notably that of U.S. imperialism, pursues several basic aims:

- to keep the developing countries within the system of the world capitalist economy as dependent clients and tributaries;

- to have them follow in the mainstream of imperialist policy and to oppose the countries of existing socialism and countries that have taken the socialist road;

- to prevent their free development and hold back their social progress, dragging them onto the capitalist road and even supporting semi-feudal and feudal structures.

Take the economic field. Here, the so-called transnational corporations are the strike force of present-day neo-colonialism. They stop at nothing in their efforts to gain control of the newly liberated countries' economy and to use their industrial development in their own interests. These international monopolies have been transferring the most labor-intensive industries to these countries on a large scale in a bid to exploit their cheap labor, and industries that pollute the environment most of all. In other words, the imperialist centers skim the cream off the scientific and technological revolution, while the periphery shoulders its costs and negative aspects.

In the political field, ignoring the lessons of Vietnam, the imperialist circles, above all those of the United States, have again been accentuating the concept of U.S. “leadership” and again openly laying claim to the role of world policeman. More, they often cynically proclaim a return to their notorious “big stick” policy. Imperialism is again igniting conflicts, and provoking “hot” local wars. The Camp David policy has further aggravated the situation in the Middle East. Many regions there, notably Southern Lebanon, have become a permanent zone of armed clashes.

Not for decades has there been a slander campaign more frenzied than that launched by Western and Peking propaganda over the Afghan events. But in fact this propaganda was meant to conceal the following designs and actions: the conduct of an “undeclared war” against Afghanistan; the unprecedentedly cynical pretensions of the U.S. imperialists, who have declared areas thousands of kilometers away to be spheres of their “vital interests;” the concentration in this zone of an armada of U.S. armed forces, which are being used for intervention and blackmail, pressure and outright threats; the Pentagon's drive for more military bases in the Arabian Peninsula, East Africa and the Mediterranean.

At the same time, Washington has joined Peking in spinning intrigues to re-activate a military hot-bed in Southeast Asia.

In Latin America, U.S. imperialism is tightening its links with repressive regimes, and redoubling its intrigues against the patriotic, democratic, anti-imperialist movement. Clearly, the infamous terrorist regimes of Pinochet in Chile, Stroessner in Paraguay and Duvalier in Haiti could not have survived and the wholesale persecution and stepped-up repression against the left and democratic forces would have been impossible without the support of Yankee imperialism.

Special mention should be made of imperialism's use of conflicts between the new states in the national-liberation zone. It is quite true that political, economic and even some territorial issues do exist between some countries in the zone. More often than not, these are a legacy of the colonial period, a result of the policy conducted by imperialism.

The consequences of the colonialists' arbitrary acts have produced difficult problems. These problems can and must be solved by political and diplomatic methods, by a patient search for fair and mutually acceptable solutions. But when the approach to the interests of a given state is one-sided, and when it ignores the interests of other nations and the common tasks of the struggle against imperialism, then a situation results that imperialism can actively use in a bid to prevent the liberated countries from closing their ranks. Conflicts between the new states in the zone of liberation, national struggle — to say nothing of armed clashes — are the best gift for imperialism.

The most disturbing of all today is the conflict between Iran and Iraq. The Soviet position on this conflict is known. As Leonid Brezhnev said: "We are for Iran and Iraq settling the issues in dispute at the negotiation table. It would be a good thing if they settled what can be settled today in a spirit of concord, and if they put off what they cannot settle today until tomorrow, when a solution may, perhaps, come more easily."

The fanning of militarist psychosis by the imperialists to the accompaniment of talk about a "Soviet threat" poses a threat to many countries, not least of all to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is ever more obvious that the attacks against international détente affect the vital interests of the liberated peoples, that they presage encroachments on their national resources and incitement of internecine conflicts. In other words, the "anti-détente" policy and the neo-colonialist "comeback" policy are closely interconnected.

In the field of ideology. Here, too, imperialism is redoubling its anti-people subversive activity. The efforts of its centers are many-sided and highly diverse, but the quintessence of the ideological counter-offensive is bellicose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. This is the keynote of all the ideological forays by imperialism — from the honeyed and pharisaical "human rights" pronouncements to the actual defense of those who organize genocide, of executioners and killers.

It is more than clear that, in mustering the forces for the counter-offensive on the liberation move-

ment, imperialism is making a special stake on Peking. The Peking leaders' apostasy and hegemonistic line are one of the trumps of imperialist policy in our time. For it is Peking's partnership with imperialism that has encouraged the forces of aggression which are displeased with détente.

The pseudo-revolutionary and pseudo-anti-colonialist camouflage Peking used to cover its switch to the camp of the enemies of socialism has, in effect, been discarded. Whichever area of struggle for national liberation we take, we find evidence of the ignominious pro-imperialist line of Peking, which is coordinating its actions with imperialism.

Countries where deep-going social and economic transformations are under way, such as Angola, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, are targets of China's special hostility. In sum, Peking's policy nowadays is exceedingly dangerous for the peoples fighting for national liberation and social progress.

Every day life shows what a misconception it is to assume that, with the achievement of the primary aims of national liberation, the interaction of these three main streams of world progress tends to lose its erstwhile importance. The situation can be presented in this light only by those who are not interested in national and social progress, by those who, having risen on the crest of the struggle for national liberation, are now inclined to come to terms with imperialism.

Sadatism is a typical example of such an approach, which epitomizes betrayal of the interests of the liberation struggle. Everywhere imperialism tries to handfeed sadats, big and small, and install them firmly in power. Here and there it has managed to do so, and this is directly linked both with the intensification of the class struggle in the newly-independent countries and with the trends toward bourgeois degeneration that have appeared in a number of them.

We Soviet communists are convinced that no matter how complex, tortuous and sometimes fraught with setbacks the development of the anti-imperialist movement may be, the future belongs to this movement if it runs firmly within the common stream of the revolutionary, peace-loving and freedom-loving forces of our day.

The *non-aligned movement* has become an influential factor in world politics in our day. The USSR and the other socialist-community countries attach much importance to the non-aligned countries' joint efforts and sincerely want to develop cooperation with them. For this there is a broad objective basis of mutual interests and a common or kindred stand on the main problems of world development.

In recent times, we have witnessed intensified efforts by international reaction to dull the anti-imperialist edge of the non-aligned movement, to split the ranks of its participants, and to set them against the socialist community and the other progressive, peace-loving forces. The concept of "equidistance" has become one of the instruments

used for this purpose. But "equidistance" from the policy of peace and the policy of war, from the policy of the peoples' freedom and the policy of neo-colonialism, radically clashes with the non-aligned countries' historical goals and hinders the growth of their independent role in world politics.

What are the main lines of cooperation between the developing countries and the socialist-community countries, the international working-class movement, and the other progressive forces?

Above all, there is joint action to strengthen peace and the security of the people, to curb imperialist aggression, to thwart neo-colonialism's attempts to "replay history." The struggle to strengthen peace and further international détente is now indissolubly linked with the struggle against neo-colonialism and racism, the struggle to reinforce the political sovereignty of the young national states and for their economic emancipation. Gone are the days when the imperialists and the Peking hegemonists could impose on the newly-free countries the idea that disarmament was something alien to them, that for them the arms race was not a vital problem. These countries now realize how vast are the resources of which the arms race is depriving them.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries have for years been making proposals to stop the arms race, cut military budgets and allocate a part of the funds so released to increase aid to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the latest UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union declared its readiness to reach an agreement also on the size of the sums to be earmarked by each state reducing its military budget for the purpose of increasing such economic aid. Our policy of lessening international tension and of disarmament fully meets the tasks of development. This is why the positions of the socialist and the newly-independent countries on disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, are so close. This similarity of position helped to bring about the constructive results achieved by the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, and it is reflected in numerous documents jointly adopted at various forums.

But experience shows that the schemes of the aggressive forces of imperialism and of the military-industrial complex behind them cannot be thwarted merely by good resolutions. There must be activation of all forces, action by broad masses of people, and cooperation between all countries wishing to strengthen peace and have disarmament.

The principles of equality, mutual advantage and anti-imperialist solidarity are being concretely applied in the relations between the newly-independent countries and the socialist states.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries actively support the anti-imperialist orientation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order worked out in

the course of equitable cooperation and adopted by the UN.

Removal of discrimination, of any artificial barriers to international trade, elimination of all inequality, diktat and exploitation in international economic relations were proposed by our party's 25th congress as a part of the Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples. At the recent special session of the UN General Assembly on economic questions, the socialist countries again actively supported the just demands of the new countries.

The role played by the socialist community in helping the newly-free states to build up an independent industrial potential will be seen from the fact, for example, that today about 40 per cent of the pig iron and 30 per cent of the steel produced in the countries of Asia and Africa comes from mills built with Soviet assistance.

The assistance and experience of world socialism have also played a by no means unimportant role in the working out of the principles of national sovereignty over natural resources, and the forms and methods of using natural wealth, in developing science and public education, in training national specialists and in public health. Of great importance, too, are cultural ties which promote mutual enrichment with spiritual values. The very existence and strengthening of the world socialist system considerably influence the sphere of economic relations between the newly-free and the imperialist countries. More often than not, the latter have to act with an eye to the economic aid of the socialist community and make concessions to the newly-independent states.

In their desire to isolate the developing countries from world socialism, imperialism and its Peking accomplices have actively exploited the false conception of the "poor" nations of the "South" allegedly ranged against the "rich" nations of the "North," among which they include the USSR and other socialist countries. By distorting the historically rooted state of affairs, this conception lays the blame for the dire plight of the peoples of the "South" on the socialist countries as well.

Our country does not deny the logic of raising the question of obtaining additional funds from outside in order to finance the economic-development programs in the former colonies. But an influx of such external funds must be considered in the context of making good the damage inflicted on the new states by the former metropolitan countries, and also as some compensation for the losses that they currently have to suffer from operations by the transnational corporations.

The cooperation of the newly-free countries with the socialist countries, and the organization of their joint action with the working class of the capitalist states in the struggle against the common enemy — transnational corporations — can and must promote the realizations of the just demands of the peoples of developing countries and help to end their exploitation.

The socialist orientation, a guarantee of successful struggle for national revival and social progress

In our day, the struggle against imperialism and for political and economic independence is simultaneously a struggle against the reactionary internal forces on which imperialism relies.

In the front ranks of the struggle — to consider the national-liberation zone — are the states taking a socialist orientation, or states developing along the socialist road. Among them are countries with different levels of development and varying degrees of maturity of social relations. There are also differences as to the concrete goals their leading vanguard sets itself at the given stage. But on the whole, this relates to states in Asia, Africa and Central America which after the victory of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal or democratic revolutions have taken or are taking the road of transition to socialism.

In the past decade, the number of such countries has increased, and this is noteworthy. It provides fresh proof that ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

Daily developments bear out the conclusions written into the CPSU program, "Capitalism is the road of suffering for the people. It will not ensure rapid economic progress nor eliminate poverty..." Life has confirmed and continues to confirm that the new states cannot travel the same road with imperialism, that objectively their interests in the present and future are close to or coincide with those of the countries of victorious socialism. The socialist countries give active support to the progressive revolutionary-democratic forces and movements taking a stand in favor of the socialist choice and working to carry that choice into effect. This is a concrete manifestation of the class internationalist character of socialism's foreign policy. For their part, the states that have taken the path of socialism legitimately regard the socialist community as their closest and most natural friend and comrade in the fight for the common cause.

The reality of existing socialism allows the socialist-oriented countries to resist the policy of imperialist interference and aggression more effectively, to use the experience already gained in building the new society, and to gain broad access to contemporary scientific knowledge and the latest advances in engineering and technology, and to achieve progress in the education of cadres.

Relations based largely on common aims and interests are taking or have already taken shape between the countries with a socialist orientation and those of the socialist community. These are relations of solidarity and mutual assistance, of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The socialist system is created in the course of resolute struggle by the progressive forces of society, as a result of persevering creative work by the whole people. That is the only way that a new type of social relations, a new type of human being, the being of a society that is advancing along the road of socialism, can be molded.

The crux of the matter, of course, is that the position of the socialist-oriented countries should become ever more solid and stable. And this is no easy task. Imperialism, in league with the forces of internal reaction, keeps trying to undermine the progressive regimes.

All historical experience shows that to preserve and consolidate the progressive positions of these countries it is important:

- to have a revolutionary party guiding society and acting on the basis of scientific socialism;

- to strengthen, from top to bottom, the organs of democratic power which have been set up after the elimination of colonial domination;

- to train and educate party and state personnel devoted to the mass of the working people, to the cause of socialism;

- to strengthen national armed forces capable of defending the people's gains;

- to constantly extend party and state ties with the masses, to draw the working people into the administration of public affairs;

- to conduct a correct economic and social policy reinforcing the country's independence, raising the level of production, and improving the population's living standards;

- to develop ties with the socialist countries, the best and truest friends of the independent, freedom-loving states.

Although the countries that have proclaimed a course toward a socialist orientation or a course toward developing along a socialist road are at different stages of development, in all these countries the need for ideological and political leadership by a revolutionary vanguard party comes to the fore. The ties between this party and the people are tremendously important. Experience teaches us that only a party that lives in the midst of the people, knows its moods and aspirations, and is able to approach the masses and win their trust, can put a socialist-oriented policy into practice.

To realize socialist ideals consistently, the resistance of the socially hostile elements, the inertia of the old way of life have to be overcome, ethnic and religious problems must be solved within the framework of the democratic state. It is extremely important in the course of setting up a new state apparatus to involve young people in the management of the affairs of state, to carry on party political work in the army and to draw it into the work of social reorganization.

The solution of all these intricate problems requires the training of a large number of qualified specialists within a very short time. This objective is not easy, but quite feasible, especially considering the possibility of utilizing the experience and assistance of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries. We have opened the doors for the training of cadres or are prepared to send our specialists to these countries to train personnel on the spot.

Economic policy is a most vital sphere of activities for the vanguard parties. The complexity here lies in the fact that one has to deal simul-

taneously with the problem of creating a new material and technical base and improving the working people's living conditions. In this context, the leaders of countries with a socialist orientation see the solution in moving ahead gradually, avoiding any artificial acceleration of social change. The problem of making rational use of the internal sources of accumulation and developing natural resources naturally comes first. Of great importance, too, is the development of cooperation in agricultural and artisan production, but to a degree conforming to the maturity and development of conditions for this, and improvement of the work of enterprises in the state sector. Experience shows that a useful role can be played by private enterprise, with due control by the state.

The use of internal resources is linked with the fostering of a new attitude to work based on conscious discipline, on an understanding of the difficulties of developing a new economy.

The decisive, one might even say, crucial factor guaranteeing the success of the socialist-orientation policy is to achieve a situation in which the working people actually feel the fruits of the revolution, and not only in moral and political terms — in terms of new human dignity and respect for the working man — but also in terms of tangible improvements in living conditions.

The experience in laying the foundations of the new society accumulated by the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries is of great value to the states that have taken the road of socialist change. As most people know, fraternal Mongolia attained socialism without passing through the stage of capitalism. The New Economic Policy (NEP), worked out by the great Lenin, yielded invaluable experience of how a revolutionary power, in possession of the commanding heights in a multi-sectoral economy, harmonizes the interests of the workers and peasants with those of the state, with socialist construction.

When considering the importance of the experience of the socialist countries, it should be stressed that there is no question here of copying our mod-

els. The roads of transition to socialism are manifold. The practice of the socialist-oriented countries has introduced and will continue to introduce much that is new and original in the methods of change that correspond to their specific conditions and national peculiarities.

Finally, we should like to stress the following. The all-round strengthening of states with a socialist orientation or states that have taken the socialist road is of tremendous international importance. The peoples of many countries, which have liberated themselves from colonialism, closely follow the progress of these states and study their experience. On the successful development of these states, therefore, largely depend the choice of direction by other once-enslaved peoples for their further social development, and their historical destiny, together with the strengthening of anti-imperialist positions in the world as a whole.

What has been said may be summed up as follows:

First. To safeguard peace and social progress there must be joint action by and mutual understanding among the forces of socialism, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, and the forces of national liberation. The pooling of their efforts is destined to play an outstanding role in ensuring the security of the peoples and transforming the world on the principles of equality, freedom, democracy and justice. The solidarity of the three main streams of the contemporary revolutionary process will continue to be the locomotive of world development.

Second. In the present international situation the following aspects of our joint struggle come to the fore:

- vigorous action against the growing threat of a world thermonuclear war, against the attempts to sabotage détente;

- resistance to the "neo-colonialist comeback" policy, the imperialist line of diktat and blackmail;

- action to counter Peking's chauvinistic line in its coalescence with imperialism;

- struggle for a democratic repatterning of international economic relations;

- and, of course, constant struggle against imperialism's attempts at ideological expansion, against the anti-communism and anti-Sovietism that are being used to camouflage the aggressive and neo-colonialist line.

Third. As in the past, and even to a greater extent, an enormous role in solving the cardinal problems of world development will be played by the interaction of the ruling parties of the socialist countries, the communist parties of other countries, the vanguard parties of the socialist-oriented countries, and by all progressive forces in the new states.

We are convinced that, for all the ragings of the forces of reaction, militarism and colonialist banditry, the cause of freedom and social progress of the peoples is invincible! The certainty of its ultimate triumph is the solidarity of world socialism, the international working class and the forces of national liberation.

Books by Boris Ponomarev

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Stage of fundamental changes

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The national liberation movement in Africa has undergone qualitative changes during the past few decades. In the 1950s and partially in the 1960s its aim was national independence. To quote Kwame Nkrumah, "the main thing is to achieve political power, the rest will come later." During that period independence was won by most of the African countries. Fearing a radicalization of the movement for national liberation, the colonial states ceded political power. But they hoped to save what they felt was essential — the capitalist structure in the new nations and their subordination to the metropolises, to imperialism. They wanted to replace overt colonial oppression by indirect neo-colonialist rule.

In most cases the conquest of power was not the result of the overthrow of a decadent class by a new, young class. Administration was transferred from representatives of the metropolises and the colonial bourgeoisie to their local agents and heirs. In extreme cases — South Africa and Rhodesia — power was transferred to the white settlers, who, having established a racist regime, set out to perpetuate the capitalist order and draw other countries into the orbit of imperialist domination. In both these instances, neo-colonialism and apartheid spelled out the preservation of essentially exploitative orders with the sacrifice of colonial forms.

In that period the methods of moving toward national liberation involved the formation of political groups and associations fighting for national independence. Although these groups helped to mobilize the masses, they were powerfully influenced or even led by the local bourgeoisie and feudal barons. Some were headed by representatives of the progressive, patriotic intelligentsia, for instance, Patrice Lumumba and Kwame Nkrumah. However, this was not enough to modify the basic character of the movement for national liberation at that stage.

The situation and the prospects changed in the 1960s and 1970s. While France, Britain and Belgium granted independence to most of their possessions and sought, at the same time, to safeguard their economic and political interests, the Portuguese colonial bourgeoisie was in no position to follow their example. When the British, French and Belgian bourgeoisie were nascent, exploitation of colonies served them as a source for accumulating capital. But in the case of the Portuguese colonies the spoils went to the aristocracy, enabling it to maintain a lifestyle of idleness and pageantry. The Portuguese bourgeoisie began accumulating capital

from the pillaging of colonies after a century-long socio-economic delay. It was therefore unrealistic to count on preserving the domination of the metropolis and the settlers in the Portuguese possessions if the latter achieved even formal independence.

Accordingly, in the 1960s and 1970s, when other imperialist powers used the industrial potential created by their colonial possessions through the form of neo-colonialist rule, the Portuguese bourgeoisie clung stubbornly to fascist methods of administering colonies, sustaining the process of capital accumulation by unbridled exploitation. This is the objective circumstance that compelled the peoples of the Portuguese possessions to embark upon an armed struggle and make it the sole means of winning independence.

This historical necessity entailed difficulties of course, but at the same time, it created the objective conditions permitting, given correct leadership, the factor of backwardness to turn into a positive factor accelerating the revolutionary process. The struggle for national and social liberation was forced, as it were, into one and the same channel and acquired the form of an armed struggle.

The theses for the third FRELIMO congress noted "that in the present phase of imperialist domination the national liberation movement can carry out its historic task only when it assumes, practises and creatively develops the scientific ideology of the laboring classes and integrates the struggle for liberation in the general struggle against the system of exploitation."¹

Victory in the people's revolutionary war

The resultant new historical situation signified the creation of the conditions for beginning the building of socialism on the ruins of extirpated colonialism. In other words, the fusion of the aims of national and social liberation got its highest expression when independence led to socialist construction.

Under these conditions the enemy's military defeat signified a total break with the former system. This historical possibility was realized in Vietnam, where the people were victorious in a war, upheld their freedom, and got down to building socialism in their reunited motherland. The same possibility was also realized in Mozambique, whose people won a war, achieved freedom, and began socialist construction nationwide. They are now moving steadfastly forward, to new achievements. They do not share power with the exploiting classes. In such

cases "non-capitalist development" and the "socialist orientation" spell out nothing less than an advance along the road of socialist construction.

Mozambique is not the only example where revolutionary changes began in society long before victory — with the creation of liberated zones. In these zones the political, economic, social and cultural organization ruled out exploitation of man by man, and the social processes there were administered by the working people, laying the foundations for the system of popular rule.

The revolutionary people's war was influenced by the development of the class struggle in our own ranks. The triumph of the revolutionary line in the Liberation Front at the close of the 1960s clarified the aim of social emancipation and accelerated national liberation.

But even a war of liberation does not always become a revolutionary, people's war. The fact that the people participate in a war does not make that war popular and revolutionary. It becomes popular and revolutionary if such are its objectives, methods and leadership, if it is characterized by the people's conscious participation and has the conquest of political power by the masses as its objective.

A people's revolutionary war poses the liberation movement with new requirements. The chief of these is a total rupture with the enemy, a rupture with his system of values. Rupture does not mean simply rejection. It means the creation of new morals, a new man, and revolutionary ethics that embody the system of values of the working classes, values that emerge and assert themselves in the struggle against oppression and exploitation.

In this sense the people's revolutionary war in Mozambique was the highest form of struggle by the working people. It became the decisive factor enabling the working class and its ally, the peasantry, to win power. It was the catalyst that fused the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for social emancipation. It was a battle on many fronts — for political and economic power, and for the direction of social and cultural development. Lastly, the Marxist-Leninist party was born in the crucible of the people's revolutionary war.

The objective situation on the international scene and the change in the correlation of forces in favor of national and social liberation facilitate the revolutionary changes in the national liberation movement. The socialist countries are the main bulwark of the national liberation movement in the face of imperialism's aggressive, bellicose aspirations. This is testified to by the experience of armed struggle and the times we live in. Military assistance, supplies of armaments and training for our fighting men during the war of liberation were provided basically from socialist countries. To this day the formation of a modern army and the strengthening of Mozambique's defense capability continue to rely on assistance from them. The very fact that there are strong socialist states prevents imperialism from undertaking large-scale military actions against our country.

The existence of developed socialist nations is

equally important for us also from the economic point of view. After winning independence, the new states that take the road of socialist construction draw upon the economic, scientific and technological achievements of these nations. This is of fundamental significance, for it allows lessening and neutralizing dependence on the capitalist world system and, on the basis of the resultant alternative, restructuring our economy and speeding up development.

Victory in the people's revolutionary war was made possible by the political and ideological struggle in the Front and the emergence of a vanguard championing the interests of the working classes. This victory was won in a favorable international situation and gave us the possibility of starting socialist construction after we had abolished colonialism.

National unity

In Africa there is the problem of tribes which hinders national unity. Fragmentation of the population into tribes and ethnic groups is one of the main obstacles of the revolutionary movement. National unity is, therefore, a key aim of the forces of liberation. During the war we said that it was necessary to "kill the tribe" in order that the nation, the motherland, could be born. We said that it was imperative to fight what divided us — tribalism, racism and regionalism — with the same weapons that we were fighting colonialism. Experience has shown that this was correct policy, for the main allies of colonialism yesterday and of neo-colonialism today have been and are proponents of dismemberment.

As a result of partition by the imperialists, the frontiers of the future nations of Africa were arbitrarily demarcated by the colonial powers. Although they have been weakened with the attainment of independence, the local exploiters — the middlemen and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal lords — are using the division into spheres of tribal influence in an effort to maintain their supremacy. Tribal strife and the kindling of regionalism mirror class positions and nourish political opportunism.

At the initial stage of the liberation movement in Africa some of its leaders took a patriotic and even progressive stand, but as the possibility of the masses winning power became increasingly visible they began to betray the patriotic cause and join forces with the colonialists. Such cases are to be observed not only in Africa. They are typical of the behavior of the bourgeoisie and reflect its ideology. The stand of each group of the bourgeoisie conforms to the range of its power. Transnational corporations are by nature anti-patriotic. In Africa, due to the weakness of the economic base of their power, the exploiting classes seek the protection of the colonial masters and try to consolidate their position with the aid of tribal and regional links. National unity and patriotism are sacrificed for the interests of the ruling groups.

In our country the exploiting elements appeared as middlemen of foreign invaders without any prospect for autonomous existence. Their principal

practical aim was exploitation, and the question of independence was moved to the background. More, they rejected the struggle for independence as soon as leadership of the struggle became the monopoly of the working classes.

In Mozambique, national unity was achieved in the course of the liberation struggle. The founding of FRELIMO and the commencement of the armed struggle accelerated the formation of the Mozambican nation and gave it a new quality. The class conflicts in the Front and the triumph of the revolutionary line created the conditions for this process to proceed under the leadership, the hegemony of the working classes.

Today the people of Mozambique reject racism, tribalism and regionalism. At the elections to the People's Assembly and at meetings held to nominate candidates for party membership, the masses rebuffed the feudal lords, racists, proponents of tribal discord, regionalists and separatists. There are no national, ethnic or religious minorities in our country. The structure of leading organs is not determined by considerations of tribal or racial equilibrium or of a correlation of forces. Sweeping away racial, regional and tribal barriers, these organs represent exclusively the power of the proletariat.

For that reason, as the armed struggle in Mozambique proceeded, every patriot increasingly identified himself with the people's power and became an internationalist. Internationalism is inalienable from the new type of patriotism. This is exemplified by the fact that our people shed their blood and made sacrifices so that the people of Zimbabwe could win freedom.

Prerequisites for the party's formation

The fundamental tasks of the national democratic revolution in Mozambique were carried out in the course of the armed struggle for liberation and after national independence was achieved. Thus:

- the Mozambican nation and national unity were consolidated in the course of the armed struggle;

- deliverance from colonial rule was achieved as a result of the military victory;

- questions related to the establishment of the people's power and to property in land were resolved in the process of the armed struggle, and these solutions were applied throughout the nation and consolidated after national independence was won.

While the armed struggle was raging, class battles unfolded over the above-mentioned problems. The feudal lords and the nascent bourgeoisie united in order to seize power in the liberated zones and take over control of the army. The question that had to be answered was: "Against whom and for what are we to fight?" In this battle the basic problems of social emancipation acquired a concrete content:

- At the stage of armed struggle new concepts of the emancipation of women arose and battle was given to the obscurantist customs and concepts of traditional society. From the very outset young people were given freedom of creative initiative.

- Culture, liberated in the course of the armed struggle, acquired a folk character and rose to a higher level. After victory over colonialism these gains were spread in their totality and basic content throughout the nation and were further developed.

- Imperialism's direct administrative domination over the economy was abolished immediately after the military victory. The basic means of production in agriculture, industry, transport, construction, commerce and banking, social insurance, education, health care, and the mass media became socialist property: state or cooperative.

As a result, an end was put to the domination of imperialist monopolies in our country; the local bourgeoisie has no political power and its economic positions have been significantly reduced.

From the moment national independence was achieved and after the transition to socialist construction began, an organization like the Liberation Front no longer met the requirements of the new stage. The vanguard of the proletariat, the party, had to be formed.

The Marxist-Leninist FRELIMO Party was proclaimed at the third FRELIMO congress in February 1977. Its formation was thus begun already during the war for national liberation as a result of the development of our struggle, the aggravation of the contradictions and confrontation between two lines in the Front and, in the final analysis, the triumph of the revolutionary line.

Speaking of this process in his report delivered on behalf of the CC to the party's third congress, the Chairman of FRELIMO and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique Samora Moises Machel noted that as the liberation struggle proceeded the Front was faced with fundamental problems that required speedy and concrete solutions. These were, notably, the character of power in the liberated territories, the army that we were building up, the essence of the relations of production (which were still to be formed), and the status and role of women and young people in the new society.

In the course of the class struggle the most conscious elements among the working people of Mozambique began to see that in order to defeat the foreign and local reactionaries there had to be unity, organization, clarity of ultimate aims and knowledge of scientific ideology. That brought the understanding that it was necessary to unite and organize the most conscious forces, who had devoted themselves to the cause of the working people, arm them with the scientific ideology of the proletariat, and form a party.

This task became all the more pressing with the attainment of national independence and the transfer of political power to the working class throughout the nation. The establishment of the new, people's democratic system led to an aggravation of the class struggle nationwide and, at the same time, to an intensification of imperialist aggression against our revolution. It therefore became more and more imperative to arm those who advocated the continuation of the revolutionary process with

the ability to lead that process effectively, repulse the maneuvers of the class enemy and carry the revolution to completion.

Bitter class battles made it vital that the proletariat, which acts in close unity with the peasantry — its main ally — and with progressive elements of other sections of the working people, should have a vanguard party guided by scientific ideology. The formation of the party was an imperative of revolutionary development. In the course of the liberation war we set about completing the national democratic revolution. The new stage — intensification of the class struggle and building of the foundations for the further transition to socialism — required a new weapon: the advanced party. "The party's creation," Machel said, "results from the clear understanding by the militants of FRELIMO and the most conscious elements of the Mozambican working classes that the construction of socialism is impossible without a revolutionary party which can lead the masses of the workers and peasantry and the other laboring sectors through every phase in the class struggle and through every economic, political and ideological battle."²

Power of the working people

The FRELIMO Party thus came into being. It was formed without any convulsions in the Front and was the logical and natural outcome of the development of the revolutionary process, of persevering ideological work. The masses support and help to strengthen their party. The party directs society's development. Its character and essence as the actual ruling force in our country are indisputable. The FRELIMO Party is by no means a group of leaders. It consists of people who have gone through the school of class, ideological and armed struggle, and its roots are among the working people. Its members are advanced workers, peasants and other working people.

The organs of people's power of the republic are the instrument exercising the power of the proletariat, of the working classes. The class composition of the people's assemblies mirrors the reality of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.³ Similarly, the composition of the courts embodies the power of the proletariat. Our organs of defense and security are the armed hand of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is mandatory for officers to be party members, communists. The people's militia and the vigilance groups, of which hundreds of thousands of working people are members, likewise epitomize the determination of the proletariat to defend its rule.

The people's character of our government is also seen in the close links of the masses with its organs and with the party. The organs of power and the party rely on the masses. The party's role of vanguard requires that it should constantly check its policies with the aspirations of the working people.

The building of socialism in Mozambique signifies priority for the eradication of economic backwardness, poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance, and clothing and housing shortages. We have therefore

proclaimed war on backwardness on all fronts.

In order to win this war we must — this is most important — consolidate the people's character of our power in the state apparatus, at industrial enterprises, in other economic and social organizations, and in the party itself. That is why we have declared an uncompromising and unflagging war on the attempts of the petty bourgeoisie to take over command posts, a war on bourgeois ideology, liberalism, leftism, corruption, lack of discipline, negligence, low labor productivity and irresponsibility. We have called this a political and organizational offensive.

At its plenary meeting in July 1980 the FRELIMO Party CC declared: "The offensive has been called forth by the need to step up the struggle against retrograde ideas and traditions, for the triumph of new views and practices. It is part and parcel of the class struggle, and in this context acquires the character of a permanently operating factor. It may be assessed as a scientific achievement of our people and party springing from a generalization of the extensive experience of struggle for national liberation in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

As early as February 1976 the eighth plenary meeting of the Central Committee, elected by the second FRELIMO congress, defined that a priority task was to destroy the colonial capitalist state apparatus and replace it with a new state apparatus. It was noted that our cadres, our party could not be reduced to a position of managers for capitalism. This also predetermined the outcome of the struggle for the economy's nationalization — it involved the entire nation — and ensured universal support for the FRELIMO program after the attainment of independence.

The experience acquired in the struggle for national liberation, fed by the invariable participation of the masses and reflecting their most cherished aspirations, is what ensures confidence in FRELIMO and the people's staunch support for all the measures undertaken by the party, states the resolution of the July 1980 CC plenary meeting. Accordingly, the political and organizational offensive is the decisive means for ensuring the triumph of socialism in our country.

The People's Republic of Mozambique is currently working on the tasks of the people's democratic revolution, which are, notably, the eradication of backwardness and the strengthening and development of the power of the proletariat. We see the present stage as a component part of the building of socialism. That this is not a "pre-stage" is corroborated by the experience of such construction in most of the socialist countries. This conclusion stems from the following propositions:

- the nature of power in the country is that it is the power of the proletariat exercised by the people's assemblies;

- the state apparatus is the instrument of the power of the proletariat;

- the economic and social transformations are of a socialist character. After the land was proclaimed

the property of the people's state, we began the socialization of agriculture by setting up state and cooperative enterprises. The "communal villages," based on socialist ownership, now embrace more than 10 per cent of the peasants;

— the basic means of production in industry, banking and other sectors are the property of the socialist state;

— 75 per cent of the economic activity in the nation is organized and directed on the basis of annual state plans;

— foreign trade has become a state monopoly and is oriented on the promotion of links with socialist countries. At present more than one-fifth of our trade is with these countries, some of which are the republic's main commercial partners. We have achieved this in less than five years — it will be recalled that on the eve of independence 95 per cent of the foreign trade was with Portugal, South Africa and the leading capitalist powers;

— health care, education, justice and the mass media have been socialized.

In the course of the next decade the entire make-up of Mozambique will be transformed and an end will be put to backwardness. Economic growth will make it possible to increase the national income four-fold. We shall build the foundations for the development of heavy industry, complete the socialization of the countryside, raise the productivity level of agriculture, and become exporters of foodstuffs. We shall wipe out illiteracy and raise the level of education.

Living force of Marxism-Leninism

In our view there are no "models" of national and social liberation or of the building of socialism. There is no "European" model of socialism, just as there is no "African" or "American" model.

Speaking of this in a report delivered at the fourth plenary meeting of the FRELIMO Party CC in August 1978, President Machel said that "FRELIMO's reconstitution into a Marxist-Leninist party, proclaimed at the Third Congress, was the natural result of the vital processes in the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. These were multifaceted, protracted processes characterized by an acute class struggle. We thereby wish to say that the movement's revolutionary ideology was forged in the course of each political battle and of the solution of each dilemma that confronted us.

"That is why for us Marxism-Leninism is not merely a book theory. As the struggle proceeded the people's interests grew more and more clear-cut, coming into conflict with the interests of the colonial exploiters and claimants to the role of national exploiters. It was in the course of the liberation struggle that we learned to draw lessons from our experience and sharpened ideology, the theoretical instruments of our struggle. That is why the creation of a Marxist-Leninist party in Mozambique is a revolutionary gain of our people.

"Marxism-Leninism," Machel said, "is a great tree that grew out of the suffering and struggle of peoples and was watered by the blood and sweat of

the working masses, a tree whose branches symbolize the lessons of our battles as well. Each ideological battle in the Front compelled us to look for solutions — very often new solutions because the problems themselves were new — that conformed to the interests and the common experience of the class struggle of the working people throughout the world. This fact bears out the universal truth and scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism. This fact shows that Marxism-Leninism is a science that is continuously developing in the process of revolutionary battles, that it is not a sclerotic-dogmatic catechism or a rounded-off set of ready-made recipes."

The universality of Marxism-Leninism is asserted in the specifics of the building of socialism in each country, of each national experience of concretely elaborating revolutionary theoretical principles and methods.

"We," Machel said, "therefore reject the idea that there can be an 'African' or a 'Mozambican' socialism. We firmly declare that there can only be one kind of socialism, namely, scientific socialism."⁴

With equal conviction we declare that the experience of each revolutionary process signifies much in its own right. This does not mean, however, that there are as many socialisms as there are experiences. There is only one socialism, but the methods and forms of building it may be different, depending on the concrete conditions in individual countries and even in one country. Lenin had pointed out that as more peoples took the road of socialist construction, more original solutions would be found (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162, Vol. 33, p. 481). Practice is an inexhaustible source enriching Marxist-Leninist theory. As Marx said, philosophy dies in practice in order to be reborn as theory bringing new practice to life.

Implemented in practice, socialism gathers strength — now on four continents. Our paramount task must be to defend and consolidate it. With the emergence of the first people's democracies in Africa, the enemy mobilized all his forces against them. The People's Republic of Mozambique was one of the main targets of imperialist aggression on the continent. Our enemy, imperialism, at once realized that with the victories of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola the boundary between independent Africa and the Africa still oppressed by colonialism and racism had become the boundary between two antagonistic paths of social development.

The changes in imperialism's tactics, the combination of overt aggression and hostile political and diplomatic actions pursue the aim of preventing the spread of people's democracy to other countries of the continent while continuing the assault on the countries that have taken that path. At the same time, this tactical maneuver, which confirms the enemy's aggressiveness, is evidence that the balance of forces in southern Africa favors the cause of independence, of national and social liberation. That explains why in that part of Africa, im-

perialism rejects peaceful coexistence and détente.

The fact that in Africa there are countries building socialism places the entire system of neo-colonialist imperialist domination in question, refutes the paternalistic assertions of the reactionaries that socialism is an anti-African phenomenon and, lastly, changes the balance of strength between the two world social systems. We believe that the rise and implementation of socialism in Africa are a qualitatively new stage of the revolutionary movement. Moreover, this allows demonstrating the new type of cooperation between developed and backward countries to the whole world once again, demystifying the notorious "North-South dialogue," and showing that mutually-beneficial cooperation in the true sense of the word and the eradication of backwardness become realistic precisely under socialism.

Our practice, the treaties of friendship and coop-

eration, the economic agreements, and concrete achievements demonstrate the real significance of economic cooperation. Between socialist and backward countries that have chosen to build socialism it is being promoted on the basis of mutual benefit, which signifies the ability to take the interests of each side into account in the common interest. This gives us the possibility of acting jointly in the front ranks of fighters for a new international economic order.

Such are some of our views on questions related to the theory and practice of the present-day liberation movement on the African continent.

1. *The African Communist*, No. 69, 1977, p. 116.
2. *People's Power in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea*, No. 18, 1977, p. 32.
3. This is dealt with in Sergio Vieira, "In Struggle for Progress," *WMR*, August 1979.
4. *Voz da Revolucao*, September 1978.

For a new international economic order

Maxime Gremetz
Political Bureau Member and CC Secretary,
French Communist Party

We are all agreed that the meeting opened today is of immense significance. It is evidence of the successes of the struggle going on in the world against imperialism, against the crisis, for freedom, human dignity, national sovereignty, justice and socialism.

The fact that this conference is attended by representatives of a very large number of parties and movements in different parts of the world is, in our view, an indication of the deep coincidence of interests and actions of the revolutionary forces — participants in our epoch's mighty movement for national and social liberation, for the emancipation of humankind.

On the strength of the experience of the French Communist Party, which I have the honor of representing here, and the experience of the working class and all working people of France, I would like to state my view of various aspects of the questions on the agenda of our conference.

In France a broad popular movement continues to unfold for freedom, national independence and democracy. As you know, France is also one of the countries from which the capitalist corporations plundered colonies and fostered imperialist expansion. Today the French working people are finding themselves the victims of imperialism's structural crisis and the consequences of the strategy of relocating multinational corporations in other countries, a strategy that spells out mass unemployment, an "austerity" policy and socio-economic regress.

The French Communist Party is heading the

struggle for radical changes, for socialism and democracy. It is its duty and honor to be the tireless spokesman of the internationalist solidarity of the working class and people of France with all who are fighting colonialism and imperialist exploitation, for a new life.

On the basis of the experience of the class struggle in France and proceeding from all our assessments of the changes in the alignment of forces in the world, I should like to bring some considerations to your attention. These concern one of the key demands of our epoch, a demand stemming from the ongoing struggle, namely, the demand for more equitable, harmonious and democratic relations between states and peoples, in other words, the demand for a new international political and economic order.

International context

A quick glance at the political changes of the past few decades will show that the world is in movement, that the peoples are advancing. The successes of the world's progressive forces are determining the main trend in the acute class struggle that is giving the international situation a complex, multi-form character.

Socialism is under construction on four continents. In addition to having general basic features, it embodies the extensive and varied experience of social changes. Socialist societies are increasingly influencing the whole of international life, despite

the inevitable problems of their development and, sometimes, shortcomings and errors.

The struggle of African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries for national and social liberation is a historical development of major proportions. Imperialism's colonial system has collapsed. The peoples of these regions are resolutely upholding their sovereignty and dignity, and seeking justice and social progress.

In many industrial capitalist countries the working class and all other working people are engaged in a visibly tense social and political struggle. In some nations the need for fundamental changes, for democracy and socialism is winning wide recognition.

Imperialism is, of course, going to all lengths to counter this underlying tendency, which is helping to consolidate peace and peaceful coexistence, achieve equality among nations, and bring the peoples ever more actively into all areas of society's life. It is increasingly interfering in the affairs of nations and stepping up its assaults on democracy and human rights; it is constantly whipping up the arms race and perfecting its military machine. It is speeding the relocation of the big multinational corporations in other countries and using its financial power to perpetuate the system of domination and plunder.

However, imperialism is no longer in a position to act as it likes. It is unable to slow down the broad movement for national and social liberation, for the emancipation of humankind. To state this does not mean seeing the present situation in a rosy light or underrating the dangers implicit in imperialist policy. All it signifies is a realistic understanding of the balance of strength in the world and faith in the struggle of the peoples, who, with the new alignment of forces as their prop, are compelling and will continue to compel imperialism to retreat.

A worldwide movement

In the present global struggle the question at stake is that of a transition from the old to the new, from a world of oppression to a world of freedom, from capitalism to socialism. The demand for a new world order reflecting the changes in the balance of strength in favor of peace and socialism is being made in precisely this general context of the international class struggle. African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean nations are pressing for such an order. Oppressed yesterday, they are now politically sovereign and determined to be masters of their own destinies. This striving for a new order is seen in the stand of the Group of 77 developing UN member-states; it is seen in the developments in countries building a socialist society and in the social and political struggle of the working class, of all the popular forces, in the capitalist world against exploitation, against the effects of the crisis of the imperialist system, for structural reforms in all areas, for democracy and socialism.

The movement for a new order has acquired a global dimension. It stems from the struggle going on to achieve equality, justice and social progress,

and build a new life. All these actions are merging because it is a question chiefly of smashing the system of imperialist domination and exploitation, compelling the advocates of force to retreat, and putting an end to violence in the relations among nations, and because capitalist enslavement and plunder are giving way to relations among people and among nations based on equality and democracy.

Socialism's emergence placed on the agenda the question of fundamentally refashioning the order that imperialism had foisted upon the world. In this sense, too, the October Revolution accomplished a breakthrough, which is widening with the growth of the number of countries determined to build socialism.

As a result of the building of socialist societies the principles of equality and socio-economic emancipation are to be seen more and more distinctly in the content of the concept of national existence. In contrast to the prevailing relations founded on violence and war, the demand for relations of peaceful coexistence of nations regardless of their strength, size and socio-political orientation has asserted itself step by step. The legitimacy of the demand of dependent nations and colonies for national sovereignty has been recognized. Here, too, a major role was played by the support of the socialist states for the liberation struggle. To this it should be added that these states initiated the promotion of economic, trade, scientific, technical and inter-state relations free of discrimination and interference and based on cooperation, mutual benefit and respect for sovereignty. In the long run, this will clear the way to a new political and economic order.

The demand for this order received a fresh impetus by the successful struggle for political and social liberation in African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries. The nations that have won independence are declaring that they want equality, social progress and justice. Questions related to the restructuring of international political and economic relations are in the focus of the demands put forward, in particular, by the non-aligned movement. The establishment of a new order as an immediate aim of struggle and negotiations was defined at the 1973 conference of non-aligned nations in Algiers and then at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the UN General Assembly.

The peoples of African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries are striving to strengthen their economic independence and thereby consolidate their political sovereignty. They want to be free to use their manpower and material resources, chiefly raw materials, and have the means for ending hunger, undernourishment, illiteracy, disease and all the other consequences of underdevelopment that continue to cause immense hardships in large areas of the world. The peoples do not want to be the victims of imperialism and its crisis, demand global, all-embracing talks on a restructuring of international economic, fiscal, monetary and commercial relations, and urge close, all-sided, equitable cooperation among countries.

The striving of these countries for sovereignty, economic development and social liberation is supported by the socialist states. It fuses with the struggle of the working class and all other working people of industrial capitalist countries. *Far from having any deep-going contradictions, there is a broad coincidence of views between these forces when their actions are directed against imperialism.* This is seen distinctly in the class collisions in, for instance, France. The demand for a new international order is getting a particularly wide response among the working people today when France and other capitalist countries are in the grip of a debilitating crisis.

The deep crisis of the system

This crisis grows on the soil of each country: it is, above all, a national crisis but it has international hallmarks and an international dimension. It is not merely an episode generated by a specific situation. It is a crisis of politics, economics, finance, culture and morals. It is drawn-out and qualitatively new, for it affects the system of monopoly accumulation and profits and is shaking the structure of imperialist exploitation.

For the working class and all other working people of France the crisis is bringing unemployment and a rising cost of living; it signifies the collapse of the economy's production apparatus, a threat to freedoms and democracy, a cutback in the satisfaction of social requirements, humiliated national dignity, subjection and dependence. In France, which has a large economic potential, the exponents of capitalism, who hold the reins of power, are pursuing a policy of austerity and social regress. Today, more than 18 million people do not have the necessary minimum nourishment, clothes, housing, furniture; they have practically no possibility for relaxation; their children cannot receive an elementary education and learn a trade.

For the sake of profits big capital is pursuing a strategy of decline. France is being increasingly integrated politically, economically and financially with the EEC, in which the tune is called by Bonn. The French government is refusing to pursue an independent policy, thereby denying our country the role that it could play on the world scene in the interests of peace, justice and international cooperation.

Needless to say, the conflicts between the interests of groups of countries, the weight of French public opinion, our people's commitment to independence, peace and international solidarity, and the actions taken by the French Communist Party are in some cases compelling the government of big capital to dissociate itself from its partners and play a double game. But this cannot hide the principal line of its policy, namely, that of aligning itself with the FRG and faithfully serving the Carter administration.

France is growing more and more dependent on the principal imperialist states economically, commercially, financially and technologically. For

instance, between January and July 1980 the deficit in its trade with the USA, the FRG and Japan amounted to 28.5 billion francs, which is equal to the trade deficit for the whole of 1979. On the other hand, France's trade with socialist countries falls short of the existing potential and mutual interests. Its trade with Asian, African, Latin American and Caribbean countries remains unstable and inequitable.

Instead of helping to establish a new world order conforming to the needs of nations, France is orienting itself on the interests of the multinational corporations, which have stepped beyond national frontiers, seek to enlarge their base for exploitation, and use state funds to back up their strategy of infiltrating other countries. While squandering France's material and manpower resources, these monopolies are seeking a tighter rein on the wealth of African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean nations.

Naturally, imperialism's spokesmen would like to impute the blame for the crisis to these nations, which want to have the free disposal of their raw material and energy resources and base their external economic links on cooperation and mutual benefit. Familiar with capitalist plunder and waste from their own experience, the working class and other sections of the people of France are acting against those who have generated the crisis, those who champion a policy and a socio-economic system of exploitation.

Imperialism resists and adjusts

In an effort to perpetuate the structure of plunder and oppression, imperialism is stepping up its resistance in the face of the crisis that has hit its foundations and enveloped the world in social and political struggle. In the economic sphere it is relocating monopolies in other countries. In the political sphere it is using all the means at its disposal, and more and more frequently calling upon the services of social democracy. Lastly, it is conducting an ideological war in the true sense of the word.

In order to retrieve what it has lost, imperialism is not shrinking from starting wars. This is exemplified, for instance, by the war of aggression of the U.S. ruling circles against Vietnam and by the military expeditions of French imperialism in Africa. In the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean the imperialists are concentrating new forces of intervention and reorganizing their network of military bases.

By escalating the arms race throughout the world, imperialism is seriously imperilling peace and the destinies of humankind. It is enlarging its war arsenal in an effort to achieve military superiority and have a free hand to use force, and is cold-bloodedly planning the deployment of new nuclear missiles in the heart of Europe.

Despite the rivalry between them, that is time and again aggravated by the crisis, the leading imperialist powers are increasingly inclined to take a common stand. To counter the pressure of the peoples, they are coordinating their strategy in the

Trilateral Commission and in NATO, where Washington plays first fiddle.

However, the demand for a new order has now acquired such impetus in the world that the imperialist rulers can no longer ignore it. They have no choice but to go to negotiations on a restructuring of international relations; but they are doing all they can to prevent the adoption of concrete decisions.

Imperialism's spokesmen are now eager to use the idea of a new order for their own purposes, disguising the policy of economic austerity, social regress and unemployment with verbiage about solidarity, about fighting hunger and poverty in the world. When they speak of restructuring international economic relations, they in fact seek to refurbish the foundations of the system of exploitation and enable the multinationals to step up their penetration of African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries. They peddle the idea that there are fundamental distinctions between the interests of the peoples of these countries and those of the working people of developed capitalist states. They want the workers, the working people of different countries to become rivals on the international scene. They are making the charge that the socialist countries are responsible for the continued underdevelopment of large areas of the world and are trying to profit by the growing differentiation between the developing nations.

While seeking to gain from the idea of a new order, the governments of the imperialist powers obstruct the least headway toward the establishment of that order. With their intensifying race for armaments and their continued policy of bloc-making they are hindering the democratization of international relations, using the convulsions of the monetary and fiscal system for their own mercenary interests, and planning to go on plundering raw material and energy resources. They are threatening the countries upholding independence and social progress and preventing international negotiations from producing positive results. They are turning the policy of cooperation into a means of perpetuating the prevailing unjust and inequitable international division of labor and reinforcing neo-colonialist relations (an example being the relations set up by the EEC with some 60 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific within the framework of the Lome convention). While 50 million people die annually of starvation and 800 million are on the verge of total physical exhaustion, the governments of the imperialist powers are using food as a weapon of political pressure to keep many nations in a state of dependence.

The attitude of social democracy

For its policy of adjustment to the crisis and relocating multinational corporations in other countries imperialism is finding go-betweens among the social-democratic parties and in the Socialist International. Social democracy preaches and pursues a policy of austerity. Acting allegedly in the name of solidarity, it is trying to clear the way for class

collaboration in each country and on a world scale, and is inclined toward confrontation with the aspirations of peoples for national and social liberation; in this it is prepared to act hand in glove with Washington.

The disparity between action and ideological talk is seen in the stance taken by Willy Brandt, President of the Socialist International, in the International Commission on Cooperation and Development set up on the initiative of Robert MacNamara, President of the World Bank. Although Brandt condemns the arms race, he does nothing to prevent the NATO countries from increasing their military potential in Europe and other regions of the world. He suggests advancing toward the establishment of new international economic relations by discussions and talks, and in the meantime at the conference sponsored by the Social Democratic Party of Germany in Vienna, when the World Energy Conference was in session, Helmut Schmidt holds the threat of war over the heads of the developing oil-producing nations. Brandt says that more international assistance is needed to end underdevelopment and hunger in the world, but does not name who is responsible for this situation, namely, the imperialists, and desists from mentioning the principal causes of these calamities: plunder by the multinational corporations and the local exploiters in countries ruled by capitalism. He calls for "solidarity" among nations only in order to blunt the class actions that are throughout the world directed against the crisis-ridden imperialist system. The measures he proposes for restructuring economic, fiscal and trade relations boil down to an attempt to modernize the prevailing international division of labor, which would continue to be subordinated to the policy of letting the big industrial and finance monopolies amass profits without hindrance.

Instead of siding with the embattled peoples, with the revolutionary forces actively pressing for radical changes, social democracy is helping to preserve the shaken structure of imperialism. This is corroborated by the experience of the French working class and people as a whole: instead of acting jointly with those who are trying to find a way out of the crisis by means of radical political and socio-economic changes, the Socialist Party has taken the side of the right.

All its efforts notwithstanding, imperialism is unable to slacken the deep-going, protracted structural crisis that has hit its system of domination. Like underdevelopment, the crisis is seen less and less as something fatal. It is becoming increasingly apparent who bears the responsibility, namely, the capitalist associations of exploiters, the system founded on plunder, conquest, robbery and violence. The gulf between the trends and potentialities of our epoch on the one hand, and the catastrophic consequences that imperialism's crisis is bringing the peoples on the other, are seen more distinctly with each passing day.

The demand for a new international political and economic order is thus a key issue of the struggle of the working class, of peoples and nations. For that

very reason this struggle has a class content and a clear-cut anti-imperialist orientation. It is a struggle for the ideals of freedom, for dignity, justice, equality, democracy and social progress.

Independence and sovereignty

The demand for a new world order presupposes the independence and sovereignty of nations. Its establishment requires the recognition that every country has the right to decide its own destiny without outside interference and that there must be the means to ensure security and independence.

The new order signifies the abolition of the system of racial and colonial oppression, recognition that each people has the legitimate right to economic independence, to use all its national resources, particularly raw materials and energy, as it sees fit, and to promote relations of multilateral cooperation freely, without pressure or interference from outside and on the basis of mutual benefit. The new order presupposes an end to neo-colonialist relations based on "positions of strength" and inequality, and the curtailment of the influence of the multinational corporations over the destiny of peoples, over the life of nations, and over trade and economic links in the world.

Peace, disarmament, security

There is a close, almost organic link between the struggle for a new order and the struggle for peace, disarmament and security. The escalation of the arms race wanted by imperialism would exhaust the resources vital for development, for social advancement, and is a threat to the peoples, to the future of humankind, because the tendency to resort to violence is inherent in imperialism.

Indeed, imperialism is using its means of aggression and interference against countries bent on promoting more just, equitable and democratic social relations, especially against countries advancing toward socialism.

The threat to peace affects all peoples. Their interests merge in actions aimed at strengthening coexistence among states, at preventing imperialism from having recourse to war. That is why it is imperative to continue and extend the struggle to advance along the path to a qualitative and quantitative reduction of armaments and thereby open up concrete prospects for disarmament. That is why it is important that in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and all other regions of the world, efforts are made to establish relations of coexistence, cooperation and peace, to ensure the conclusion of agreements guaranteeing non-interference and collective security. That is why it is imperative that every people should have the sovereign right to decide on the means of defending itself against aggression and imperialism's attempts at destabilization. Lastly, it is important to combine the efforts to achieve disarmament with the efforts to eradicate the consequences of underdevelopment in the world.

In this connection, when the special session of the UN General Assembly was holding its sittings

in New York in May 1978, the French Communist Party proposed the formation of a special UN fund, formed out of cutbacks on armament spending to combat hunger in the world.

Democratization of international life

Progress toward a new order requires the most profound democratization of international life. State-to-state relations must be based on equality, free discussion and mutual benefit. Moreover, international organizations, the UN in particular, must be overhauled.

Intimidation and confrontation must give way to discussion and negotiation. It is urgent that all-embracing global talks on the vital issues of cooperation and development should begin in the UN framework as early as 1981. For our part, we are in agreement with the demands formulated by the non-aligned movement and the Group of 77. The leading imperialist states are doggedly seeking a postponement of these talks, as was again seen in September 1980 at the UN special session on development.

Any headway toward more stable, equitable and democratic relations between countries, and any, even a limited step, if it opens the way to long-term solutions of mutual benefit, will help — in the confrontation with imperialism — to speed the building of a new economic and political order.

Concrete steps are necessary

Priority extraordinary measures to broaden the struggle to extirpate hunger and all consequences of underdevelopment on our planet must be worked out. It is intolerable that there should be a situation where hundreds of thousands of men, women and children are falling victim to hunger, undernourishment, disease and other consequences of underdevelopment in our epoch of rapid scientific and technological progress. It cannot be allowed that this year, too, tens of millions of people, mostly children, should die of starvation.

The progress that has been achieved by socialist countries is evidence that the calamities hitting more than 1 billion people, particularly in Africa and Asia, are the result of the social system of exploitation, of capitalism. The staggering profits made by the multinationals in developing countries illustrate the dimensions of imperialist plunder.

The urgency and dramatic growth of problems of hunger and underdevelopment demand the immediate mobilization of the entire international community for the solution of these problems and for the continued struggle to uproot the evil, i.e., the system of imperialist domination. This is precisely the aim of the proposals made by Fidel Castro on behalf of the non-aligned nations in October 1979 at the 34th UN General Assembly. We support, among other things, the idea of setting up a fund of \$300 billion to fight underdevelopment.

As regards raw material and energy resources, it is our view that mutually acceptable solutions should be sought through cooperation, not through confrontation. We believe that the proposals ad-

vanced on these problems by the non-aligned nations and the Group of 77 provide the basis for a useful discussion and that their demands should be taken into consideration. Stable, long-term interstate agreements providing for the supply of goods needed by consumer nations and meeting the aspirations of producer nations for industrialization and the acquisition of equipment can become an important factor of the development of a sound foundation of cooperation in this sphere. Such is one of the principles on whose basis it would be possible to promote equitable and all-sided industrial cooperation. It would allow tapping all the national potentialities of each signatory, increase employment and improve labor skills. Such cooperation could, especially in African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries, help to build the foundation of national industry oriented on the satisfaction of the domestic market and not on support for the multinational corporations as is the policy of various imperialist states. Further, the crisis of imperialism is placing on the agenda the question of a fundamental restructuring of the in-

ternational monetary and fiscal system.

In the struggle for a new world order a significant role can be played by an expansion of scientific and technological cooperation. This means placing scientific and technological progress in the service of humankind. We are convinced that the results that can be yielded by close and broad cooperation in this area and, to an even larger extent, by cooperation in the sphere of culture are an inalienable factor of the promotion of mutual understanding and friendship between nations.

These are some of the ideas, which, on behalf of the French Communist Party, I should like to suggest to the participants in the conference. From the aforesaid it follows that ultimately the revolutionary struggle, conducted under diverse conditions and sometimes in different forms, is linked to the surmounting of imperialism and the crisis generated by it and leads to the establishment of a new international order, whose basic principles may be expressed with the words: peace, independence, cooperation, justice, democracy and socialism.

USSR: the standard-bearer of our epoch

Alois Indra
CPCz CC Presidium member,
Chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia

The 26th Congress of the CPSU is to open within a few weeks. It is no exaggeration to say that its outcome is awaited with much interest all over the world. The congress of Lenin's party, the leading political force of the world's first socialist country, is to sum up the results of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state over the past five years, discuss the present problems facing Soviet society, and determine the further tasks in building communism. We are sure that because of the CPSU's vast experience and its creative attitude to revolutionary theory many ideas will be expressed at the congress which will also be valuable for the fraternal parties. We are also sure that its decisions will be a source of inspiration for the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world. There is no doubt that the congress will provide fresh evidence of the unswerving will of the CPSU and the Soviet Union to strengthen peace.

It is quite natural that the Soviet communists' forum attracts the attention of all mankind. It is the voice of the most advanced society, whose foundations were laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in the epoch of the revolutionary reconstruction of the world, the epoch of transition to socialism and communism. The "ten days that shook the world" marked the beginning of the history of a new type of civilization, a new way

of social progress, along which hundreds of millions of people are now advancing, and along which the whole of mankind is destined to advance as well.

Gustav Husak says: "The Soviet working class has provided the international working-class movement with a model of harmonizing class interests that are international by their very nature with the requirements of the all-round progressive development of nations."¹ *The establishment and defense of the political power of the working class and its allies on one-sixth of the globe and the construction of a socialist society have had a definitive influence on the whole course of social progress in the world.* At the same time, attitude to these epochal developments is the main criterion which helps to assess what is progressive and what is reactionary, what promotes and what hinders the law-governed social movement. No one is entitled to suspect us, who take this attitude, of uncritical one-sidedness, subjectivism or dogmatism. The practice of socialist and communist construction in the USSR has borne out the truth and vitality of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, while the Soviet reality itself provides the most telling answer to all who doubt. Does not the overthrow of the class power of the bourgeoisie and the take-over of political power by the working class amount to progress

in terms of history? Is it not progressive that a revolutionary people, led by the Bolsheviks, has safeguarded that power and has demonstrated their capacity for active historical creativity by building socialism?

The triumph of the power of the working class and its allies signified a radical turn in class terms. It did not entail a shift of power within the circle of those who held it, not a substitution of one set of rule and oppressors for another. For the first time it proved in practice that the power of capital is not established once and for all, that it is not everlasting or immutable, and that the capitalist society is not in any sense the "crowning achievement" of civilization. The working class took power to fulfil its progressive historical mission — the complete emancipation of all the working people. An understanding of the humane substance of that mission warrants the following conclusion: the meaning and purpose of the new political power, of the socialist state did not consist exclusively in suppressing its class opponents. To attain the goal of emancipating the working people, the new state acted, even in the most arduous circumstances, above all as the organizer of the economic, social and cultural development of society. In this way, the socialist state realized the vital aspirations of the people and directly implemented their will. The power of the new system lies in the creative support of the masses, and is reinforced by the ever broader involvement of the working people in the administration of the affairs of society and the state. The word "democracy" has acquired its true meaning — the power of the people — only under socialism. The Soviet Union's development has confirmed that there is no socialism without democracy, and there is no true democracy without socialism.

Even as the new society was taking shape, the forward-looking people of many countries duly appreciated the greatness of the progressive historical changes. Here is, for instance, what Bohumir Smeral, a founding member of the CPCz, wrote in the introduction to his book *The Truth About Soviet Russia*: "I have returned from another world. I have returned a different man. What is happening in Russia is tremendous, breath-taking, noble, rational, necessary, inexorable. A new world is being born!"²

Those who deny the progressive importance of socialist construction and try to play down the role of the Great October Revolution in world history and the USSR's impact on social progress, are inclined to ignore the realities or to present them in a distorted light. Some resort to pseudo-scientific arguments, others take an open stand for the capitalist system, and still others insist on their "right to criticize." The communists do not object to critical judgments, but they insist on a thorough study of the substance of all phenomena. In seeking to develop the revolutionary theory, we emphasize the need for testing it in practice, without which it is impossible to comprehend incontestable historical

reality, or to give incontestable answers to many key questions.

Why did the Bolsheviks succeed in winning and holding power in a relatively under-industrialized country, and building socialism in a capitalist encirclement? How is it that the people, led by the Bolsheviks, who were but a drop in the ocean of the masses (see V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 304), succeeded in withstanding the attacks of internal counter-revolution and the intervention by 14 capitalist states? How did that people succeed, in incredibly difficult conditions, in solving the complicated tasks of socialist industrialization and of going over to large-scale collective farming? Bourgeois ideologists have always failed to answer these questions. They can be fully answered only by taking into account the Soviet communists' fidelity to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine, their knowledge and consideration of the uniformities of historical development, the ideological maturity and organizational capacity of the members of Lenin's party, their ability to work in the masses, and the unity of the party and the people. One should not, of course, forget the solidarity with the Soviet Union displayed by the international working class and all the progressive people in the world, who realize that socialism is paving the way for progress, and who see its accomplishments as the prototype of their own future.

The Soviet socialist society has scored considerable successes in every sphere of life, and has put them at the service of progress. Take the development of science. Today, one scientist in four in the world is a Soviet citizen. But the main thing is that the development of science and technology in the USSR fully meets the requirements for tackling the current and the long-term tasks facing the people, serves the interests of the socialist society and the development of every sector of the national economy, and so the raising of the Soviet people's material and spiritual standards. It is a noteworthy fact that it was the Soviet Union which first came to use atomic energy for the purposes of construction. The world was amazed to learn of the USSR's launching of the first artificial satellite of the Earth, and to see a citizen of the Soviet Union blaze the trail into the universe. Soviet science and technology have been making an invaluable contribution to the development of the socialist-community countries, and to the strengthening of peace. We are proud of the fact that the USSR's selfless assistance enabled relatively small Czechoslovakia to become the third country to send its citizen into outer space.

The progressive nature of the socialist society is clearly manifested in the Soviet people's way of life, in their attitude to the needs of the country, in their collectivism, the basis for which is created through a new, socialist organization of socialized labor, which is a factor of sustained social progress under socialism, a factor which is crucial to the historical destinies of the whole people. It is this new organization of labor, as the USSR's example shows, that is the basic condition of success in socialist construction. An objective element of this

organization of labor is the replacement of indentured work, work through coercion, by work for oneself, for the benefit of the whole of society, and this helps to develop in man a new attitude to work. The Soviet Union's experience teaches us that this process can develop correctly only if the factor of the transformation of social consciousness is taken into account. It is necessary to help the working people under socialism to gain a full sense of being co-owners of the social wealth, instead of being wage workers, as they are in the capitalist society. Only then can they fully "display their abilities, develop the capacities and reveal those talents, so abundant among the people whom capitalism crushed, suppressed and strangled in thousands and millions" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 404).

We know that the CPSU has been tackling this task by directly involving the working people themselves in the actual management of production and planning, and by carrying on large-scale political-education work among the masses. This broad approach to the problem helps to gain a clearer understanding of the fact that highly efficient labor is the only condition for well-being under socialism. A realization of this objective truth promotes, first, the all-round development of individual interests and the potentialities of each individual, and second, results in an organic conjunction of individual and social purposes, which is objectively based on social property and is, for that reason, inconceivable under capitalism. That is precisely the starting point for the way leading to the realm of genuine freedom, which actually begins only where labor that is "determined by necessity and mundane considerations ceases,"³ where labor becomes a prime human need.

Soviet society is, in effect, advancing toward that goal. Everyone knows of the revolutionary achievements of mature socialism, which can be summed up in the concept of "social certainty:" the right to work which takes into account individual interests; free education at every level; social security in the event of illness or upon the attainment of old age; the development of culture and its accessibility to broad masses of people. The Constitution of the USSR, adopted three years ago, ushered in a qualitatively new stage of socialist democracy. Characterizing the country's current development, Leonid Brezhnev said: "We have created a society free from the power of the monopoly oligarchy, free from fear of crises and unemployment, and free from social calamities. We have created a society of equal men in the broadest sense of the word, who know no class, property, racial or other similar privileges, a society which not only declares human rights, but also ensures the possibility of their use in practice. We have created a society that is stable, dynamic and united."

The reasons for the USSR's victories in the Great Patriotic War can be understood only if one considers the great organizational effort of the CPSU, the progressive substance of the political power of the working class and its allies, the Soviet people's

consciousness, its profound socialist patriotism and internationalism, and the personal courage of the Soviet people. That war was a grave test for the Soviet Union. But it did not merely stand the test. It made the decisive contribution to the rout of the fascist war machine. The Soviet people's heroism in the fight against the nazis had a tremendous moral and political influence on the peoples of Europe and the whole world, inspiring the peoples of the countries under nazi occupation to vigorous liberation struggle. For the working people and for other progressive and democratic circles, the USSR became the symbol of their liberation from nazi oppression. As a result, the positions of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism were heavily undermined.

The victory over Hitler fascism had a great impact on historical development. Out of the incredible suffering, sacrifice and heroism by millions in the war period was born a new view of the world, of its values and of the tasks for the present and the future. There was a growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. And it is quite natural that after the war the working people took power into their own hands in a number of countries and got down to building a socialist society.

Of course, the peoples of these countries were inspired by the Soviet example, and the Soviet Army's liberation mission helped to create favorable conditions for putting through socialist transformations. Apart from that — and this needs to be emphasized, considering the views of the bourgeois analysis of history — these revolutionary transformations were carried out exclusively by the working class and the rest of the people in each country. Their struggle was guided by parties of a new type, which in the highly diverse conditions applied the fundamental principles of Lenin's revolutionary doctrine. There was no question either of "export" or "import" of revolution, but of a timely and profound understanding of the concrete revolutionary situation, and the use of all the objective and subjective factors of revolution, a fact which, in particular, is well exemplified by Czechoslovakia. The changes that have taken place in the world since the second half of the 1940s provide one more confirmation of the uniformities of social development and evidence that as a social system capitalism is exiting from the arena of history.

In the postwar conditions, the right of nations to self-determination assumed fresh proportions and was invested with a much broader meaning as compared with the past. It is no longer confined to the right to national freedom and state sovereignty, but also includes each people's right to choose its own social system. The very existence of the USSR, its international authority and solidarity understandably serve as support for countries taking the socialist road and hamper imperialism in its attempts to intrude into their internal affairs. After all, the reactionary circles have not reconciled themselves with the loss of their positions, and they have done their utmost to hinder the creative efforts of the People's Democracies.

The emergence of the world socialist community is the most noteworthy achievement of social progress after the Great October Revolution, and also the crucial factor in mankind's continued advance. Its development, the growing strength of its member-countries, and the enhancement of the beneficial influence of their foreign policy, those are now the factors that add up to the main line of mankind's social progress. The balance of class forces in the world has changed against imperialism. The socialist states are not mere "observers" of world development and exert an ever more active influence on it. The great family of countries in the socialist community has created a totally new type of international relations based on the principles of socialist internationalism and presenting the prototype of the future world. Common ideas and goals help to unfold fraternal cooperation in every sphere, with the observance of the principles of state independence, complete equality and non-interference in internal affairs. Bilateral and multi-lateral economic relations within the CMEA framework have been growing in scale and acquiring a new quality. The socialist-community countries' military alliance is a guarantee of international security and serves the interests of peace and the defense of revolutionary gains.

The Soviet Union had an exceptionally great role to play in the liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which threw off the colonial yoke, and this brought about a radical change in the political map of the world. The rise of the national-liberation struggle was not a spontaneous process. True, the ideologists of colonialism assert that it was the result of the metropolitan countries' "enlightening and civilizing mission," but it is well known that nowhere did the colonialists voluntarily retreat or give up an inch of the territory they had captured. On the contrary, they resorted to the dirtiest methods to maintain their power, bribing corrupt politicians and rulers, inciting hostility among peoples and tribes, and using inhuman and barbarous methods, including brutal and protracted wars. Their "civilizing mission" spells out as ruthless plunder, trampling on human dignity, starvation, physical suffering and death for millions.

Many of the liberated countries have taken the non-capitalist way of development, and some of them have started to build socialism. This process cannot be reversed either by the attempts on the part of the metropolitan countries to restore their lost economic positions — which means their political influence — or by their support of discredited racist regimes, like the South African, or fascist-type military dictatorships. The flames of the national, democratic and revolutionary consciousness are blazing brightly, and no one will be able to extinguish them. The peoples of the former colonies or states where the servitors of imperialism are still in power will carry their struggle for national, political and economic independence to victory and inscribe new and brilliant pages in the history of social progress.

Colonial domination has left a legacy of many

complicated problems whose solution will require tremendous efforts and much time. The struggle for progressive transformations which lies ahead is exceptionally hard, and in the course of it the most unexpected twists and turns are possible, and temporary defeats are not excluded either. The Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries provide an example of social progress for all the peoples standing up for their independence — and that is an indisputable fact. What is more, *the fighters for freedom can fully rely on the selfless friendship and concrete solidarity of the USSR and the other socialist-community countries.*

The international working-class movement is one of the basic factors of social progress. Communist and workers' parties of a new type emerged under the influence of the October Revolution. Creatively assimilating the experience of the Soviet communists, they were seasoned and won the working people's confidence in hard-fought class battles. The dedication the communists displayed in the heroic fight against fascism showed that they are true patriots and internationalists.

The communist parties now have the vanguard role in the struggle carried on by the working people in the capitalist countries for social emancipation. *The existence of the USSR and the socialist community and the example they set facilitate the historical revolutionary mission of the working class, although some tend to underestimate this influence.*

The apologists of capitalism now and again claim that the economic and social rights which the working people have won in bitter struggles are merits of the bourgeois society. But one must clearly understand that everything that the ruling bourgeoisie has done has been designed to maintain its political power and economic positions. Fearful of a revolutionary explosion, capital makes concessions and maneuvers. At the same time, it directs against the working people diverse weapons: anti-communism and the bogey of a "Soviet threat," the game of political and economic democracy, the juggling of "human rights," the services of reformism, unscrupulous intervention in the internal affairs of states where the communist parties strengthen their positions, gross pressures and brutal violence.

Capitalism has many potentialities to prolong its existence. That is why an over-simplified assessment of current development harms the cause of progress. But that does not, of course, contradict the fundamental proposition of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine which says that the old system is historically doomed. What sort of future can it hold out for the people? There is no need once again to give a detailed account of the dark sides of the capitalist society: the growing unemployment and inflation, the stepped-up arms race, the brutal police repression against law-abiding demonstrators, racist acts, terrorism, corrupt politicians and abuse of power, the growth of crime and drug addiction — all these are well known. The capitalist system is in the grip of all-pervasive crisis — economic, political and

moral. Even an objectively progressive phenomenon like the development of science and technology is used by capitalism to harm mankind and above all to serve the military-industrial complex and to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

The working class and all the other working people can find a way out of the impasse, into which the power of capital has brought them, only by building socialism. They have before them the convincing example of the USSR and the other socialist-community countries. But the building of socialism has nothing in common with some mechanical imitation or borrowing of various ready-made "models." Each country has its specific features, its economic, national and cultural peculiarities, while the balance of class forces today is fundamentally different from that of some 60 or 40 years ago. It would be an unforgivable mistake to ignore these specific features. Recalling what Lenin said (see, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 207-209, Vol. 28, pp. 255-256, Vol. 29, pp. 158-159, et al.) it is worthwhile to re-emphasize the fact that each country makes its own contribution to the treasury of the revolutionary doctrine in terms of experience.

However, we take the view, on the strength of past and present experience, that when taking account of these specific features it is not right to underestimate the universally valid uniformities of the socialist revolution. This means above all the winning of political power and its defense. Nor can the struggle for progress be successful anywhere without the allies of the working class, without the involvement of broad masses of people in the struggle, and without an effort to raise the level of their consciousness. "As man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 524). The accuracy of this idea of Lenin's has been confirmed by the historical experience of the international working class, which is the vanguard in the struggle of broad masses of people for peace, national independence, social progress and socialism.

Lasting world peace is the objective condition and imperative need for mankind's continued progress. Imperialist wars have always clashed with the interests of social progress. They are carried on for spheres of influence, for the interests of individual imperialist powers or their coalitions, as the stronger powers seek to impose their will on the weaker. These wars are also started in an effort to suppress the national-liberation struggle and the revolutionary movement. Imperialist wars have always been a calamity for the masses of people, while military preparations are carried on above all at the expense of the working people and their social needs.

With the continued stockpiling of mass destruction weapons, the most important thing is to preserve peace, to maintain détente and to deepen it in every way, to halt the arms race, which falls as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the nations, and to release mankind from the fear of war. Such is the

categorical imperative of our day, such is the most vital task facing all realistically-minded politicians who are aware of the realities of our day, all the parliaments, political parties, all social and progressive movements, all religious organizations and all people of good will.

We regard the idea of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, which Lenin formulated and substantiated, as one of the conditions for worldwide social progress, as the insistent need for all-round recognition of the existing realities as the only reasonable alternative for the present and future generations.

On the strength of concrete acts, mankind has repeatedly had the opportunity to satisfy itself of the fact that the aim of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is to preserve peace. A corollary of the philosophy of Lenin's revolutionary doctrine, of its deep-seated humanism is that the socialist society rejects war as a means of settling international disputes. A state built in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism does not strive to occupy foreign territories.

However, because the struggle for peace is connected with the struggle for social progress, no one can require the USSR and other socialist-community countries to recognize the social "status quo" and to abandon their support of movements promoting progressive social development. The nations of our community will never be neutral with respect to the political and social struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries. It is just as inconceivable for the socialist countries, and for progressive mankind as a whole, to be indifferent to the destiny of the peoples laboring under the yoke of military dictatorships. There is no doubt that efforts should be made to turn peaceful coexistence into a rule of international relations. However, one should not expect this to result in some "conservation" of the world in its present state or in the perpetuation of the power of capital in this or that country. Such guarantees would be unrealistic because it is impossible to prohibit the expression of solidarity by progressive and peace-loving mankind with the forces striving for liberation from oppression, it is impossible to prohibit proletarian internationalism, it is impossible to stop the progressive development of society.

Peaceful coexistence does not, of course, imply some "export of revolution," as the bourgeois ideologists claim. Revolutions are not "exported" in the capitalist system, but originate within it with the sharpening of the contradictions stemming from objective and subjective factors. Revolution is each people's inalienable right to change the political and economic system existing in a country. At the same time, it is not right to take a passive stand on imperialism's urge to export counter-revolution so as to prevent the peoples from choosing the way of social progress.

If peace is to become lasting, and more than a "breathing space" between wars (as has been the case in the history of capitalism), it must be just and

democratic. That is why there is such active resistance to the attempts to achieve unilateral military superiority, to act from "positions of strength," to intervene in the internal affairs of various countries, to mount diverse "boycotts" and embargoes which poison the international atmosphere, etc. A just and democratic peace can be based only on mutual confidence, a gradual reduction of armed forces, and equitable and mutually advantageous all-round cooperation.

The observance of these principles will not harm anyone, which is why, putting it mildly, it is not a serious approach to declare that détente is a "one-way street," that it goes to benefit only the USSR and the other socialist-community countries. Détente, an end to the arms race and gradual disarmament go to benefit every state, the whole cause of social progress, the whole of mankind. Peaceful coexistence helps to realize the right to life, the chief human right. One can easily imagine the noble goals that could be attained if the vast resources now going into the manufacture of arms were used to overcome hunger, disease, to develop education, culture, public health and housing construction.

Throughout its history, the Soviet Union has spared no effort nor lost its restraint in taking one new initiative after another for the purpose of preserving and strengthening peace. True to Lenin's precepts, the CPSU formulated at its 24th and 25th congresses a great Peace Program, and has been implementing it step by step. Thanks to the USSR's efforts, supported by the other socialist-community countries and all the other progressive forces, the 1970s were marked by important successes in the struggle for peace. But in the recent period, many of the peaceful beginnings, which gave hope of

excluding war from international politics for good, were jeopardized through the fault of the aggressive circles of NATO and the United States.

The Soviet Union has firmly followed its peaceable course. Its proposals at the 35th UN General Assembly and other international forums indicate that it is profoundly concerned with the destiny of mankind. What lies ahead is a hard and, most probably, protracted struggle, because the interests of imperialism are basically at variance with the interests of those who stand for peace. But the communists remain optimistic, and their optimism stems from their conviction that *the peoples, having realized the danger of the hawks' inhuman plans will not allow themselves to be incinerated in the flames of a nuclear war and will intensify the struggle for life, for peace and mutual confidence.* We are sure that the decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU will be another important factor in the resolute action by all the progressive and peace-loving forces against the threat of another war.

Some circles have persistently cast about for pretexts for declaring that the policy and acts of the CPSU and the Soviet government are in some ways at variance with the requirements of progress both at home and in the international arena. Here reference is made to the shortcomings and mistakes of the past. But it was the CPSU and the Soviet people itself that exposed these shortcomings and mistakes. It has never claimed to have reached the summit of social and economic development, or that there are no more problems and that all the social tasks have been fully fulfilled. The Soviet people take pride in their accomplishments, but we know that success does not go to their heads and that they shun inertness of thought. They think of the future and vigorously work to overcome the difficulties.

The CPSU is true to Lenin's principles of criticism and self-criticism, and this is a feature of every congress of the CPSU, and of each plenary meeting of its Central Committee. Lenin's party relies on the moral and political unity of the socialist society and its insuperable moral power, on the trust of the working class and of the whole people. The unity of the party and the people is both the outcome of the USSR's progressive development and a condition for its further progress. It helps the CPSU to successfully tackle the most complicated economic and social problems; it helps it to serve the cause of world social progress. That is the conclusion that will undoubtedly be drawn by anyone who takes an unbiased view of the development of Soviet society. That is why we have no doubt that the forthcoming 26th congress of the CPSU will give the world fresh and convincing evidence of the fact that the Soviet Union is the standard-bearer of world social progress.

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A.Y. Yefremov

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1. Gustav Husak, *Projevy a stati*. Prague, 1976, p. 284.

2. Bohumir Smeral, *Pravda o sovetovem Rusku*. Prague, 1966, p. 17.

3. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, p. 799.

1980s: postponing or eliminating the threat of war?

Romesh Chandra
President, World Peace Council

CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE EVE OF A NEW DECADE

Statistics for 1980 say that over 300,000 babies were born every day in the world. Within the month during which this article was written some 10 million new citizens appeared on the globe. What lies in store for them? What is the future of the world's 4.5 billion population and of the over 100 million born every year? The same statistics show that in 1980 almost \$1,000,000 was spent on armaments every minute. Every month the senseless, non-productive military spending robbed mankind of more than \$40 billion, or over \$500 billion during the whole year. At the same time, more than 1 billion people — or a quarter of the world's population — suffered from malnutrition, poverty and disease.

People of my generation lived through the agonizing days of the summer of 1945 when the USA dropped its atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing 300,000 men, women and children within seconds. I have seen children bombed and shelled in Palestine, Lebanon and Vietnam. I have seen children dying of hunger in Africa, Asia and other areas of the world. Isn't it high time we stopped and thought? Shall we continue to waste our efforts, funds and natural resources recklessly and irresponsibly on the manufacture of ever growing quantities of increasingly lethal weapons or, being aware of our responsibility to the present and future generations, use these efforts and funds to give people a decent life in a peaceful world? Is it even possible to eliminate the threat of nuclear catastrophe? Is it possible to ensure peaceful development in a world rent by deep class and national antagonisms, or will war and violence continue to be mankind's "fate?"

Millions of people ask themselves these questions. The invention of nuclear missiles and the accumulation of enormous stockpiles of nuclear and conventional weapons with an aggregate potential equivalent of 60,000 megatons of TNT¹ have made the struggle for peace the most urgent and vital issue facing every people.

The first year of the 1980s has seen unprecedented war hysteria fed by an incessant propaganda campaign designed to impress on the population the idea that a new major war is inevitable. This idea is propounded from different positions and by different means. It is alleged, for instance, that war is inevitable because the violence syndrome is one of man's inborn qualities, and that the entire history of mankind is a history of wars. It is

asserted that conflicts and contradictions cannot be resolved without a war, that war is inevitable because the so-called Soviet threat compels the "free world" to build up its military potential.²

Politicians and generals are suggesting that a nuclear war is not so horrible. If a mere 10 per cent of mankind perished, said Brzezinski, there was nothing to worry about.³ And lastly, they exploit new technical inventions, the miniaturization of nuclear weapons, and greater targeting precision for the elaboration and propaganda of military doctrines of a "limited" nuclear-missile conflict. That is, an exchange of strikes at military targets only.⁴

This massive brainwashing, naturally, leaves its trace in people's minds. The poll conducted by a French public opinion institute in November 1979 showed that two-thirds of the French population were convinced that the third world war might break out in the near future. According to the Allensbach Public Opinion Institute, in the first half of 1979, two-thirds of the FRG population distrusted the Soviet Union. Almost half the people polled in Britain believed that a nuclear conflict would flare up in the coming decade. Even if one may rightly doubt the accuracy of such opinion polls, one cannot but agree with the conclusion of the British daily, *Morning Star*, that such results of the polls are clear evidence that the population is influenced by the propaganda campaign about the growing threat of a military confrontation.⁵

Let us examine more closely some arguments of those who advocate the idea that war is inevitable. Our question is: Are wars really inevitable?

Relatively recently, at the turn of the century when imperialism was the predominant system in the world, the only answer could be the affirmative. Imperialism was in a position to impose a certain type of international relations on the world and thus force the peoples of the whole planet to suffer from its contradictions, which inevitably led to wars. But in the second half of the 20th century imperialism began to lose its dominant position; it no longer rules the world. The alignment of forces changed in favor of socialism, whose impact on the world situation grew stronger. As a result of the collapse of the colonial system, new states emerged which are pursuing an independent policy. The movement of non-aligned countries came into being nearly 20 years ago. The peace movement extended to all continents, becoming the biggest ever movement of mass action, and greatly limited the possibilities of the militaristic circles.

It is important to see that the positions of im-

perialism were weakened not as a result of one outstanding military cataclysm but in the course of a relatively peaceful development. The Suez crisis in 1956 and the Caribbean crisis in 1962, the unsuccessful attempts to suppress by force the national liberation movement in North Africa, and the defeat of U.S. aggression in Indochina showed that a totally new situation had taken shape in the world: imperialism could no longer rely on direct military confrontation for resolving the historical argument with the socialist world system and with the national liberation movement.

By the early 1970s, when the USSR had attained nuclear weapons parity with the USA — a fact which the then U.S. President Nixon had been compelled to admit — it became obvious that military might could no longer be used to settle conflicts. The strategic potentials of both powers had become equal, having reached the so-called "overkill" capacity — the capacity to destroy all humanity several times over. But since anything that has been destroyed once cannot be destroyed again, the arms race has become absurd.

A sober assessment of the new situation prompted the more realistically-minded leaders in the capitalist states to reappraise old political dogmas and look for new ways of development that would not lead to a nuclear catastrophe. In the 1980s, first the leading West European countries — France and the FRG — and then, pressed by circumstances, also the USA began to formulate new principles of inter-state relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, and to entrench these principles in relevant treaties.

The process was not an easy one. For the socialist states which had consistently pursued a policy of peace, formulated by Lenin, nuclear weapons parity did not necessitate any change in their political line. The imperialist powers, however, particularly the USA, had to undertake an "agonizing reappraisal of values," a painful adjustment to the new world balance of power in order to evolve a policy which would correspond better to this new world situation.

The paramount importance of the contribution of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community to the improvement of the international climate was their creative approach to the question of war and peace as the main issue of our times. Basing themselves on an objective analysis of world developments, they concluded that in the obtaining conditions it was possible to spare mankind the horrors of world wars. Socialism's peace offensive, launched on that basis, was welcomed and supported by very broad sections of the world's population, including government circles in numerous countries, and gave rise to a new element in world politics — détente. The main principles of this new element were formulated in 1975 in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation signed by the leading representatives of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada.

The World Peace Council which has national

peace organizations in more than 135 countries, saw the significance of the European Conference and its accords. At the same time, while explaining the main principles of détente and pressing for their implementation, the peace movement called upon the peoples of the world to be vigilant. We said that détente was not a sleeping pill and that the process of détente was not a smooth, straight road which could be followed without struggle and effort until peace for all time would be assured.

We pointed out that détente by no means implied that the oppressed and exploited were deprived of their legitimate right to fight, with arms in hand, for liberation from national and social oppression. The peace movement has always supported and will continue to support just national liberation struggles in any form, the struggles for freedom, democracy and social progress. Just as the war of liberation waged by the 13 British colonies in North America in the 18th century and the war waged by the people of my country, India, against British colonialism, were just wars, so the war of the Indo-chinese peoples against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists was also a just war. Just were the Great October Revolution in Russia and the Chinese revolution. The same is true with regard to the uprising of the people of Nicaragua against the brutal Somoza dictatorship and to the revolutions that overthrew the emperor of Ethiopia and the shah of Iran. Détente and the changed balance of forces in the world have increased the possibilities for a successful solution of many problems of national liberation and social emancipation.

Détente became a flexible political instrument of removing differences between states by peaceful means, by negotiation, without the use or threat of force. This made it possible in a relatively short time to settle a number of issues, expand mutually beneficial trade, scientific and cultural ties, which resulted in a better East-West understanding. This development was obviously in the interest of the whole of humanity. In the mid-1970s, people began to realize that world war had ceased to be inevitable; there emerged the possibility to avert a world conflagration and ensure mankind's peaceful development.

Why then did the international situation deteriorate once again in 1980? Is it true that a "Soviet threat" compels the "Western world" to have recourse to an unprecedented arms build-up? Or is the reason entirely subjective and everything depends on the few personalities at the helm in the leading imperialist countries? Let us try to sort out these questions as well.

It is easy to discern two main trends in the flow of fantasies and prophecies concerning the "Soviet threat." Some of the prophets allege that the Soviet Union and its allies are getting ready for a "Blitzkrieg," building up the means of delivering the first "crippling blow" on the nuclear forces of the United States and its allies with a view to wiping out "Western civilization." Others say that even if the Warsaw Treaty countries do not start a war,

they are bound to use their military might in order to exert political pressure.

What can be said about these assertions? Every person of common sense knows that to judge the peacefulness or aggressiveness of a state, it is necessary to compare the major foreign policy statements of its leaders with the military doctrine and military policy pursued by that country. The foreign policy goals of the USSR, as they are formulated in speeches by President Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders and recorded in the decisions of state bodies and CPSU congresses, are to establish relations of lasting peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and to completely exclude war from the life of nations.

The Soviet Union's military policy fully corresponds to these goals. It is of a purely defensive character. It does not contain the aggressive concepts of "first strike" or "crippling blow" against the enemy, nor does it provide for the possibility of a "local" or "limited" nuclear war. Of course, the fact that a dense network of military bases surrounds the USSR and its allies and hundreds of nuclear missiles and bombs are targeted on their territory compels the governments of the Soviet Union and its allies to maintain a military potential sufficient for defense. The experience of the last 63 years, the barbarous military invasions from West and East, have made the Soviet people and their government especially sensitive to this question.

At the same time, Soviet military might helps to contain those aggressive forces who still have not excluded military means from their political concepts. In the hands of socialism, force has for the first time in human history become an instrument for safeguarding peace and social progress. So much for the "Soviet threat." If it does exist, it is, figuratively speaking, not a threat to peace but a threat of peace in the name of peace.

Who, then, threatens peace and why?

I think it would be wrong to attribute the actions of the enemies of détente to purely subjective factors as, for instance, Brzezinski's baneful influence on U.S. policy, the recent election campaign in the United States, or the Conservative victory in Britain, although these factors, of course, are of importance. I think it would be more correct to view the anti-détente trends as a response to the objective processes going on in the world. In my view, there are at least five groups of factors that give imperialist politicians the dangerous urge to solve problems "from positions of strength."

These are, first, imperialism's setbacks in the 1970s: the failure of the U.S. aggression in Indochina, the loss of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and the revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iran and Nicaragua. Although these setbacks are a logical outcome of the deepening general crisis of capitalism and the mounting struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, imperialism blames them on the policy of détente.

Second, imperialist policy is influenced by the further growth of the socialist community's

economic, political and military strength. Despite the unfavorable conditions, caused, in particular, by the increased prices of raw materials and energy, the CMEA countries in the 1970s, continued to outstrip the industrial capitalist countries by almost 100 per cent in an important indicator as the annual growth rates of industrial output and national income. The imperialists' hopes that in the conditions of détente they would "erode" socialism have not been realized.

Third, the growth of the anti-imperialist trends in the developing countries and the increasing dependence of the major capitalist powers on imports of oil and other raw materials from these countries.

Fourth, the military-industrial complex's resistance to détente and disarmament, as it fears — not without reason — that the success of détente would jeopardize its own economic and political influence and erode its positions in the capitalist world.

And fifth, the concern of the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital, above all in the United States, over the growing contradictions in the imperialist camp itself, the intensified struggle over marketing outlets and raw material sources, and the wish of influential political forces in France, the FRG and Japan to pursue an independent policy. Imperialism sees militarization as an "all-purpose cement," which it hopes will help it to restore and reinforce the unity of its bloc in the conditions of the deepening general crisis of capitalism.

All these factors are of varying preponderance at different times. However, when we analyze postwar international development we cannot fail to recognize a certain pattern: imperialism responds by an outburst of militaristic hysteria to every major success scored by the forces of peace and social progress. These paroxysms recur regularly, and are each time "inspired" by the development in the imperialist camp of qualitatively new weapons which, according to reactionary logic, gives them decisive superiority over socialism. Thus, right after the victory over fascism, a victory to which the Soviet Union had made the main contribution, the USA laid claim to the leading role in the world on the grounds of its atomic bomb monopoly. The terror attacks against Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not motivated by strategic needs — in August 1945 Japan was already on the point of surrendering to the allied forces. They were an attempt at blackmailing the Soviet Union. The end of the U.S. monopoly of atomic weapons, the strengthening of the socialist community's military and economic might, and the growing might of the broad peace movement forced imperialism to retreat and abandon its plans. But as early as the 1950s, the appearance of more powerful bombers equipped with nuclear weapons again raised hegemonistic hopes among imperialist circles, and there was another fit of war hysteria. In the 1960s the deployment in the USA of an intercontinental strategic missiles system and the commissioning of nuclear submarines started off a new wave of war mania. Lastly, imperialism now bases its aggressive plans on the neutron bomb, the intercontinental mobile MX

missiles, Trident nuclear submarines, Cruise missiles, and — this is a new element — Peking's hegemonistic ambitions.

The facts are that the United States and NATO have not abandoned their claim to world domination and their attempts to pursue a policy of diktat propelled by military strength.

But the peoples of the world have to pay a heavy price for every new outbreak of imperialist war hysteria, which inevitably generates international complications and convulsions.

Since imperialism has lost its ability to arbitrarily impose its contradictions on the world, war has ceased to be inevitable and the possibility to avert a world war and ensure humankind's peaceful development has emerged. However, one must not forget that *although war is no longer inevitable, the threat of war remains and will remain as long as imperialism exists.*

The military build-up by the USA and its allies in various parts of the world and the attempts to revive the cold war pose a challenge to all those who cherish the fruits of détente and peace. The peoples of the world do not reconcile themselves to the fact that the survival of our planet is threatened. In this situation, the activities of the World Peace Council have acquired a new content: 700 million signatures were collected to the WPC's new Stockholm Appeal to Halt the Arms Race and handed over to UN Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim on the occasion of the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament in May 1978. In Europe, the struggle to curb the arms race has become a mass demonstration against the deployment of new U.S. missiles; in North and Latin America, in Asia and Africa it has developed into mass action against the arms build-up, against the military bases and stepped up tensions in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Caribbean.

The peace movement is growing more united. This is proved if only by the fact that 2,260 representatives of 330 political parties and hundreds of organizations in 137 countries attended the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace held in Sofia from September 23 to 27, 1980.

The Parliament offered the opportunity for dialogue on all questions of peace, national independence, democracy, justice and social progress. The words and deeds of those who cherish peace are becoming a powerful international force. Those who think they can make political capital by signing agreements for peace and détente with one hand, and decisions to step up the arms race with the other, will be pilloried by their own peoples and by the peoples of the world.

The right to live in peace is an inalienable right of every person, of all people. The year 1981 must become the starting point of a broad and vigorous peace offensive aimed at achieving a radical and irreversible change in world development. What must be done to this end?

First, SALT II should be ratified and made effective without delay and the talks on a further limitation of strategic arms should continue.

Further, talks should begin immediately on medium-range nuclear weapons, including theater-based systems. The success of such talks would be instrumental in restoring trust between states, which in the 1970s considerably promoted détente, and would allow tackling problems like the disbandment of all military alliances, including the simultaneous disbandment of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and the dismantling of all foreign military bases on the territory of other countries.

These are not easy tasks. But this does not mean they cannot be fulfilled. In the epoch of imperialism, when wars have acquired a global character, the peace movement has also reached global proportions. Herein lies its strength. Nobody must stay on the sidelines. No individual, no nation on its own can eliminate the threat of war. But when united, the peace-loving nations are strong enough to put an end to the war danger.

Peace will remain precarious as long as the senseless accumulation of arms persists. The very fact of the enhanced independence of nations demands that we cast aside the traditional notions of security, which used to be sought in military might. People the world over need to realize that the arms race is a peril to security and not its guarantee, that questions of disarmament, development, the new International Economic Order, defense of human rights and promotion of international cooperation are closely linked with the general aim of achieving peace on earth.

Nor can peace be considered secure and lasting as long as the major evils of economic injustice resulting in gross disparities between nations or groups of nations exist. The international order will not be stable as long as poverty and famine take a heavy toll of human lives, as long as racial discrimination persists, and as long as massive violations of human rights are permitted to occur.

These realizations need to take root in public opinion. To the extent people begin to view matters affecting international life in a global and long-term perspective, rather than from narrow and short-term standpoints, they will generate a momentum which will be a major influence on the policies of governments. This will certainly engender the political will which is necessary if contentious international issues are to be settled, if genuine disarmament is to begin, and if equitable economic relations between nations are to be instituted.

The actions of those who are whipping up the arms race and would like to pave the way for war should be countered by intensifying the struggle to vindicate the principles of peaceful coexistence. Today, when mankind is passing through another turning point in its history, the World Peace Council calls upon all peace forces to enhance vigilance and consolidate their unity in order to stave off the threat of war, since peace is the common invaluable asset of humanity, the main condition and requisite of progress.

1. The explosive yield of all the ammunition used in the Second World War was six megatons.

2. In his new book, *The Real War*, former U.S. President Richard Nixon alleges that World War III is already going on and the West is losing it to the Soviet Union. In a London broadcast on March 16, 1980, entitled "Target — U.K.," it was said that World War III would break out within the next 18 months. In *The Third World War, August 85. A Future History*, John Hackett attempts to convince people that war is inevitable. Lately, there have been quite a few statements and books in this vein. They constitute, according to *Wehrkunde*, journal of the West German Bundeswehr, "a psychological assault" which the journal says, is the basic element of modern war, while the

"artillery cannonade" is merely its "final action."

3. A statement by Deng Xiaoping to newsmen of the Hearst press empire indicates that the Peking leaders hold the same view. "We don't have much to lose," said Deng Xiaoping cynically, "and we are less worried than the USA, Western Europe and Japan about what may be destroyed in case of war."

4. This is the meaning, for instance, of Carter's Directive 59. The architects of such doctrines avoid mentioning the fact that a nuclear war cannot be "limited" or "localized."

5. *Morning Star*, April 7, 1980.



Two factors of the revolutionary process

Charilaos Florakis

General Secretary, CC Communist Party of Greece

We communists know that we can succeed in the struggle for progressive social changes only if we approach the objective and subjective factors of the revolutionary process dialectically and bear in mind their interconnection and interaction. Anyone who ignores socio-economic reality is likely to find himself in the blind alley of "leftist" pseudo-revolutionaries. Furthermore, disregard of the need to raise the fighting potential of the working class and its allies and refusal to recognize the leading role of the party, which unites the working people's vanguard, inevitably breed right-wing opportunism.

In putting its program into practice, the Communist Party of Greece remembers that Lenin described Marxism as a doctrine combining "complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses — and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations, and parties that are able to discover and achieve contact with one or another class" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 36). This approach sets Marxism-Leninism apart from all other social doctrines. It alone is equal to making philosophical concepts an effective instrument of reshaping the world.

Now what is the reality determining the objective context and hence the goals of the class struggle in our country? Have the subjective conditions for using the present situation in the interest of social and economic progress developed? In other words, can the contingents championing the working people's interests, above all the CPG, cope with the political, organizational and ideological tasks facing them?

It is now imperative to answer these pivotal questions because events are bearing out the analysis made by the 10th CPG congress (the spring of 1978), which noted that there was a further exacerbation of "every contradiction of Greek society, primarily the chief contradiction, that between the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly forces, on the one hand, and the monopoly oligarchy and imperialism, on the other."

The communists of Greece invariably call public attention to the main problems that form the watershed between political and social forces according to the stand taken by them on these problems. What I mean is, first, Greece's increasingly close military as well as political and economic relations with international imperialism; second, the mounting economic and social crisis of Greek capitalism with its disastrous impact on the working people's condition; and third, the ruling circles' refusal to renounce the authoritarian policy they have been following throughout the postwar period.

Our country's *military political dependence* on the United States and its Atlantic allies was reaffirmed in October 1973, when the New Democracy government under Georgios Rallis announced that Greece would rejoin NATO's military organization, from which it had withdrawn six years earlier. This was precisely what the communists had continuously served warning against. All the ND leaders' promises to uphold the national interests turned out to be false. These leaders even failed to get the NATO leadership to grant Greece easier terms of vassalage. In fact, Washington exploited the Greek-Turkish conflict to put the Aegean air space under its "temporary" control. Yet transferring this control to Greece was one of the principal conditions on which Athens had insisted in its talks with the USA and NATO, trying to demonstrate "firm-

ness" in defending the nation's sovereign rights.

The CPG described the government's line of action as one of "national concessions." The government's decision, our party said in a statement, had tied Greece to U.S. plans, primarily in the Middle East, in an hour so crucial for the cause of peace. Protesting in parliament against this step, the communists pointed out that it only met the interests of NATO, chiefly the USA, as well as the interests of the Greek industrial and financial oligarchy closely linked with foreign capital.

What matters in the final analysis is not the "favorable" or unfavorable conditions for returning to the bloc's military set-up. Ever since Greece joined the Atlantic bloc in 1952, our people have experienced nothing but hardships and humiliation. This is why the CPG, the only party which has opposed that disastrous step from the first, wants our country to dissociate itself completely from imperialism's main military political alliance.

However, NATO is only one link in a chain tying Greece to international imperialism. Another equally strong link is the Greek-U.S. agreements on military cooperation under which the United States has set up a score of military bases in Greece. U.S. intelligence services are operating in our country. Public opinion was angered by a letter published last June in which the intelligence division of the U.S. Defense Department spoke of Washington spying on the CPG, PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement), the Democratic Center Union, the Democratic Women's Movement, the Panhellenic Committee for Peace and Détente, and nearly 30 other parties and organizations. It is an open secret that Washington has contrived to plant men loyal to it in the state apparatus, the armed forces, the police and the intelligence services of our country.

A source of violent social conflicts is the worsening economic situation in Greece, which has long had a deformed economy. The communists describe the main reasons for this as the lingering effects of centuries-long Turkish tyranny, the conditions in which Greek capitalism took shape and has been developing, dependence on foreign capital, and the ruling classes' subservience to the interests of the leading capitalist powers.

The overall result is grave structural deformations. Heavy industry is underdeveloped. Priority is given to industries catering to foreign monopoly interests. Labor productivity is the lowest in capitalist Europe. The value of exports covers only about one-third of the value of imports. The per capita GNP is less than half of the Common Market average.

Ever since the mid-1970s, the domestic economic situation has been influenced by the growing world economic crisis. A survey released by the OECD in the second half of last year noted that in 1980 the country's GNP would show no increase, inflation would run at 26 per cent against 19 in 1979, and the balance of payments deficit would rise to \$2.5 billion — an increase of \$750 million against 1979. No summing up has yet been made for 1980, but preliminary data prove this forecast correct.

The ruling classes of Greece, like those of other capitalist countries, try to end the crisis at the working people's expense. In the 1974-1979 period, minimum wages increased by 153 per cent while inflation rose to 221 per cent. Last year alone, consumer prices went up 24.5 per cent, prices for foodstuffs and other necessities increasing by more than 30 per cent. A confidential report submitted to the government by the Association of Manufacturers says that in 1979 real wages declined by 6 to 9 per cent. In the same year 100 major enterprises recorded a 132 per cent rise in profits. Even official sources are compelled to admit that the standard of living is falling sharply.

Unemployment affects 12 per cent of the work force. Its continuing uptrend extends opportunities for recourse to a further specific form of exploitation of Greek labor by foreign capital. The fact is that Greece has become a supplier of cheap labor for West European countries, which employ roughly 450,000 of our compatriots. Economists estimate that the surplus value derived from Greek immigrant labor greatly exceeds the amount of repatriated hard currency and West European investments in the Greek economy.

The agreement on Greece's membership of the EEC as of January 1, 1981 (it was signed in May 1979) is a qualitatively new factor for increased dependence on foreign capital. This step, the communists have emphasized more than once, will not help eliminate economic difficulties, since decisions on the development lines of the Greek economy will be made not in Athens but in Brussels and will be aimed at meeting not the economic needs of our country but the selfish interests of its more influential EEC partners.

Complete dissolution in the Common Market will leave Greece defenseless against the avalanche of foreign investments. Yet the nation is already a bridgehead for transnationals. Foreign monopoly capital, which enjoys tax reductions and other privileges, controls one-third of the potential of Greece's most up-to-date industries. Operating in the country are 28 foreign banks, including 14 American; they handle about 20 per cent of all credit transactions.

The consequences of EEC membership will be heaviest for agriculture, which employs roughly 28 per cent of the economically active population. Before the agreement with the EEC was signed, Common Market headquarters demanded a reorganization of Greek agriculture to bring about a "speedy increase in labor productivity" by considerably reducing employment. This means that before the end of 1981 three-fourths of the one million small farms will be abolished, the positions of the agrarian bourgeoisie will be strengthened, and social struggles in the countryside will intensify.

The very first steps taken by the government to adjust the economy to the needs of the monopolies of the Common Market countries had a painful impact on the condition of both rural and urban working people. The discontinuance of subsidies for peasant households ordered by Brussels led to a

rise in the prices of farm produce. Due to a reduction of the area under sugar beet, likewise ordered by the EEC, Greece, which had exported from 20,000 to 30,000 tons of sugar per year, had to import about 100,000 tons in 1980. This will cost it \$50 million.

Common Market membership is bound to have effects going far beyond the economic sphere. In May 1978 the EEC Council of Ministers declared that "the Community's enlargement with the admission of Greece is of political significance." It is hard to disagree with those who believe that the Greek rightists, who want to stop the growth of left influence, have decided to rely on rightists abroad for support. They are apparently out to establish rigid control over the democratic movement on the pretext of "providing conditions for integration."

Thus there is every reason to consider that the objective requisites for raising the class struggle in Greece to a higher plane are ripe — the increasingly strong positions of state-monopoly capitalism worsen the economic and social condition of our factory and office workers and our peasants, and the negative impact of militarization makes itself felt. The role of these factors is enhanced by Greece's mounting economic, political and military dependence on international capital, primarily U.S. imperialism.

The masses are increasingly aware of the inability of the bourgeois government led by the rightist ND to solve pressing problems. Public opinion is awakening to the need for decisive change. More and more Greeks respond to the appeal of the 10th CPG congress to adopt a policy of national independence and economic progress in the people's interest, with a view to establishing a political regime of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democracy.

However, social changes cannot come about of themselves, as the experience of class struggles has shown. The maturing of objective conditions for radical change does not necessarily go hand in hand with the rallying together of large socio-political forces, whose mission is to use these conditions. "It would be a mistake," Lenin wrote, "to think that the revolutionary classes are invariably strong enough to effect a revolution whenever such a revolution has fully matured by virtue of the conditions of social and economic development . . . A revolution may be ripe, and yet the forces of its revolutionary creators may prove insufficient to carry it out . . ." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 368). This is a reference to the decisive significance of the subjective factor of the class struggle between labor and capital.

"The prospect of establishing people's democracy is real," the 10th CPG congress pointed out on examining the situation in Greece from the standpoint of the Leninist proposition we have just quoted. "It corresponds to the objective development needs of Greek society, which have matured. On the other hand, the subjective prerequisites of these revolutionary changes are not yet ripe enough even though they have made visible progress."

In the years following the congress, our party's

activity has been geared to mustering and comprehensively training anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces. We can now say without false modesty that the solution of this problem, that is, the formation and development of the subjective factor needed for taking the offensive against monopoly power, is making headway. An indication of the militancy of the working class and other working people is the intensity and socio-political orientation of the strike movement, an important and effective weapon of the proletariat and its allies.

An indication of the growing social struggles was the 48-hour general strike last November that involved over a million people. The strikers demanded satisfaction of the grievances of factory workers and civil servants, democratization of the trade unions, Greece's withdrawal from NATO, and the dismantling of foreign military bases on Greek soil. The communists and progressive union leaders were in the forefront in organizing the strike. The strikers' morale was so high that even the pro-government General Confederation of Greek Labor had to support them while trying to limit the action to 24 hours.*

Actions in defense of national sovereignty are assuming particularly large dimensions. I have said that the government's decision to take the country back into the NATO military organization angered the opponents of pro-Atlantic policies. The public mood is seen in the fact that over 1,500,000 people have put their signatures to the appeal of the Greek Committee Against New U.S. Medium-Range Missiles in Western Europe.

The movement for the working people's social and economic demands and for national sovereignty and independence is inseparable from the defense of democracy and the extension of civil rights at a time when power is held by a coalition of bourgeois political forces, with rightist, conservative elements playing first fiddle. Spokesmen of the ruling circles claim that "real democracy has triumphed" in Greece. What they mean is bourgeois democracy, of course, whose purpose is to shore up the positions of the propertied classes and to legalize and maintain a regime based on exploitation.

Indeed, it is hard to see "real democracy" in our "reinforced proportional" electoral system under which each ND candidate needed an average of 11,000 votes to win election to parliament while Socialists had to secure 14,000 and Communists 45,000 votes. As a result, the communists, who were backed by nearly one-tenth of the electorate, hold only one-thirtieth of the seats while ND, backed by 42.8 per cent of the electorate, holds 175, or nearly 60 per cent, of the 300 seats. This makes it only too evident whom the "reinforced" electoral system benefits.

Taking advantage of its solid majority, ND has adapted certain parliamentary rules to its own

*The trends in the strike movement in Greece are discussed by Polychronis Weiss in *WMR*, December 1980. — Ed.

requirements. A party which has won less than 10 per cent of the votes and holds fewer than 15 seats is denied the right to form a parliamentary group, which means, among other things, that it may not submit draft laws. Nor may it have its representatives on any leading parliamentary body. This is why the communists are not represented in the Secretariat, although they constitute the third largest group in parliament. Yet there are "parliamentary groups" composed of one MP — former prime ministers, who have lost all their supporters but enjoy this important privilege nonetheless.

In whose interest ND uses the machinery of parliament is indicated, for example, by the destiny of the right to strike laid down in the constitution. Backed by the majority it controls, the government has virtually done away with this civil right by a special law. Judicial sanctions are automatically applied against workers who have decided to strike. From January to August 1980, over 200 trade unionists were punished under the new law.

Civil rights and freedoms are also under attack in other fields. Open-air meetings are banned more and more often. Progressives are prosecuted and sentenced even if their activity is legal. The ruling classes are deliberately and steadfastly imposing an authoritarian regime. This regime is symbolized by the notorious law on curbing "terrorism," a replica of reactionary decrees of the civil war years which hits mainly the communists and other champions of democracy.

Lately the regime has stepped up repressive measures against the communist press. In the spring of 1980 the government made its first attempt to restrict the circulation of *Rizospastis*, our national daily. The move was so flagrantly in conflict with legality that the State Council, which supervises adherence to the constitution, had to revoke it. In September, however, the ND leadership made parliament pass a law empowering the authorities to set ceilings on the circulation of newspapers and raise their prices by fiat. The latter measure is directed primarily against *Rizospastis*, since most of its readers have low incomes.

The essentially anti-communist law gave rise to a wave of protests. Readers and organizations began sending *Rizospastis* donations to support a paper which tells the truth about the situation at home and developments abroad. The struggle against official anti-democratic practices is continuing. The communists have real and growing support from the working people. To defend *Rizospastis* is all the more important now that, in anticipation of the next general election, ND and its accomplices have monopolized the media and manipulate public opinion, withholding the truth about major political events at home and abroad or distorting it, minimizing the nation's economic difficulties, and misrepresenting the views of the left.

But no matter how hard the official media try to conceal the actual state of affairs, the masses learn by experience what the economic crisis and dependence on external forces mean. And no matter how dutifully they allege that Greece is a "model of

social peace and democracy," more and more people realize the growing imbalance between political forces in and outside parliament. It is safe to say that the overwhelming majority of the people have come to the conclusion that the rightists must be stripped of power. This also applies to many of those who voted ND in 1977.

This is why our party, on taking sober stock of the social, economic and political situation and its objective and subjective factors, launched the appeal for a mid-term general election and the removal of the rightists from the leadership. The CPG Central Committee meeting last July stated emphatically that immediate elections were a national and democratic necessity.

We expect to win the support of not less than 17 per cent of the electorate. Under the electoral law this will enable the CPG to share in the so-called second distribution of seats in parliament and considerably increase the number of communist MPs as a result. Should our plan succeed, we could in common with PASOK MPs win a democratic majority in parliament.

Is this plan realistic? There certainly is no 100 per cent guarantee of success. Even so, the CPG has adopted it because it wants to set its supporters a specific goal whose attainment would bring about a radical change in the nation's life.

How strongly the CPG is backed is exemplified by the fact that even three years ago our election rallies in Athens drew 300,000 people. Since then we have strengthened our positions, as even our adversaries admit. Surely it is indicative that the Communist Youth Festival held in the summer of 1980 attracted nearly a million people.

It is imperative to note, however, that even if we won a democratic majority in parliament this would not automatically make it possible to solve urgent political, social or economic problems. Positions gained by the working class and other working people in a bourgeois state merely weaken the monopoly bourgeoisie even though they become bridgeheads from which to expand the offensive against bourgeois power.

Being realists, we know that we cannot solve all problems by simply winning a parliamentary majority, whether in alliance with other parties or by ourselves. It is only support from the majority of the people and firm resistance to opportunists, who cannot renounce their policy of conciliation with the capitalists, that will allow the working class to defeat the reactionary, anti-people forces and transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument of the working people. This calls for extra-parliamentary struggle, whose vanguard must be a front of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic forces based on the worker-peasant alliance.

A key aim of the CPG at this stage is to bring about an alliance of anti-imperialist forces and democratic parties so as to bring down the right-wing government. In pursuing this aim, we must evolve a minimum program making it possible to join together a wide range of political movements. We

consider that it should comprise the following demands:

- curb monopoly power;
- establish control over prices and profits;
- combat inflation and unemployment;
- safeguard and raise the working people's standard of living;
- repeal anti-democratic laws and introduce democratic procedure into the state apparatus;
- withdraw from NATO and abolish the U.S. military bases in Greece;
- ensure national independence, lasting peace, and growing cooperation with all countries.

The Communist Party has repeatedly stated that to achieve these aims it is willing to coordinate action with all other political forces and parties while fully preserving its ideological orientation and organizational independence. Our common task should be the formation of a democratic government leaning on the cooperation of anti-imperialist forces and on a mass movement of the people, and capable of setting the country on a new course and taking it out of the present social and economic impasse.

Our party's chief prospective ally is PASOK, whose position on many important problems of foreign and home policy coincides with ours. The socialists advocate Greece's withdrawal from NATO. They take a fundamentally negative view of the decision on EEC membership; true, they add that they are ready to settle for a revision of the terms of the agreement. PASOK calls on the socialist parties of Southern Europe to resist the rightists' offensive in common. And while its leaders have lately shown some vacillation, we consider that growing cooperation between the CPG and PASOK is possible.

Understandably enough, the bourgeoisie responded to the upturn in the Greek working-class and democratic movement by stepping up anti-communist propaganda, above all its anti-Soviet version. Reaction has fallen back on that eternal stereotype — each time progressives gain positions from which they can threaten the ruling classes' power, its servitors come out with the bugaboo of the non-existing external threat. Today the rightists' media spawn lies about the "danger from the North," the "imminent Soviet invasion," and, needless to say, the horrors of "communist enslavement."

We communists regard it as our duty to help our compatriots understand who is really endangering the independence and sovereignty of Greece. We refer to past experience, which shows that the oligarchy will resort to any means as soon as it feels that its positions are slipping. After the war our long-suffering country went through two brutal attacks by extreme reaction backed from without, particularly in the form of armed intervention.

Therefore, while admitting that a peaceful advance to socialism is possible and striving sincerely to follow a peaceful path, we must be prepared to resist the forces of counter-revolution and reaction. "An indispensable condition for the peaceful trans-

fer of power to the working people," says the CPG program, "is the support of a strong and well-organized mass movement involving the armed forces as well."

This is the kind of mobilization of the people that the present international situation demands. The situation in the world has greatly deteriorated due to the tendency of Washington and its allies to abandon the policy of détente and dismantle the structures of the system of peaceful coexistence. The USA's growing great-power ambitions in the region where our country is situated and its attempts to turn Greece into a base for imperialist political inroads and military aggression affect the political climate in Greece; they make it difficult to democratize public life and to put the economy on a sound basis, and pose a direct threat to our people's well-being and their very existence.

The CPG is a consistent and active champion of cooperation at both international and national levels in the struggle for peace and disarmament. This task was emphasized by the Paris meeting of European communist and workers' parties. We are convinced that the objectively coinciding interests of the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean provide a basis on which the communist parties and other progressive organizations of the region can act together. For this reason we have proposed that the communist parties of Cyprus, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the Sudan, Turkey and some other countries, as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization, should collectively discuss the problem of resisting international imperialism.

In their work Greece's communists draw on the experience of the world communist movement of which the CPG is an inseparable component. Believing firmly in the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, we apply them with due regard to the past and present of our country and the lessons of the struggle of our working class. The Communist Party of Greece will continue doing its utmost to contribute to world communist unity and educating its members as proletarian internationalists.

We communists see loyalty to our people's interests and solidarity with the working people of other countries as a tremendous potential force. By using this force we are determined to bring about a radical change, which is indispensable if we are to have a society free of exploitation and oppression.

Classes and Nations

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OUR INTERVIEWS

A CAMPAIGN OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE

James West

CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party USA

The Communist Party of the USA was broadly involved in the recent Presidential elections. Could you tell us what has been achieved?

Our party will make an in-depth, serious analysis of the outcome of the elections and of the electoral campaign conducted by the communists, and adjust its policy to the new situation. I shall therefore confine myself to a few preliminary considerations.

We do not yet know the party's total vote. It is always difficult to get this information; first, because the count of the communist vote is made last of all; second, because in some places they do not even bother to count or report the vote and it takes time to compel them to do so; third, because we are not yet able to have poll watchers and counters at every single polling place, and votes are often stolen from us.

However, some results in the vote for communist candidates have become known. They show impressive gains for the CPUSA. The communist candidate for U.S. Senator from Ohio, Rick Nagin, received 43,239 votes (the previous high was 7,000 votes for the communist candidate for governor of Ohio, in 1936). In Washington D.C., Maurice Jackson, candidate for the city council, received four per cent of the vote, running against six other candidates. In the state of Washington, the communist candidate for state legislature, Marion Kinney, received 9 per cent of the vote and thus gained a permanent place on the ballot for the party in the 37th election district. In Arizona, where the voters defeated the ultra-rightist Senator Barry Goldwater, communist Lorenzo Torres received 3,516 votes running against four other candidates.

Early and incomplete countings of the communist vote in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and other states indicate gains of from 20 to 25 per cent over the last vote.

It is already evident that in many respects this election campaign has been a significant one for the party. It got on the ballot in 24 states and the District of Columbia, in other words, in all the big industrial states except California. In addition, in six states the party was accorded official write-in status. This means that if people write in the names of additional candidates these are recorded and reported. Communist candidates for other elected office were on the ballots of two other states besides those where our presidential ticket was on the ballot. This

total is the highest number of states with communist candidates since 1932.

To get the necessary number of signatures to place the CPUSA candidates on the ballot, communist campaign workers had to talk to more than half a million people directly. I am sure you can appreciate the significance of this activity in the conditions prevailing in the United States, and the significance of the fact that so many people signed their names and addresses on petitions submitted to the government and thereby openly declared their support for the Communist Party.

Gus Hall and Angela Davis spoke to millions of people through radio and TV, through newspaper interviews, and directly at public meetings, many of which were covered by the mass media. Millions of leaflets, pamphlets, posters, special editions of the *Daily World*, and other publications were distributed at factory gates, house to house in communities, at street corners, in schools and institutions of higher learning. A tremendous amount of work was done to bring our party program and policies to the people. There is no doubt that this will eventually produce results.

With the elections over, their outcome is being closely studied. This is evidently the natural consequence of the fact that the candidates of the two bourgeois parties rarely addressed themselves to the real issues, to the real problems and concerns of the people. One thing is certain and cannot be refuted by anyone: the total vote was the lowest since 1948 — just short of one-half of the electorate ignored the elections. This says a great deal, above all, that the masses are disappointed in the policy of the two main political parties and, consequently, that under certain circumstances a new alternative force could emerge on the political scene and act with success.

The change of scenery in the White House has posed many new problems, notably before the labor movement. The trade union and progressive movements have much to be worried about in the capture of the Senate by anti-labor Republicans and Democrats. There is now the possibility that new attempts will be made to rush anti-labor, anti-democratic, and anti-social-welfare legislation through Congress. The rightist forces claim that the elections represent a shift to the right and were a mandate for Reagan's program. They will act on that assumption. It is clear that it will take massive struggles of peace, labor, oppressed minorities, farmers, youth and other forces to prevent the new administration, to be inaugurated in January 1981, from pushing the country farther to the right and into military adventures. It is the struggles of the peoples in the United States and abroad that will be the decisive factor in determining the direction of U.S. policy in the next four years.

UPON COMING INTO THE OPEN

Julian Pena

CC Political Commission member,
Dominican Communist Party

Of the 36 years since it was founded the Dominican Communist Party functioned underground for more than 33 years. What problems emerged when it was given legal status?

Under the influence of the ruling classes there was the deeply-entrenched official view that legalization of the Communist Party would be "anti-constitutional." This view sprang from the constitution inherited from the Trujillo regime. One of its provisions states: "The Dominican government is essentially civilian, republican, democratic and representative," while a communist government "being a dictatorship of the proletariat, can be neither democratic nor civilian." In our fight for legal recognition, we emphatically condemned this formulation of the question, and in my opinion this helped to disseminate the Marxist understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To give an idea of how the struggle was carried on, I should like to note that it was largely conducted in the courts, where we showed that our stand was being misrepresented. To this end we also used the press and other mass media, demonstrating that the dictatorship of the proletariat did not mean the abolition of democracy.

The party is now continuing the fight in the open. In particular, we have initiated a court action against the authorities' anti-democratic interpretation of freedom of assembly, an interpretation that curtails freedom of speech. Under the law, anybody wishing to organize mass actions in the streets is obliged to inform the Interior Ministry and the police in advance ostensibly for the maintenance of law and order. But, in fact, the Ministry arrogates to itself the authority to permit or not to permit this or that mass action. We acted precisely against this transgression of an operating law. Court hearings began, which, I believe, are of great significance to the nation. The lower court — the administrative tribunal — passed a verdict in our party's favor. We are now awaiting the verdict of the Supreme Court. If we win again it may be considered that another step has been taken to enable the Dominican people to make fuller use of their civil and political rights.

Are their anti-communist prejudices among the people that you have to combat?

The former dictator Rafael Trujillo proclaimed himself Anti-Communist No. 1 in our country and throughout Latin America. As a result, our people identified anti-communism with Trujillism, an odious phenomenon if there ever was one. For that reason anti-communism is seen as a product of Trujillism, i.e. something very bad. Naturally, this helps us in our work among the people.

But it cannot be said that no anti-communist propaganda is conducted in our country. There are professional anti-communists but they have no influence.

We had to act against what in some sense may be described as an opposite phenomenon. For a long time when spokesmen of the ultra-left wanted to get the confidence of the people they would declare themselves revolutionaries and communists. In many cases this discredited our doctrine. There were provocateurs in the trade unions, and these, too, posed as communists. All this wrought considerable harm, chiefly to the working class.

We have had to tackle another problem, one that was in the party itself. I mean the habit of working underground. Conspiratorial activity gives birth to its own forms and methods, which differ substantially from those employed in open activity among the people. When the party first emerged from underground, its militants continued to act largely in the traditions of the former experience, and this harbored the danger of sectarianism, of isolation from the people. Agitation had to be conducted in the party to convince members that they had to go among the people to bring our ideas home to the people.

What is your party doing to become a mass organization?

This may be answered on the evidence of the results of our drive for new members and also of our participation in elections. The facts allow us to speak of the future with confidence.

In 1979 we decided on what may be described as "renaissance in strength" — a limited campaign for new members. The target figure was surpassed by 50 per cent (15,000 instead of 10,000) quite quickly. On August 15, 1980, the party launched a bigger membership campaign. Our immediate goal was to meet the conditions needed to place the party on the ballot: collect 117,000 signatures. This was a successful campaign. It gives an idea of the attitude of the Dominican people to our party and to the socialist doctrine.

It cannot be said, of course, that all the people understand us, but we are finding a response among the most diverse sections of the population, especially where we are working energetically.

Let me illustrate. With some other communists I attended a meeting of peasants in the San Juan de la Manguana district in the south. One of the participants was a village elder, the local *alcalde*. During the debate he suddenly got up and said: "I have been silent for a long time. But now I'll speak my mind. The Communist Party is my party because it is the only party that champions our, peasant, interests. Although I am the *alcalde*, I am also a peasant and I understand what's what."

We find this attitude toward the party throughout the countryside: as soon as it is learned that a communist has come to a village the peasants show him every hospitality. Wherever you go you find that the poor sections are becoming increasingly receptive to revolutionary ideas.

An important point is that whereas only recently there was social unrest only in the countryside, where the peasants fought for land; today, especially after the new government came to power, unrest is to be observed also among the workers.

The strike struggle is spreading. The workers are gravitating toward socialist ideas more than ever.

Disenchantment with the regimes of Balaguer and Guzman (the latter is the present head of state) and also the impact of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua on all sections of the population are again awakening the popular striving for changes. These can take place only as a result of a struggle by the people, and it is the mission of the communists to play the decisive part in that struggle.

DOCUMENTS

EGYPT

A program is adopted

The Egyptian Communist Party held its first congress on Egyptian territory in September 1980. It was attended by workers, peasants, intellectuals, engineers and technicians representing all sections of the people. The delegates unanimously reaffirmed their fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, declaring that the ECP was part and parcel of the Arab national liberation

movement fighting imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The program adopted by the congress states that at the present stage the basic aim of the ECP is to secure the nullification of the Camp David accords and press for the removal of the U.S. military presence in Egypt.

In alliance with the Arab national liberation movement, the socialist states, and all other progressive forces throughout the world, the document states, the Egyptian communists will press for the liberation of the entire Sinai peninsula and all the other occupied Arab lands.

The program records the ECP's support for the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for their national rights, including the right to self-determination and the formation of an independent state of their own. The ECP, the program declares, calls for the formation of an Arab progressive national front uniting all democratic forces, movements and organizations, a front in which they would retain their political, organizational and ideological independence.



A party of patriots, of internationalists

Gisele Rabesahala
General Secretary,
Madagascar Independence Congress Party (AKFM/KDRSM)¹

The author belongs to the generation of Malagasy men and women whose courage and dedicated patriotism made their country free. Holding prominent positions in political life, she has for over 20 years now given all her energies of leader to the Madagascar Independence Congress Party. In the government, she is Minister for Art and Revolutionary Culture, and is well known in the international progressive and democratic movement.

At the ninth congress of the AKFM/KDRSM in August 1980, Gisele Rabesahala was re-elected General Secretary of the party. After the congress, WMR staff member, Rustem Sevortyan, met with her in Tananarive and asked her to express her view on some of the key ideological and political questions by this revolutionary-democratic party.

Q. Nearly two decades ago the AKFM, at its third congress, announced the adoption of the principles of scientific socialism. What were the developments in the life of the country and the party behind that ideological choice?

A. The ideological evolution of the AKFM should be seen in the historical context.

The choice of the road of scientific socialism was preceded by a long and persevering struggle against French colonial domination, for Madagascar's independence. The party took shape in the liberation battles, and by the end of the 1950s it had brought together the convinced Marxists and progressive democrats.

But before that happened, there was a cleavage for ideological motives: the intention on the part of some national circles to "exclude" consistent Marxists from the patriotic liberation struggle. Such an attempt was made at the end of 1958 by a group of parties taking part in a Congress of Madagascar's Independence at Tamatave.² The 10 parties represented at the congress decided to act together for independence, and later agreed to set up a united political organization. Its statutes were worked out in November 1958, setting the goal of struggle for independence and the release of political prisoners incarcerated after the popular uprising in 1947.³ At the time, the program did not go beyond the framework of these demands. We were just going to file an application for the official registration of the new party, when virtually on the very eve four parties

announced that they had no intention, for the sake of unity, to "sacrifice themselves" and — let us note — were unwilling to "work with the communists," meaning me, comrades Remi Rakotobe, Arsene Ratsifehera and others. Yet another party preferred to remain on the sidelines, on the plea that there was no unity. The other five formed the AKFM.

For our part, we firmly believed that Marxists and those who held general democratic ideas should closely cooperate in the liberation movement, because both fought against the common enemy — colonialism — and for genuine independence. The common platform of the parties which in 1958 set up the AKFM was revolutionary. The new organization condemned anti-communism and rejected any bias in respect to Marxism, and this on the whole promoted the further advance of the party cadres toward scientific socialism. It is true that for some time we continued to follow the program proclaimed by the Independence Congress at Tamatave.

Q. That minimum program was confined to the struggle for national sovereignty. Within two years, Madagascar won the status of a politically independent state. What was it that accelerated the adoption by the party of the principles of scientific socialism?

A. It was the sharp political and ideological struggle over the choice of way of development for the country, which had just shaken off direct colonial domination. You are, of course, aware that the independence then proclaimed was formal and curtailed. The state policy pursued by the government of the Malagasy Republic headed by President Tsiranana was overtly neo-colonialist, and the agreements it concluded with France on "cooperation" in effect subordinated the national interests to that of the former colonial power. While accepting the formal aspect of the independence and everything that this entailed (national institutions, our own flag, national anthem, independent participation in international affairs, etc.), we believed, nevertheless, that the battle for genuine national liberation had yet to be won, and that independence had to have a different content. As in many other countries of the world, advanced ideas spread across Madagascar, and there was growing awareness that development on socialist lines would alone carry the country to the road of progress.

However, another danger arose: those who found themselves in power exclusively with France's support also declared themselves advocates of socialism. That was President Tsiranana's Social Democratic Party, which was then in power. Some members of his government wanted socialism, but democratic socialism, others extolled "Malagasy socialism," asserting that the "Malagasy people had been socialists long before Marx and Lenin." Incidentally, some of those who prefer such arguments are still around. In an atmosphere of acute ideological contests, it was necessary to show the people a clear task, and this was done by the AKFM, which in 1962 proclaimed that there was only one type of socialism, namely, scientific socialism as the

only true conception of mankind's historical development.

Q. Were any attempts subsequently made to upset the party's ideological orientation, to split its unity, contrasting, for instance, socialism and religion, and various party leaders with each other?

A. Such attempts have been made and repeatedly. But they all failed. Imperialism and its local henchmen had hoped to range believers and non-believers in the AKFM, those who had consistent Marxist philosophical convictions and their religious-minded fellow-members in the party. There was good reason for doing so: in Africa, Madagascar is among the countries which have a strong and historically rooted influence of Christianity (although the ardor among several million Malagasy people — Catholic, Protestants, etc. — tends to differ). We respect the religious views held by party members. Its chairman, comrade Richard Andriamanjato, is a pastor, he performs religious rites and is a chaplain.

But reaction failed to reckon with the main thing: we in the AKFM are truly united ideologically by scientific socialism, which the party regards as a definite method for analyzing social phenomena. We accept the uniformities of world social development discovered by Marxist thought. For us, socialism is the only system which puts an end to man's exploitation of man. The recent AKFM/KDRSM congress adopted a decision to set up, under the leadership of the Political Bureau, a Marxist study center in which we intend to involve intellectuals, students, young people and party activists. They will study the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, whose scientific truth has been proved by history.

The attempts to split the AKFM from within by means of anti-communism have proved to be futile. An anti-party group which in the mid-1960s operated in Tananarive claimed that there was no democracy in the party and that everything was run by the *Imongo Vaovao* group.⁴ The opposition broke with us and set up their own "progressive AKFM," but were soon rejected by the people. By contrast, our party grew and steadily strengthened its influence. This tendency is still in effect today.

Q. You illustrated this in the report to the congress with examples from the recent period: from 1976 to 1980, the number of party sections increased from 500 to 1,600, and the party is represented in the organs of power at every level by 5,344 members and activists. In Madagascar, the AKFM is frequently called the oldest and most experienced party. What has made it so influential in national life?

A. Our struggle. I remember the head of the neo-colonialist regime Tsiranana declaring self-complacently: I allow the opposition to exist, but not to live. But we not only lived, we acted vigorously, and that is why we were the first to fall victim to repression. Our AKFM comrades were imprisoned, its party meetings broken up. Our deputies in parliament — there were only three of them — were not allowed to speak. From 1959 to 1964, I myself

had my passport withdrawn, so as to prevent me from taking part in international forums. The authorities declared: you are much too convinced a communist to allow you to travel abroad.

Aware of the AKFM's tremendous influence in the capital, where a member of our party is even now the elected mayor, French imperialism and its neo-colonialist henchmen sought by every means to prove that our influence is confined to the Merina tribal area, above all the capital Tananarive itself. That was a typically tribalist tactic designed to incite the nationalities in the country against each other and to split them. The whole state propaganda machine worked against us.

However, the party not only beat back this fierce onslaught. Even then it actively explained its goals, which many years later won nationwide recognition. We were the first in Madagascar to show that the class struggle was the motive force of social development. This was subsequently reflected in the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution, a program document which was approved in a national referendum in 1975, and which is now the platform for the cooperation of the parties within the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution.⁵

We spoke of the transfer of power to the people through a democratization of state structures: this democratization is already being carried out. The Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution contains all the foreign-policy propositions for which AKFM has stood for many years. In other words, the AKFM has always truly been a most important motive force in the process of positive changes and advance along the road of social progress, a fact which has won for it tremendous authority among the masses.

Q. You mentioned the problem of cooperation between the progressive and patriotic parties which now act together. What are its features, difficulties and achievements?

A. The AKFM has repeatedly declared that at the present stage of the national-democratic revolution, imperialism continues to be the chief enemy of various social classes in Madagascar, and this is written into the Charter, which contains a short-term (national-democratic revolution) and a long-term (socialism) program.

So, we do have a common platform, but there are also different views which cannot be concealed because they are differences of ideology, of principle. What are these differences?

In the international plane, the AKFM firmly adheres to the stand of active internationalism. We do not agree with those who put the Soviet Union and the United States on a par with each other on the plea that both are great powers. Other revolutionary organizations draw no distinction between them and even equally accuse the USSR and the United States of harming the "small" countries. Such propaganda still meets with a response in the midst of the petty bourgeoisie and a part of the intelligentsia.

The next difference is on the evaluation of the

role of the working class in the revolutionary process. Some of our friends assert that it is not the proletariat but the peasantry that is the revolutionary class *par excellence*, because, they argue, the peasant has very little property. But the peasant does have the means of production — the land (some more, some less). The peasantry continues to be basically petty bourgeois, which is why it is wrong to exaggerate its role. Equally, it is wrong to contrast the inhabitants of town and country (as some tend to do): not all the peasants are "petty" farmers, and not all the urban dwellers are "exploiters." The AKFM believes that although the Malagasy working class is still weak and its class consciousness is just taking shape, it has been and continues to be the main force of the revolutionary process, and will in future become the mainstay of socialism in our country.

Contradictory views have also been expressed about the role of the masses in revolution. The AKFM maintains that people must be broadly informed about all the problems bearing on the country: the people must have a sense of responsibility for its destiny. Others say that administrative measures alone will suffice, despite the evidence repeatedly provided by life that nothing can be a substitute for solid conviction and conscious discipline.

Nor is there any unity of views within the Front on the attitude of the national bourgeoisie. We want an objective assessment of its role in the national-democratic revolution. It is imperialism and not the national bourgeoisie that is the chief enemy. The Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution says that the national bourgeoisie "is nationalistic-minded and is even to some extent imbued with revolutionary spirit. . . . If the state is truly revolutionary and socialist, it can be won over to our side." The national bourgeoisie has financial resources, experience and organizational skills, and in economic life it can be trusted, especially in the production sphere. But the important thing is most clearly to define the place and role of this class so as to prevent it from making a deal with foreign capital. The activity of national bourgeois circles should be under the constant and effective control of the revolutionary power.

But ideological differences should not obscure the obvious fact that the AKFM is an active participant in the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution. On it, the party is represented by its highest leaders, and we attach much importance to the development of the Front's activity. Among its assets are the nomination of a single list of deputies in the elections to the National People's Assembly (1977), cooperation in the local organs of power, and the settlement of a number of problems relating to workers, young people and students. We censure those who neglect cooperation within the Front framework and who repulse or reject other organizations: such acts are unconstitutional. The revolution is the common cause of the whole people, and for the sake of it we must work in a spirit of genuine cooperation and comradeship.

That is why there should be no attitude of confrontation in approaching our differences. What is more important is to conduct a frank discussion, so as to bring out common views and to try to prevent the differences from developing into clashes. When criticizing the behavior of some revolutionary organizations, the AKFM seeks to make the polemics constructive and conducted in a fraternal spirit, as was the case, for instance, at our last congress.

The decision adopted by the AKFM congress on the need to extend the Front's activity to the organs of power at various levels is permeated with concern for enhancing its role and powers in the life of the country. Both the congress delegates and the representatives of other parties of the Front attending it emphasized the importance of consolidating the cooperation of the patriotic forces. The basis of our unity is the people's will to defend the gains of the revolution and Madagascar's socialist choice in the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism and reaction.

Q. Your party advocates revolutionary and anti-imperialist unity on an international scale. Its ties are developed on the ideological platform of proletarian internationalism, solidarity with the fighting peoples, with the working class in a common front against imperialism and its henchmen. Could you tell us how these positions took shape?

A. Our internationalist views are rooted in the history of the liberation struggle. Let us recall that as early as 1950 there emerged the Madagascar Solidarity Committee, which included trade union activists and other patriots who had escaped from the fierce repression in the second half of the 1940s. Many future AKFM leaders took part in that organization.⁶ The committee was guided by two closely interrelated principles: internationalism and the anti-imperialist front, and worked hard to popularize among the Malagasy people the idea of militant solidarity between the people of an oppressed country and the working class of the oppressor country. Such a stand called for courage, because the colonialists' repressive policy was being conducted on behalf of the "French people."

We have constantly developed and deepened our solidarity with the fighters for freedom, with the peoples of the socialist states. In the 1960s, the AKFM started a truly massive movement in Madagascar against the U.S. war in Vietnam, actively exposing the policy of neo-colonial henchmen who supported the puppet Saigon clique. As patriots and internationalists, we did our best to clear our people of the dishonor which was heaped on it by the Tsiranana regime when it established relations with the racists of Pretoria. It brazenly declared that the Madagascar government was prepared to be the last of the African governments to maintain ties with South Africa. A national committee set up with the participation of all the democratic organizations on the island, demanded that the Malagasy authorities rupture these ties. Following the collapse of the neo-colonialist regime (1972), a decision was taken to break them off.

These examples show how deeply the ideas of internationalism are embedded in the minds of our people. This was demonstrated with fresh force by the ninth congress of the AKFM, which urged all party members and sections to carry high the banner of proletarian internationalism, to keep in touch with the most important world problems, and to mark days of solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We voiced solidarity with action by the communists of France, Italy and Portugal against the forces of capitalism and imperialism, for respect of democracy and independence, specifically emphasizing the significance of the joint liberation struggle which the French Communist Party and the AKFM have carried on shoulder to shoulder for a long time.

The congress delegates unanimously condemned the military escalation of U.S. imperialism in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf area, and exposed its clumsy attempts to use the events in Afghanistan and Iran to justify its provocative acts. They also condemned the subversive moves by imperialism and its allies against the Afghan people, and China's armed attack against Vietnam.

The Congress exposed and rejected both anti-communism, which serves imperialism and reaction for justifying the bloody crimes against the peoples, and anti-Sovietism, which is used by international reaction to split the socialist and developing countries and isolate them from each other. Its resolution recalls that it was President Didier Ratsiraka who called the socialist countries our allies in the anti-imperialist struggle. The participants in the congress welcomed these countries' successes, which demonstrate the superiority of socialism, and came out in favor of all-round development of cooperation between them and the underdeveloped countries. The Malagasy people are increasingly aware of the objective need to develop and deepen such cooperation, and this is especially meaningful in light of our socialist choice.

1. The Democratic Committee of Support for the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution (KDRSM) was set up at the end of 1975 on the basis of AKFM (Madagascar Independence Congress Party) for the purpose of taking part, under a ban on party activity, in a nationwide referendum which adopted the program document of the revolutionary-democratic regime, the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution. The referendum supported the draft constitution drawn up on the basis of the charter and the candidacy of Didier Ratsiraka, Chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, for the post of President (December 1975). The party leaders emphasized that the "KDRSM is the AKFM."

2. It was called in May 1958 on the initiative of university lecturers and other Malagasy intellectuals. A few months later the participants in the congress came out in a united front urging the people to say "no" to the neo-colonial plans put up for a referendum by General de Gaulle, so voting for immediate political independence. For details see Gisele Rabesahala's articles in *WMR*, September 1972. — Ed.

3. In 1947, the colonialists provoked an armed uprising, which they brutally put down; clashes between the Malagasy patriots and the colonial troops continued for nearly two years. — Ed.

4. The AKFM's weekly, which was published by Marxists and progressives several years before the establishment of the party. — Ed.

5. Set up in December 1976 and consists of six parties:

the Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (AREMA), the Salvation in Unity Party (VONJY), the Power to the Common People — Defenders of the Revolution Party (MFM/MFT), AKFM/KDRSM, the Socialist Organization MONIMA, and the Union of Christian Democrats of Madagascar (UDECMA).

6. The author was General Secretary of the Madagascar Solidarity Committee. — Ed.

Guyana: positive changes possible

Cheddi Jagan

General Secretary, People's Progressive Party of Guyana

The People's National Congress (PNC) has now been in power in Guyana for 16 years. It is impossible to give a simple assessment of its record, because the PNC's domestic and foreign policy has been extremely inconsistent. In fact, the PNC's domestic and foreign policies fall into four distinct periods since its assumption of power. Of course, this division is only a matter of convenience, but it will, nevertheless, help readers of the journal to gain an insight into events in our country.

From December 1964 to 1970, the PNC government took a patently pro-imperialist and pro-capitalist orientation. For all practical purposes, it invalidated the results of the activity of the PPP government.¹ From 1971 to 1973, the regime was in a state of vacillation, and there were both positive and negative aspects in this activity (with the latter prevailing).

From 1974 to 1976, the PNC government took an anti-imperialist stand. In that period, it became an active participant in the non-aligned movement, supported the national-liberation struggle in Southern Africa, broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, and recognized socialist Cuba. At the same time, the PNC leadership professed (and continues to profess) the flawed two-superpowers theory, which puts the Soviet Union and the United States on the same footing. While giving the regime "critical support," our party insisted that it should abandon the Maoist theory. However, our efforts came to nothing.²

Since 1977 (the beginning of the fourth period), there have been signs that the regime was moving to the right and returning to its pro-imperialist line. The government succumbed to pressure from the foreign monopolies, made concessions to them ever more frequently and finally, in 1978, in order to take the country out of a grave economic crisis, concluded agreements with the IMF which, we believe, clashed with the national interests. Let us bear in mind that the IMF extends credits to cover balance of payments deficit so as to enable the recipient country to settle its financial troubles at the expense of the working people and to keep it within the capitalist orbit. In accordance with the IMF recommendations, the PNC cut back appropriations for

social development, in effect stopped subsidizing consumer goods, and froze wages. In 1977, for instance, the government undertook to fix the minimum daily wage at G\$14 (roughly £2 sterling) but subsequently refused to honor its commitment. Four thousand government employees were dismissed. These measures proved to be counter-productive. As a result, the budget was not balanced, and the country still labors under a payments crisis. In fact, 57 per cent of Guyana's revenues leave the country in debt and compensation payments.

In 1979, the regime introduced a New Investment Code. This move clashed with the promises made by Prime Minister Burnham in December 1974, when he declared (and we supported him) that all the national resources are the property of the nation and that the activity of private foreign capital would be limited and allowed only in the form of joint participation with the state or with cooperatives and under their control. The new investment code flung the door wide open to foreign capital. It provided the basis for agreements with French and West German corporations on the working of uranium deposits, and with Canadian and U.S. corporations on oil exploration in the country. After this, the government invited foreign investors to take part in the construction of a great complex of hydro-power plants and an aluminum works on the basis of bauxite deposits (estimated cost of the project: U.S. \$2 billion).

In August 1980, the government announced its intention to convert enterprises in the two major industries — bauxite and sugar — into cooperatives. Nationalized in the 1974 to 1976 period, these two enterprises account for 85 per cent of the foreign-exchange earnings, and the new measure entails the sale of their stock to the population, including workers. The part of the stock that remains unsold will be offered to foreign monopolies. That, in our view, is nothing but a subtle form of denationalization.

Guyana's economic condition is now extremely grave. Whereas in 1974, when the first signs of the crisis appeared, the budget difficulties were solved owing to the growth of sugar prices on the world market, by the end of 1976 the situation took a sharp

turn for the worse. The economic crisis which gripped the capitalist world had a damaging effect on Guyana's economic life, for it suffered from inflation and had to buy oil at very high prices. The situation was compounded by the fact that the civilian and military apparatus swallowed up a sizable part of the budget. Here are a few figures. When our party was in power, it cost \$14.8 million to maintain the police and the army. In 1973, under the PNC, the figure went up to \$23 million, and in 1974 to \$38 million. Today the PNC spends \$103 million for this purpose.

Political contradictions are sharpening. Last September, the parliament passed a new constitution, and our party made it clear from the very beginning that it had been drafted by PNC confidence tricksters, and that the whole idea was a hoax. We said that Guyana needed a political solution in order to overcome its difficulties and not a constitutional solution. Among the retrogressive measures enshrined in the new constitution are the articles dealing with press freedom and freedom of association. Thus, it was stated that expression must be "fair and balanced," which in reality means that the government now can, by legal means, "find" that the reports published in our newspaper are, in their opinion, not "fair and balanced" and so close it down once and for all. As regards freedom of association, notwithstanding the fact that the regime has already taken measures aimed to restrict our day-to-day functioning as a legal party, the new constitution, which says that "political parties must respect the principles of national sovereignty and of democracy," will in effect enable the ruling party to ban by legal means any or all political parties once they are found to be in breach of this particular article. Moreover, with the promulgation of the new constitution, the present prime minister has become President exercising executive power and may continue in office throughout his life, unless elections become democratic. In these conditions, our party and other progressive democratic forces in Guyana need international solidarity and support that will help us to successfully fight for democracy and for the right of the Guyanese people to freely express their will.

There is also obvious regress in foreign policy. For example, the government took a pro-U.S. stand over China's aggression against Vietnam. In the United Nations, it voted against the Afghan revolution, against the Soviet Union's assistance to democratic Afghanistan. Let us recall that in 1975, the PNC, like our party, supported the Angolan people's struggle, and so won the MPLA's gratitude.

Today, the PNC leadership collaborates not only with the United States but also with China. Whereas five years ago, relations between Georgetown, the capital of Guyana, and Peking were tense, today these relations are highly cordial.

The inconsistent foreign and domestic policies pursued by the regime could possibly be clarified through an analysis of the contradictions between it

and the imperialists in the colonial period and after Guyana's rise to independence in 1966.

Under colonialism, there was racial and cultural discrimination. The Black and Indian population (the country's two main ethnic groups) were savagely exploited. People of this stock could expect to make an administrative career only up to a certain level. After the winning of independence, the PNC élite was given an opportunity to rise from the lowest (or middle) to the highest rungs of the social scale. Its representatives filled the key government posts. The same thing happened in the management of the bauxite and sugar industry, which had been totally dominated by foreigners: British, U.S. and Canadian citizens held the executive posts, while local working people did the dirty work. After nationalization, PNC technocrats filled the key posts in the above-mentioned two key industries. Consequently, these changes had an influence on the PNC's class outlook: whereas in the past, its leadership, at best, held social-democratic views, it has become purely capitalist oriented.

The parasitic, mediatory neo-compradore bourgeoisie, which now caters for the government corporations, has acquired much power. In this connection, law, developmental, accounting, shipping and building companies have been set up in the guise of cooperatives: Stoll, Thomas y Dias, the government's official auditors, is a company which has close ties with the ruling party.³

Making use of profitable contracts, the neo-compradore bourgeoisie appropriates the surplus value which could be used for the benefit of the workers, to balance the budget and to finance development programs. At the same time, the industrial, agrarian and commercial bourgeoisie is gaining in strength.

The bourgeoisie exploits the working class with whose support it has risen to power, and this explains the working people's dissatisfaction, and the workers' anti-government action. But the new bourgeoisie is financially weak, and this is precisely why it needs military, economic and political support from the imperialists, who, as we are aware, are quick to capitalize on these weaknesses and put pressure on the regime so forcing it to change its stand on issues that run counter to their interests.

Insofar as Washington's official attitude to Guyana's present government is concerned, for the U.S. ruling circles this is indeed a serious problem. While the Carter administration supported the regime, it was in a quandary about how to explain this support to Latin American and Caribbean public opinion, considering the fact that the PNC has been flagrantly violating human rights.⁴ After all, in a report submitted by the U.S. State Department to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee (February 1979), it was forced to admit that there were numerous complaints about the government's procedure in registering referendum⁵ participants, and also reliable assertions about the results of the election that the PNC was constantly rigging.

Fearful of spreading anti-imperialist attitudes in Guyana and in the absence of any other influential

right-wing or centrist party on which it could rely, Washington has put its stake on the PNC, while being aware that its positions are very weak. Unfortunately, some progressive leaders abroad continue to regard the PNC regime as anti-imperialist, which it actually was, as I have said, in the 1974-1976 period, and this probably because they are not very well informed about what has happened over the last few years.

Now and again we are being told: you keep criticizing the Burnham government, but what would the PPP do if it came to power? According to its program,⁶ the PPP wants a political system that could ensure the nation's independence and sovereignty, and the people's freedom and well-being, do away with colonialism and neo-colonialism, stand up to imperialist domination, against despotic and dictatorial forms of government, put through an agrarian reform and other democratic transformations, and go on to build a socialist society. As we see it, it is important not only to transfer the means of production to the state, but also to change the relations of production and make them socialist. Economic growth and nationalization do not in themselves amount to socialism, although a certain level of economic development is necessary.

Socialism is a class and political conception. Its substance consists in the socialization of the means of production, a fair distribution of income, and the establishment of the power of the working people. Hence our immediate goal: the transfer of the full plenitude of power to the workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia, and the establishment of a people's revolutionary democratic government based on an anti-imperialist program.

The PPP's economic plan is aimed at the best use of labor, natural, financial and technical resources to boost production and productivity, so as to win economic independence and satisfy the people's vital requirements.

Back in 1969, we declared that the commanding heights in the economy must be in the hands of the state. We welcomed the nationalization of the bauxite and sugar industry. However, most of the banks and insurance companies are still owned by foreign capitalists. In 1976, the government had the intention of nationalizing them as well, but the economic crisis that broke out prevented it from putting through this plan. Pressure from the imperialists undoubtedly had an effect as well.

If our party were in power, it would enlarge both the state and the cooperative sector, curb operations by foreign capital and establish control over it, something Burnham used to suggest at one time. Foreign investors would be allowed to have a minority interest. Up to now, loans have been mainly used to develop the infrastructure. We believe that the emphasis should be on boosting industry and agriculture.

Guyana is in an advantageous position: it has a small population on a fairly large territory.⁷ From 1957 to 1964, that is, within seven years of government, our party succeeded in increasing rice output

by 74 per cent, while having to engage in a fierce fight against local reaction and imperialism, and the CIA in the first place. We put the marketing of farm produce under the control of the peasants who grew the rice and won the battle with flying colors.

A concrete, practical approach to economic problems would require ending corruption and squandering, and above all a trimming of the state apparatus so as to balance the budget (to some extent). Thus, there is a need to reduce the number of ministries,⁸ especially the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the cost of maintaining its missions abroad, and cut the salaries of ministers. The Ministry of National Development, for instance, spends over \$10 million a year, mainly on the maintenance of the apparatus of the PNC Party.

We also believe that expenditures on the army should be cut although it should be professional, regular and well equipped. We want a people's militia, the arming of the people. This will help to strengthen the national budget.

There is a need to secure a rescheduling of the external debt and compensation payments. If this is done, it will be easier to solve the foreign-exchange problem and keep the balance of payments in equilibrium. The point is that a sizable part of our foreign-exchange earnings goes to service the external debt; consequently, the shortage of foreign exchange has a negative effect on the people's living standards, makes it harder to subsidize consumer goods, and at the same time to supply raw materials to industry, spare parts to machinery, etc.

We believe that the rational and thrifty use of the available resources could bring about progress in a relatively short period of time.

The petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic-minded national bourgeoisie and members of the middle strata, the PPP believes, will have a definite role to play in the economy in the building of socialism. We tell them not only about the experience of Popular Unity in Chile, but also about the experience of the GDR, where mixed companies with the participation of private capital existed.

Our party has publicly called for and is working toward the creation of a National Patriotic Front. But it does not demand ideological conformity in an NPF, believing that there is place for communists and non-communists. However, we are opposed to anti-communism, which is a reactionary imperialist ideology, the ideology of the CIA.

The PPP is prepared to share power with all the democratic and progressive political and social forces operating in the country. Our party is of the view that, in keeping with the realities of Guyana, it is necessary to devise a system where "winner does not take all" and where most parties and their allies would be involved in the process of government. Such a government would also be capable of solving the acute racial problem. Why is there need to specially deal with this? Because we are sometimes being accused that "once in power," the PPP would set up an Indian government. But we stand for a multi-party government, and the racial problem will undoubtedly be solved by joint efforts.

Racial unity and political democracy, especially in the field of production, are problems of exceptional importance. Unfortunately, the PNC leadership has refused to support the PPP's call for the establishment of a National Patriotic Front government which, incidentally, has won great support among the people.⁹

If the elections were truly free and fair, our party, together with the Guyana Working People's Union Party would win 75-80 per cent of the poll. It is true that we have some differences with this party, and this due to certain leftist tendencies in its midst, among other reasons. But they are learning from experience, and we hope that they will eventually overcome these shortcomings, so that the PPP would be able to cooperate with them more closely. At the same time, our party has been doing everything to return the PNC to consistent anti-imperialist positions. Here we have taken into account the extremely complicated situation in the Caribbean and Central American zone.

The United States is giving its military aid to the reactionary clique in El Salvador, infiltrating CIA agents into the country in an effort to prevent another Grenada or Nicaragua. If a revolutionary explosion also takes place in Guyana, imperialism is bound to intervene in our affairs. That is why our main political goal now is unity of the working class, of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

1. The People's Progressive Party was founded in 1950, and from the outset started a resolute struggle against the British colonialists, for national independence, for higher living standards and greater democratic rights for the people. It is a mass party and its political line enjoys broad popularity among the people. In its activity, the PPP relies on the working class and the peasantry, and is supported by forward-looking intellectuals and some members of the petty bourgeoisie. On three occasions (1953, 1957 and 1961), the party won elections to the legislative assembly, and its leader, Cheddi Jagan, filled the post of Prime Minister. — Ed.

2. For details see Cheddi Jagan, "Political Flexibility, Ideological Implacability," *WMR*, December 1975. — Ed.

3. Under the PPP government, W.G. Stoll was chairman of the Civil Servants Association, and had a fairly important role to play in urging his subordinates to take part in an 80-day strike in 1963, which was financed by the CIA.

4. The recent assassination of Dr. Walter Rodney, a leader of the Guyana Working People's Union Party, aroused universal indignation at home and abroad. Vigorous protests were voiced by former Prime Minister of Jamaica Michael Manley and Prime Minister of Grenada Maurice Bishop.

5. Held in 1978 over the adoption of the new constitution. — Ed.

6. *Guyana's Road to Socialism*. Georgetown, 1979. Political Program of the People's Progressive Party.

7. Population, 810,000; area, 215,000 sq. km. — Ed.

8. Under our government we had 10, today there are 27.

9. For details see, Cheddi Jagan, "Acute Problems of Guyana," *WMR*, December 1979.

A leap across centuries

REALITIES OF SOCIALISM

This year Mongolia will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the victory of the People's Revolution. On the occasion of these two anniversaries the republic was visited by a *WMR* delegation at the invitation of the MPRP's Central Committee to see how the Mongolian people live and how they are building socialism.

The following is a collective report on the visit by Roland Bauer (SUPG), Clement Rohee (People's Progressive Party of Guyana), Ahmed Salem (Communist Party of the Sudan), and Mikhail Novikov, *WMR* staff member.

A reflection of the past

In the semi-darkness, candles cast shimmering patches of light on the gilt statues of Sakyamuni and other Buddhist saints in a glazed niche. Along the walls, shelves displayed twenty-mongo coins, boxes of matches and other modest offerings. Grey-blue cloth and narrow drums, painted in dark colors, hung from the ceiling.

Lamas in claret and saffron robes sat in the middle, on low cushioned benches that took up almost the whole free space. One of them, apparently the

oldest, leafed through a thick tome, intoning prayers. The others echoed him with a fair degree of harmony. Several believers, elderly men with a fixed look on their faces, stood between the benches and the walls. Suddenly the drums were struck, and the next moment their sound was drowned by a trumpet blast. The lamas raised their voices to a high pitch.

We came out of the musty lamasery into the sunlit yard, pleasurably turning our faces to the wind blowing from beyond the Chingiltu Ula mountains. We might have been less impressed by the exotic Buddhist sermon if the day before we had not met Gelegiyn Adya, Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee; he had told us about Lamaism whose spread was encouraged by the Manchurian-Chinese conquerors of Mongolia back in the 17th century. Unable to subdue the people by force, they chose another weapon — a spiritual ailment to undermine their will for resistance, blunt their militancy, sow non-resistance to evil, and infuse a spirit of resignation to fate and hence passivity. "It is better to walk than to run, better to stand still than to walk, better to sit than to stand, and better to lie than to sit." This was the ideal inculcated by lamaism, which held back progress for centuries on end.

A few steps from there, life was following an

entirely different course. Buses sped through the streets of Ulan Bator, trucks rumbled along, carrying building materials and factory containers, the whistle of a diesel locomotive rent the air. And we, too, traveled fast around the country as large as Britain, France, Spain and Yugoslavia put together. We covered over a thousand kilometers by air and about the same distance in cars, stayed in three cities and visited pastures in the Gobi. We talked to high-ranking officials of the MPRP Central Committee and secretaries of local party committees, ministers and factory managers, shepherds and workers. We saw that Mongolia is not standing still but moving or even speeding on toward the clear horizons of a new life.

Starting point

In a letter to Kautsky nearly a hundred years ago Frederick Engels wrote about the development of colonies after they achieved national independence: "But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, I think we today can advance only rather idle hypotheses" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 351).

However, no such hypotheses were put forward in Outer Mongolia, then a backward fringe region of the Manchu empire. The country was in lethargy. Even its secession in 1911 changed very little in the life of its feudal theocratic society, one of the most backward in Asia.

Arats, or nomadic stock breeders, went on grazing their livestock on boundless but poor pastures. As in the past, they were semi-serfs of the feudal lords (7.8 per cent of the population) and the lamaseries (of which there were over 750), or the owners of all lands and half of the livestock. Of the 647,000 inhabitants of Mongolia, over 100,000 were lamas, or men who had taken the vows of celibacy and did no useful work. The country's subsistence economy preserved antiquated implements and household utensils. Fire in the hearth was kindled with a flint. Flintlocks and slow-match rifles had yet to become museum exhibits. Drawn-out Mongolian songs rang out as ever over the steppe, and age-old legends were passed on by word of mouth. The people knew no such thing as books: only one per cent could read and write. Infants and adults died as lamas prayed at their bedside — there were no medicines. The people were faced with slow extinction.

That is what Mongolia was like when, in 1921, the People's Revolution began.

By that time vigorous and searching Marxist thought, enriched by revolutionary practice, was at the stage of its Leninist development. The question of development paths for one-time colonial peoples was no longer a matter of theory but one of practice. Speaking at the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin drew the conclusion that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to com-

munist, without having to pass through the capitalist stage" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244). These words were heard in Mongolia and, moreover, adopted by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party as a guideline.

And now, seeing the country which had skipped a whole epoch, we understandably compared what we saw with its pre-revolutionary past and with what we knew from our own experience.

The road from Ulan Bator to Darkhan ran across a steppe with numerous squat mountains scattered all around. Perhaps it was on that road that we first realized the meaning of the phrase "one inhabitant per square kilometer." You drive for half an hour or forty minutes and yet see no sign of a dwelling, not a single vehicle. And that was in settled areas, along a road linking two major industrial centers. That helped us gain a deeper insight into the objective difficulties of building the new life in Mongolia, namely, the shortage of labor.

To make a proper assessment of the road itself, we began with the starting point of the nation's economic development. Before the revolution Academician Ivan Maisky, then a young economist, wrote, after a close scrutiny of northern Mongolia, that the roads "were not even a continuous, well-worn track standing out of the green landscape around it but rather no more than directions."¹

As we set out for Darkhan, we knew from the same book that "at that time Mongolia had no industry in the real sense of the word. The Mongolians processed animal products by primitive methods..."² The country's entire public wealth was based on extensive stock breeding.

Was it really necessary to build industries, starting from scratch and in the face of innumerable difficulties? Was the break-up of the centuries-long shepherd economy indispensable for a happier life? Unquestionably.

Socialist construction could not have its starting point in a primitive subsistence economy that could guarantee neither a decent life for the bulk of the population, cultural progress, nor independent statehood. The only way to achieve that goal was indicated by Lenin, who said that the national economy had to be developed rapidly to meet the people's every need.³ "It was only from the islets of the new economic way of life created by the efforts of the Party and the government that the new, non-capitalist economic system of arat Mongolia would take shape," Lenin told a Mongolian government delegation (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, p. 361).

Ten years after that interview, in 1931, the foundations of the first project of Mongolian industry were laid in Ulan Bator. It was an industrial complex processing raw materials of animal husbandry and producing consumer goods. At the time we set out for Darkhan equipped with these data, industry was accounting for more than 60 per cent of the gross national product.

How much bigger is this proportion than it was in 1921? One can make no comparison for the simple reason that there was no manufacturing industry at the time. Nor was there a power engineering indus-

try. Before the revolution Mongolia had not a single industrial power plant, today it has a power-generating capacity of 403,000 kw.

A comparison with 1940, when the transition from the democratic to the socialist stage of the revolution began, revealed striking facts. Mongolia's annual output of that year is now equaled in 10 days.

As for agriculture its output is now far greater than before. Collectivization and the formation of agricultural associations and state farms made it possible to boost efficiency in stock breeding, begin growing vegetables and grain, supply the farms with tractors, harvester-combines and trucks, and develop virgin and long-fallow lands.⁴ Grain had to be imported in those years but today Mongolia is self-sufficient despite the fact that bakery products have become a staple (formerly the Mongolian diet consisted almost entirely of fats and proteins). And speaking of per capita meat consumption (up to 150 kilos a year), Mongolia continues to hold a leading place in the world.

We had time to consider all this during our 240 kilometer drive to Darkhan. Dusk was falling when we entered the green, well-planned town with industrial buildings on the outskirts.

Town of friendship

Next morning D. Dembereldash, Secretary of the Darkhan party committee, told us about the town. Like most of the party leaders we met in Mongolia he is young and has received a higher education. His story was to the point and abounded in figures. Darkhan stands where there had only been a small railway station. This choice of site was made because it combines a railway with the proximity of mineral deposits. In 1961 it welcomed builders from fraternal countries. Ever since then, Darkhan has been known as a town of friendship.

Four years after construction was started, a thermal power station with a projected capacity of 100,000 kw went into operation. It was built with Soviet aid and was followed by the Georgi Dimitrov sheepskin coat factory (built with Bulgaria's help), a cement plant (built with Czechoslovak aid), a silicate brick works (built with Polish aid), a meat-packing plant (Hungarian workers helped build it), and a food complex (built with Soviet aid).

We will now break off our narrative about Darkhan to make a generalization regarding friendship in a broader sense.

Fraternal assistance, as Lenin saw it, could make up for the lack of the material, economic prerequisites of socialism caused by the painfully long and intolerably harsh process of capitalist accumulation of wealth. Mongolia is a living embodiment of this proposition.

The first to help was the Soviet Union, then the only socialist power in the world. With Soviet assistance Mongolia passed the democratic stage of development and laid the groundwork for a new society. Then came assistance from other countries of the socialist community, of which the MPR had become a member. In 1962 Mongolia joined the

CMEA and has since then increased its share in the international socialist division of labor. Its relations with friendly partner states are characterized by gratuitous supplies of material and equipment, credits on easy terms and mutually beneficial trade. These relations may be described as socialist internationalism in action. As a result, in a matter of several decades — a fleeting moment in terms of history — Mongolia leaped across a whole epoch, a period that in many other countries lasted centuries.

We could not help comparing this with capitalist aid to developing countries. We knew enough about it from both literature and our own observations. That aid often looks generous. But unlike what we saw in Mongolia, it lacks the important thing, for it gives no scope for the productive forces of the recipient countries, for the consolidation of their economic independence, for a happy life on foundations to be laid by their own people.

However, we will yet have an opportunity for comparisons of this nature. And now to return to Darkhan, a town of 60,000, one-fifth of whom are active in the production sphere. There are about 1,800 communists and almost 60 party organizations in Darkhan — a small but effective contingent of the 73,567-strong MPRP (as of early 1980). In Darkhan, as elsewhere in the republic, the communists are the organizing and guiding force leading the people and directing their efforts to the fulfillment of economic, social and cultural tasks.

The town is young and so are its people — 80 per cent of them are under 30. The annual population increment is 33 per 1,000 (or two more than elsewhere in the country, whose population has doubled in the past 30 years).

In addition to the industrial enterprises we have mentioned there are a youth theater, cinemas, libraries, secondary schools attended by nearly 14,000 children, a polytechnic, and specialized medical, construction, water engineering and vocational schools. All these schools train specialists for the whole country.

These are characteristics of Darkhan. And here is something equally typical of the town and the whole country. Every fourth person is a student. Every reading person subscribes to several newspapers and magazines. Every televiewer watches both local and foreign telecasts (the latter through the Orbit system). The town's difficulties are common to the whole country. It is short of labor, as we have already said. The Darkhan authorities say that there is a certain shortage of medical personnel even though the shortage is relative (as in many developed countries, the republic has 105 hospital beds, 23 doctors and 78 paramedics per 10,000 inhabitants; Darkhan is not any worse off). Darkhan's 13 day care centers cannot accommodate all of the town's children.

Difficulties experienced by any people evoke sympathy and response. But everything is relative. One of us, keeping a record of these data, recalled the situation in his own country, Guyana, where there is only one doctor per 10,000 persons, and day

care centers are non-existent. Another member of our group made a comparison with Sudan, where nomadic tribes live almost the same life as their predecessors did 100 or 200 years ago. So our conclusion was: formerly backward countries advancing along the socialist road see social benefits as natural and even insufficient, while former colonies with capitalist relations see them as a desired, alluring future.

After we had filled our notebooks with facts and figures, we went on a tour of the town's factories.

At the Dimitrov factory, which makes sheepskin coats and jackets, we saw Textima sewing machines from the GDR. Fur trimming machines were of the same make. Half an hour later we again came across GDR-made automatic machines, bearing the Nagema trademark this time. They stood in the candy department of the food complex. There we chatted with S. Enebish, a worker. She is an esteemed person at the enterprise, a party member, and a deputy to the People's Great Khural.

"Who are your parents?" we asked the young woman, expecting the reply that she was born in a yurt, had tended sheep in her childhood, and then moved to the town and learned a trade. But what we heard was entirely different.

"My father's a mechanic. My mother was a worker here until she went on pension. My husband works here."

Enebish was thus a hereditary member of the class which now plays the leading role in the country but was non-existent in old, arat Mongolia. Today blue and white-collar workers and their families comprise 63 per cent of the population.

However, further down we will pick up the story of the working class.

At the foot of Treasure Mountain

Erdenet is Mongolian for "Treasure Mountain." The name is apt, for the long, low mountain is stuffed with copper and molybdenum ore, which lies close to the surface and can be open-cut mined.

However, mining is worthwhile commercially only when the ore can be concentrated in the same locality. This was the consideration for the joint Mongolian-Soviet project of a concentrating mill at Erdenet as a vital element of Mongolian industry.

In February 1973, building workers arrived. They began putting up the mill and the town next to it. People from every part of Mongolia joined in the project: they were assisted by workers and engineers from 50 regions of the Soviet Union. The first section of the mill went into operation ahead of schedule, in December 1978. So did the second section. The other two sections were to have been completed in 1982. But the builders intend to finish the project a year earlier. This will then be one of the world's biggest mills of its kind. Meanwhile, it is among the most advanced technologically. It uses many sophisticated machines that have not yet been used even by their manufacturer, the Soviet Union.

When, after driving 170 kilometers along the Darkhan highway, you arrive in Erdenet, you see

first of all two oblong dark-green buildings comparable in size to the mountain at whose foot they rise. They belong to the mill. And it is not until some 15 minutes later that, rounding a curve, you come into sight of a white modern town with wide streets and elegant houses. Its population is now close to 40,000, but this is only a beginning. Sixteen housing estates are to be built (only four have so far been completed).

We were invited to follow the entire technological process. It begins at Treasure Mountain, whose height is no longer what maps show, for a thick layer has been cut off and processed.

Somewhere beyond a fence marked with red flags, men we could not see were making preparations for a further round of blasts. What we did see was only two excavators. They were loading ore broken up by a blast into 40-ton dump trucks.

But we will not go into technology. What we non-specialists were more interested in, was a different aspect of production. What is its role in the country's life? Could Mongolia have built the mill had it not been a people's republic and a member of the socialist community? Of course. If the project had held out the promise of profit for the capitalists of a developed bourgeois country, or if monopoly circles had had a stake in it, the mill could have been built just as fast and at roughly the same technological level. But what would that have meant to Mongolia? Would it have benefited?

We interviewed R.I. Simigin, Candidate of Technical Sciences, the manager of the complex. He told us that a year before he had visited a similar plant in Zambia. At the plant, built by a Western company, only nine of the thousands of employees were Zambians — an engineer and eight technologists, six of whom were trained in the Soviet Union and three in Britain. To get a job at the plant, you have to speak English. Needless to say, the company does nothing to pass on the expertise of its personnel to Zambians. Although 51 per cent of the stock is held by the Zambian government, the company has only to recall its personnel for production to stop.

Two of us saw nothing surprising in that situation — this is the way the neo-colonialists behaved in Guyana and still behave in the Sudan.

Now for what we learned about Erdenet.

The training of personnel for the complex began in 1976 at factories in the Soviet Union and at Mongolian educational institutions. A training center was opened in Erdenet in 1977. Of the mill's 3,565 employees, 39 per cent are Soviet citizens and 61 per cent Mongolians (whose proportion is still greater — 76 per cent — in the open-cut mine). Directly engaged in production are 189 Mongolian specialists; some of them were trained in the Soviet Union and others at Ulan Bator University.

The workers have all received at least a seven-year education. Incidentally, many of them are of arat origin. Their fathers were not used to regular, day-by-day work with fixed hours. The sons of these people are now members of the working class.

Another typical phenomenon is that every Soviet specialist is also a mentor, that is, a voluntary in-

structor of several Mongolian colleagues; 70 per cent of the employees are members of international teams in which people from both countries work. They bear a common responsibility for fulfillment of the plan and for adherence to production and technological rules, and have a common stake in the end results.

It is worthy of note that Soviet employees willingly attend the Mongolian language classes set up for them, while Mongolians study Russian just as willingly. Understanding between them is complete. The two party organizations, which comprise members of the CPSU and the MPRP, solve their problems in close unity.

We might add that the project is being built with Soviet and Mongolian money, allotted in equal shares. The Soviet share is gratuitous. When completed, the enterprise will become the property of Mongolia, to be used as its owner sees fit. And in the near future, production will be run only by local personnel.

These, then, are the social and economic effects of cooperation determined by relations of a new, unprecedented type. It is on these lines that the country, once backward, is being brought level with industrial socialist countries. There is plainly not a sign here of capitalist relations, under which aid from the strong keeps the weak on the leash. As soon as the former cuts off aid in case of "disobedience," the latter's development comes to a standstill — for lack of trained personnel, technical documentation, spare parts and so on. The question may arise whether the personnel of the Erdenet complex is typical, socially speaking, of the whole republic, and whether it is not a unique entity brought into being by concentrating effort at one point.

The Erdenet complex is no doubt uncommon in Mongolia in terms of size, equipment and specialization. As a project of the whole people, it has been assigned some of the most highly-trained specialists and workers. But as far as the educational standard of the personnel or the ratio of employees differing in qualification is concerned, neither the enterprise, nor the town is exceptional. We satisfied ourselves on this point upon learning further facts elsewhere.

From the thick of the people

In Ulan Bator, the starting and end point of our entire tour, one of the many people we spoke to was Dondogiyn Tsevegmid, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Culture. On describing, as is customary, the state and development of the republic's culture, he added in passing that he was an "old teacher."

Showered with questions, he had to say something about himself. His is a life story that no one would call an ordinary one. Elementary education was followed by five months at a teachers' training school and then he was appointed the headmaster of a school that did not yet exist. It took him six weeks to get — mainly on foot — to his destination. He met with resistance from lamas, who tried to talk parents out of letting their children study, but the

school was in the end set up in a yurt even though it had only four pupils at that early stage. Every pencil had to be cut into several parts.

Tsevegmid rose in the teaching profession as a self-taught man. He learned Russian and translated a botany textbook into Mongolian. Afterward, as a secondary school teacher in Ulan Bator, he tackled English. What the minister did not say was that in later years he won recognition as the author of the stories *Bold and Sambuu*, *Naidan the Shepherd* and *Gambat*, and the poem *The Grave*. He is thus a communist writer and prominent figure.

"We now have compulsory eight-year education," he said in conclusion, "and are preparing to introduce universal 10-year education. The days when anybody dissuaded children from going to school are gone."

Perhaps the most remarkable thing was that the spiritual climate of the country had changed strikingly in the lifetime of a single generation. To give a better idea of these changes, here is the story of another intellectual.

N. Sodnom, Corresponding Member of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, was born two years after the revolution. He is young enough to have been one of Tsevegmid's first pupils. But how much greater opportunities he had in comparison with his teachers! A son of an illiterate arat, he received a secondary education. In 1942 he was among the first students to be admitted to the university, just opened. He graduated from the department of physics and mathematics, and specialized in nuclear physics on completing his postgraduate studies in Moscow. His further career was determined by his natural talent and the need to advance science.

The more noteworthy milestones of that career, which speak for themselves, were as follows: lecturer at Ulan Bator University and then its rector; senior researcher at the United Institute for Nuclear Research at Dubna, USSR; Vice-Director of that Institute; once again, Rector of his Alma Mater. He is a member of the Presidium of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the Scientific Council of Dubna Institute. In 1980 he was appointed head of the State Committee for Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and Vocational Training.

At the committee we were told that over 32,000 Mongolians have received a higher education and that there are 131 higher school students and 111 secondary technical school students per 10,000 inhabitants. But even this is not enough for a fast-growing economy needing more diploma'd engineers and economists. Fraternal countries are helping to resolve this problem by inviting Mongolian students — cooperation within the CMEA extends to higher education.

In the few days we spent in Mongolia, it was hard to form a more or less complete idea of the fruits of the cultural revolution. But we were very much impressed by what we saw.

A memorable event was our visit to the Museum of Fine Arts, where the evolution of forms of self-expression used by the people could be seen

in particularly bold relief. As if travelling from century to century, we passed from room to room and from jewellery made by ancient craftsmen whose masterpieces were intended for secular or religious use to present-day specimens of painting and sculpture. We lingered longer than elsewhere in front of "Fighting Stallions" a painting by People's Artist of the MPR, O. Tsevegzhav. The theme, background and meaning of the work was purely Mongolian. But the means of expression, the effect of depth achieved by the interplay of color, light, and shade, the bold strokes of the brush were those of a European painter of the realist school. This close interconnection marked the new that has come into being at the borderline between folk and classical art.

We made similar discoveries at a concert, at which traditional folk dances displayed professional precision and songs were performed to the accompaniment of now Mongolian, now European music.

These are all no more than details, of course, that cannot create a general picture. But even so brief a contact with the people's culture and their intellectual life gave us a better idea of the specific features of a country where the groundwork of a new life was laid in an incredibly short time. Of course, the edifice going up on this groundwork was different from anything we had seen before. "All nations will arrive at socialism — this is inevitable," Lenin wrote, "but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of

socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70). The rate is very high in Mongolia. You have only to recall what they started from to see how much has been accomplished within an unprecedentedly brief span of time.

The Mongolian example has enriched the theory and practice of socialism. There is a good deal of the instructive and the attractive in it for the developing countries which have opted for a non-capitalist road. It combines a high growth rate in every sphere of life and social justice which offers every member of society equal opportunities. It is an instance of real independence enabling the state to choose its home and foreign policy line unhampered and each individual to work freely for the common good.

The people's lethargy has long been over. New Mongolia is, above all, a country of new people with a progressive outlook, of active people having nothing in common with Buddhist passivity. The remnant of the past, with whose description we began our account, has been made a remnant not by violence or artificial isolation but by the profound changes in the nation's spiritual make-up. In contrast with what surrounds it, this remnant accentuates that the country's future belongs to the educated sons and daughters of the people.

1. I.M. Maisky, *Mongolia on the Eve of Revolution*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 146-147.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

3. *Reminiscences About Lenin*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1969, p. 440.

4. Mongolian agriculture is dealt with in *WMR*, January 1980.

Eve of the decisive battle

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Revolutionary Leadership of El Salvador

El Salvador, a small Central American nation, has been constantly in the news for a long time. From the very first days of the new year of 1981 it has been conspicuous in the coverage of the struggle of the Latin American peoples against the oligarchy and imperialism. *WMR* carried a series of articles analyzing the developments in El Salvador. In the last of that series (*WMR*, October 1980) Shafik Jorge Handal, CC General Secretary of the Communist Party of El Salvador, wrote of the mounting revolution, of the formation of a center coordinating revolutionary mass organizations, the Revolutionary Democratic Front, and the military-political Unified Revolutionary Leadership that had undertaken to accomplish the revolution on both the political and military planes. What has happened since then? How are events shaping out?

Despite the vicious terror unleashed by the ruling military-civilian junta, the revolutionary process in

El Salvador is on the upgrade. We believe that it has acquired an irreversible character. The triumph of the revolution is nearer than ever before. This confidence is based on a comprehensive study of objective factors, the chief of which is the further consolidation of unity among the democratic forces. A qualitatively new stage was ushered in with the formation of an insurgent army last October — the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.* Its

*Agustin Farabundo Marti (1894-1932) was one of the leaders of the Communist Party of El Salvador and Chairman of the Salvadoran branch of the International Red Cross. He took part in the armed struggle of the Nicaraguan people led by General Cesar Augusto Sandino against a Yankee army of intervention. After becoming private secretary to Sandino, Marti rose to the rank of Colonel in the Army of Defenders of the Sovereignty of Nicaragua. Just before the popular uprising of 1932 in El Salvador, Marti, who was provisional General Secretary of the CPES Central Committee, was arrested and on February 1, 1932, he was executed by a firing squad. — Ed.

name and organization had been decided upon in the agreements of May 1980, under which the military-political Unified Revolutionary Leadership was set up. As any other military organization, the FMNLF has a General Command and a General Headquarters. There is a provision that, if necessary, a Military Council will be set up (under the direction of one or two political leaders). On the basis of the forces at our disposal we have formed four fronts: two in the center of the country and a western and an eastern. The combat units on their territory are engaging government troops in battle.

Significant advances have been made in the armed struggle within a relatively short span of time. This is due mainly to the fact that operations are now planned jointly, while formerly each revolutionary organization planned them separately.

The ruling junta has no base in the country. It is finding itself in growing isolation on the international scene as well thanks, in particular, to the solidarity shown by the peoples and governments of other countries. It may be said with certainty that we now have the possibility and the fighting strength for inflicting a military defeat on the enemy. The greatest danger to the revolution is not so much from the local oligarchy as from U.S. imperialism, which is threatening military intervention. We are preparing to repulse such intervention, regardless of whether the Pentagon confines itself to the use of its own forces or has recourse to assistance from reactionary regimes.

The revolutionary army is thus faced with a two-fold task: to prepare for a decisive battle with the internal enemy and to organize resistance in the event of foreign aggression. To this end new forms of struggle will have to be developed. Already today it is apparent that for victory it is insufficient to have a regular army and guerrilla units. Self-defense forces have to be formed. Moreover, it is important to improve the military training of the people and draw larger numbers into military operations. For this purpose we are seizing population centers for short periods.

I'll give a few examples. Last May the ruling junta, aided by Venezuelan military advisers, drew up a plan for the nation's "pacification," providing for the formation of strategic strongpoints — the Salvadoran variant of the anti-humanitarian tactics tested by the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam. In accordance with this plan, government troops began razing villages whose inhabitants, according to their information, had participated in the guerrilla movement. They mounted manhunts, and destroyed dwellings and stocks of food, devastating large areas. The number of killed reached staggering proportions.

In response to this terror the revolutionary forces have organized the defense of the civilian population. The evacuation of supporters of the regime gives us the signal that the junta's military units plan to attack this or that population center. This allows us to prepare for defense in advance. Units of our army located near the locality concerned, try to prevent its encirclement by the enemy, and if this

maneuver fails they break through the ring and thereby save the inhabitants. This situation is making the people realize more quickly that there is no way out except by participating in or aiding the struggle.

In June and July the junta conducted a massive operation to crush the guerrilla movement in the department of Morazan. This operation involved 5,000 troops, including units specially trained in counter-insurgency warfare. They used tanks, helicopter gunships, heavy artillery and other armaments. Through our intelligence network we learned the aims and magnitude of the operation and decided on resistance. As a result, the enemy failed either to encircle or enter the zone controlled by us, losing 300 men, including 17 officers, while the guerrilla losses were 23 men. This was, I would say, the first major battle — it lasted five days. Encirclement was also foiled in the San Vicente area. This gave us experience of resistance.

Our armed struggle differs from the struggle that has been or is being waged in some other Latin American states. In El Salvador this is a popular movement combining diverse actions. We have the support of the people in both the countryside and the towns — not in one particular region but throughout the nation. The people are themselves taking a direct and active part in the fighting. This is why, urged on by U.S. imperialism, the junta is resorting to genocide, to the annihilation of the population, in order, as Shafik Handal put it, to "deprive the fish of water" by means of terror. Reaction is finding it increasingly more difficult to run a dividing line between the masses and the revolutionaries. Hence the indiscriminate killing and terror, of which the world hears daily.

The military-civilian junta is out to destroy at least 100,000 opponents, and the number of killed is reaching 50 a day. At the end of November 1980, reaction dealt us a heavy blow, killing several leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, including its president, Enrique Alvarez Cordoba. However, despite the intensified repressions, the revolutionary organizations are growing stronger as more and more people join them. This bears out the conclusion that the masses support the revolution.

Never before have government troops been involved on such a massive scale in suppressing the people. Punitive operations used to be conducted mainly by security organs. The semi-fascist junta has taken this step not because the existing repressive apparatus is inadequate but in order to compromise the officer corps with the blood of the people.

As a result, the contradictions in the armed forces have mounted drastically. The underground movement of young military men seeking a political way out of the crisis situation has grown much more militant. Anti-imperialist and anti-fascist feeling is rapidly growing in this movement on account of the USA's flagrant interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador. We revolutionaries should closely analyze the nature of these contradictions and opportunely note the new tendencies among

the officers in order to work out a correct political line relative to them. This does not mean that the people cannot win without the backing of at least part of the army. The possibility of winning without the support of the army has been demonstrated, in particular, by the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. We want victory with the least pain.

Our country's specific features and the policies of the ruling circles have determined the structure of the Salvadoran military-political organizations and the methods and forms of their actions. For instance, the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces, the Revolutionary People's Army, and the Armed Forces of National Resistance, formed during the past decade, operate as self-defense forces, guerrilla units, and a regular army. The Communist Party's Armed Forces of Liberation were formed later along the same pattern. This structure is in itself evidence that our experience differs in some respects from the experience of armed struggle in other Latin American states.

Formerly, the guerrilla units were closed military organizations. They operated on their own, chiefly in rural localities or in the mountains and had little contact with the population and with progressive political parties.

Our revolutionary groups drew a lesson from their experience. They saw, some earlier and some later, that it was impossible to carry on the struggle without popular support. "Phased promotion to the status of soldier" is a specific form of work that has been developed and tested in El Salvador. It allows putting the devotion and staunchness of this or that person to the test in the struggle for socio-economic demands.

For decades on end the strike struggle suffered defeat in the clashes with factory owners and government officials. As a rule, the authorities intervened with the resultant arrests and killings. Trade union leaders "disappeared;" many were tortured hideously in the secret prisons of the security agencies. What had to be done under these circumstances? To secure the satisfaction of their grievances or at least counter the repressions, strikers began to seize factories and take the managers or owners hostage. This tactic required the armed defense of the factory concerned and the evacuation of the people in the event of an attack by punitive units. In turn, this compelled the trade unions planning a strike to seek the assistance or advice of armed revolutionary organizations.

Actions of this kind gave birth to new forms of resistance, in particular, the "phased promotion to the status of soldier." It was in these actions that our comrades, who became commanders of self-defense units, acquired experience. Those who won distinction were sent to guerrilla units or to the revolutionary army. This obviously has nothing in common with spontaneous decisions to leave a factory, university or the parliament and go to the mountains with a rifle.

This point must be emphasized because some circles in and outside Latin America believe that the Nicaraguan revolution was accomplished as a re-

sult of the struggle of the people, while ours is a sectarian revolution. This is not true. One should not confuse the depth of the process unfolding in the country, a process determined by the development level of dependent capitalism and by the acuteness of the political and socio-economic crisis, with the number of people directly involved in or contributing to the revolutionary battles. A wide spectrum of classes and segments of the population, of political groups and streams is represented in our Revolutionary Democratic Front. It has been joined by prominent civic personalities. For all practical purposes, it embraces the entire nation, fully reflecting the strong unity achieved by the revolutionary forces. The Front has endorsed the program of mass organizations and wholeheartedly supports the Unified Revolutionary Leadership and its strategy and tactics of armed struggle as the sole means of winning power.

The socio-economic and political crisis has shaken our social structure. In El Salvador, unlike other countries where alternatives are not to be ruled out, the crisis can be ended only by revolutionary means. This explains the wide and unqualified support that the revolutionary organizations get from the people. The government program proposed by us provides for socio-economic reforms. Attainment of the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and democratic aims of that program will open the road to socialism. That is exactly what the enemy is afraid of. The Salvadoran revolution is thus profoundly national, popular and democratic.

It is sometimes asked why the Revolutionary Democratic Front does not form an emigré government. Our paramount task is to develop our military successes. Only then can we move on to forming a government, not outside but in the country. World public opinion will thereby see the efficacy and significance of our actions. We have already formed commissions, which, on the basis of plans compiled in a spirit of unity among all the participants in the revolutionary movement, are working on the program of the future government.

We are explaining the purpose and aims of our struggle. The Revolutionary Democratic Front has sent delegations to a number of countries. These delegations are establishing contacts with governments, political parties and international organizations. It is our purpose to have the Unified Revolutionary Leadership and the Revolutionary Democratic Front recognized as a belligerent.

For its part, the oligarchy has formed a Production Alliance that has proclaimed itself the organization of small entrepreneurs, but in fact is an alliance of medium and big capitalists belonging to the powerful National Association of Private Enterprises. On the military level the enemy has formed armed gangs that operate under the protection of semi-fascist and right-reformist officers. Their leader and ideologue is Major Roberto D'Abuisson, who personally heads one of these gangs funded by the Production Alliance. Last May he led an abortive attempt to topple the government. Lately, his

name acquired a sinister ring throughout the region. None other than D'Abuissou stage-managed the formation of an "armed continental legion" to fight the revolutionary movement — this initiative was endorsed by the Fourth Congress of the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation.

We are certain that the oligarchy is doomed to defeat. Imperialism cannot save it because it is clinging to a hopeless cause. Moreover, we have true friends — the socialist countries and the democratic, anti-imperialist and peace forces throughout the world. They will help to stop imperialism, to prevent the planned intervention. We are pinning much of our hopes on the Nicaraguan revolution. The liberation process in El Salvador and other (chiefly neighboring) countries will be decided largely by the ability of the Sandinistas to consolidate their victory. On this depends the balance of strength throughout Central America in favor of the revolutionary movement.

I should like to note that the developments in Nicaragua were strongly influenced by international factors, which together with the flexible policy of the Sandinista Front contributed to the triumph of the revolution. A large role was also played by worldwide disgust of the Somoza dictatorship. In our country other factors are more significant, chiefly U.S. imperialism's line toward disrupting détente, its undisguised intention to interfere in the affairs of other countries, threaten armed intervention, or send diplomats to pressure governments, to resume the policy of intimidation of "non-conformist" regimes and of revolutionary movements. Imperialism sows discord wherever it can. For instance, it has succeeded in pushing some non-aligned states into an anti-Soviet stand by its strident slander campaign over the events in

Afghanistan. This campaign was launched to divert world public attention from the USA's own interventionist policy, notably in Latin America.

We appreciate Mexico's stand toward our struggle and denounce the Venezuelan government's interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador. Today it is not to be ruled out that the Organization of American States will discuss the question of genocide in our country. We feel that this may be a dangerous initiative, because it may be expected that the OAS will invoke the notorious Inter-American Mutual Aid Treaty. This will allow Inter-American Armed Forces to intervene with the objective of crushing the revolutionary movement. The USA already has a plan aimed against Nicaragua and also against the peoples of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. This is the peace treaty between El Salvador and Honduras. Of course, we are not opposed to peace between neighboring nations, but we consider that this should be genuine peace and not a conspiracy for the revival of the Central American Defense Council as an instrument against the revolutionary movement.

The immediate prospects of our revolution are clear. We command adequate military strength and enjoy extensive political influence among the people. These factors are bringing victory nearer. The main thing is to neutralize the threat of intervention against El Salvador. The U.S. President-elect Ronald Reagan has time and again threatened open intervention against the fighting peoples of Latin America. But it must be made clear to imperialism and the oligarchy that if they venture upon direct invasion or interference through puppet regimes, El Salvador will be engulfed in a revolutionary fire unprecedented in its history.

Against repression and persecution

On November 11, 1980, the Sudanese "security" services arrested comrade Tigani el Tayib Babiker, a founder of the Communist Party of the Sudan, a member of the CC Secretariat and head of the International Department of the CPS. From 1966 to 1968, Tigani el Tayib was the CPS representative on *World Marxist Review*, and after the sanguinary events in the Sudan in 1971 continued the struggle in his country in clandestine conditions.

According to reports, seven other communists who worked in a clandestine party printing works were also arrested in the Sudan at the same time.

Our party has repeatedly said that the capitalist orientation and the political line being conducted by the autocratic and one-party regime have plunged the country into a deep crisis. It is being worsened by the repression and persecution of

democrats on the basis of laws written into the constitution which deny civil liberties and violate the independence of the courts and the administration of justice.

The Communist Party of the Sudan is sure that these repressions and persecution against our party and against all the other democratic forces cannot prevent the rise of the mass movement. The CPS will continue to bend every effort to create a broad democratic front for the country's salvation, that would pave the way for a national-democratic revolution and the country's social progress.

Ahmed Salem
representative of the
Communist Party of the Sudan
on WMR



Indictment of imperialism

SURVEY FOUR

New facts about the reactionary, inhuman and criminal substance of imperialism come to light every day, every month, every year. In July 1969, WMR published its *Indictment of Imperialism* prepared by the communist and workers' parties and timed for their international meeting in Moscow. The indictment was continued in May 1974 and September 1978, and below is the fourth instalment. It is based on data from the United Nations and various countries, material and documents of communist and workers' parties, the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Labor Organization, and scientific institutions and periodicals in many countries.

Criminal play with mankind's destiny

In its efforts to stem and even to reverse the march of history and the world revolutionary process, imperialism goes to the extent of jeopardizing the life of millions of people, and mankind's very existence.

In the past few years, this threat has been intensified in view of the ever more negative attitude on the part of the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, to the incipient improvement of the international situation resulting from the persevering efforts of the socialist-community countries. In defiance of the desire of the peoples for lasting peace and universal security, imperialism has stepped up its militaristic programs, delayed ratification of the Soviet-American SALT II, which ensures the military equilibrium between the two sides, put forward a "new nuclear strategy," sought to deploy new types of nuclear weapons as close as possible to the borders of the socialist-community countries and stepped up its strategy of encircling these countries with its military bases, intensified the psychological warfare and applied economic discrimination against the USSR and its allies, and fanned militaristic hysteria in the capitalist world.

Since its establishment in 1949, NATO, the imperialist powers' military and political bloc, has increased numerical strength of its armed forces, developed ever more lethal types of weapons and increased military expenditures. Within 30 years they added up to a total of roughly \$2.8 trillion. The militaristic appetites of the NATO bosses are insatiable: they intend to have the bloc's aggregate military expenditures reach \$400-450 billion over

the next few years. In the next five years, the United States alone is to spend at least a trillion dollars for military purposes.

Most of this money goes into arms production and improvement of existing and development of new types of weapons, including neutron, laser and chemical weapons. There is special emphasis on the improvement and build-up of nuclear forces. The development and deployment of 200 new intercontinental MX mobile missiles is proceeding at full speed, and this, Carter boasted, will greatly increase the potential for a nuclear strike at a wide range of Soviet targets. The navy is being equipped with strategic submarines armed with new Trident missiles. The strategic B-52 bomber is being improved. The development of air, sea, and ground-launched Cruise missiles is being stepped up.

Growth of U.S. Military Investments
(1977=100%)

	1981	1985 (estimate)
Strategic and tactical missiles	165	350
Air Force	159	242
Navy	107	228
Tanks and armored vehicles	109	273
Other types of weapons	159	255

There is every indication that the militaristic circles of the imperialist powers have set themselves the goal of upsetting the rough equilibrium of forces that has been established and of securing military superiority over the USSR and its allies.

The accelerated build-up of the military potential by the imperialist bloc in response to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries* means the start of a new round in the arms race. This policy, besides erecting obstacles in the way of an improvement of the international situation, presents a serious impediment to the solution of the numerous socio-economic problems (environment, hunger, economic backwardness, etc.).

Directives issued by the U.S. administration and NATO decisions have become the political expression of the militaristic line. The two latest imperialist acts pose a special danger for the cause of peace. One is the NATO Council's decision in De-

*For details see WMR, December 1980.

cember 1979 to deploy in Western Europe some 600 qualitatively new U.S. medium-range missiles targeted on the territory of the Soviet Union. Its realization would increase the nuclear threat to the USSR and the other socialist states, and quite naturally, to NATO's European members, for in the event of an armed conflict they would inevitably become the target of a retaliatory strike.

Presidential Directive 59 issued in July 1980, which lays down the U.S. administration's new nuclear strategy, is another dangerous act by imperialism. It canonizes the possibility of delivering a "pre-emptive" nuclear strike and of a "limited" nuclear war. But it is futile to expect a nuclear war to be limited. Even U.S. Defense Minister Harold Brown, in effect, admitted that a "controlled" nuclear strike would inevitably and rapidly develop into a full-scale nuclear conflict.

Everyone knows what this prospect holds in store for mankind. In March 1980, prominent U.S. medical scientists said in a letter addressed to Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev that even a "limited" nuclear war would result in an unprecedented number of deaths, injuries and cases of disease. Radioactive fallout would contaminate the territory of a large part of the globe during the lifetime of many generations, while the atmospheric effects would inflict great harm on all living beings.

Those who spin out the imperialist doctrines are also well aware of the consequences of a nuclear war. It is admitted in a number of documents signed by Carter that in the event of a nuclear conflict the United States could lose almost 60 per cent of its population and up to 75 per cent of its economic potential. But such statements are followed by decisions which, far from reducing, in effect increase the risk of a nuclear holocaust, and call for an all-round build-up of the imperialist powers' armed forces and armaments. In the pursuit of its political-class purposes, imperialism has put mankind's destiny at stake in its criminal game.

The imperialist policy of stepping up tensions is having an effect not only on international relations, but also on everyday social life in the capitalist countries themselves, engendering and maintaining an atmosphere of military hysteria, alarm and fear. Here is a characteristic fact: in 18 months in 1979 and 1980 alone, there were 151 false nuclear alerts in the United States, when the strategic bomber force and the crews of intercontinental ballistic missiles were brought to full combat alert. On these 151 occasions, the Pentagon "amused itself" by balancing on the brink of war. Incidentally, it is only a short run from this kind of "amusement" to downright tragedy.

The imperialist circles' ceaseless militaristic itch throughout the postwar period has produced acts with an edge directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries. In an effort to keep on target the greatest possible number of points in the USSR, the United States set up, as early as the mid-1950s, a far-flung network of military bases and other aggressive installations on the

territories of other countries. The United States now maintains outside its borders half a million military personnel and almost 2,500 bases and staging areas, many of which are launching pads for so-called forward-based nuclear forces. The large-scale naval forces constantly plying the world ocean are an essential element of this "strategy of encirclement."

In the recent period, imperialism has further stepped up its military expansion. The United States has been building up its military presence in "key areas" of the world, and making preparations for setting up new bases (as in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya and Oman, to say nothing of Israel). Efforts are being made to revive the SEATO bloc. The whole of this imperialist activity has been and continues to be the main cause of the continued and increasing international tension.

Much importance is attached to the military aspects of the "China card." The imperialist powers are helping to modernize China's armed forces, and, according to the Japanese *Mainichi*, have lifted the ban on the sale to Peking of military hardware, including offensive weapons. In their schemes and in practice, U.S. strategists have been encouraging the Peking hegemonists' claims to vast areas of the Soviet Far East. Thus, the ever more intimate partnership of imperialism and Peking hegemonism — a new phenomenon in world politics, which poses a danger to the whole of mankind, including the peoples of the United States and China — is being arranged on an anti-Soviet basis that is hostile to peace.

The arms race propelled by the imperialist circles, the all-round increase in military preparations, the effort to surround the countries of existing socialism with a ring of air and nuclear-missile bases, and the intention to lower the threshold for the use of nuclear weapons against them — all these and other military aspects testify to the stepped up aggressive activity of imperialism. Poisoning the atmosphere in the world and confronting mankind with the threat of nuclear disaster, it is carrying on a wide-ranging psychological war against the USSR and its allies.

The purposes of the psychological war, which in the recent period has assumed especially large proportions, are to provide an ideological screen for the aggressive course of imperialism, and to smear and discredit the policy of détente pursued by the socialist-community countries. There is also the urge to have international public opinion believe that these countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, pose a "threat" to the "free world," and to justify imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of socialist states designed to change their political system.

Imperialist propaganda has made up for its lack of argument and evidence with crude inventions, frauds and downright swindles. Thus, in its efforts to convince the man in the street that Soviet military expenditures have been growing — despite the fact that over the past 10 years the USSR's defense budget has been steadily reduced in absolute and relative terms — the bourgeois mass media stri-

dently shout about some "secret items" of military expenditures, never identifying these in concrete terms. Another method is to "substantiate" their lies about stepped up production of armaments in the Soviet Union by means of "intelligence" data, by tagging these weapons with the dollar prices that the U.S. arms corporations would have charged their government, by converting the dollars into rubles and relating the amounts so obtained to the overall Soviet budget.

There is also the practice of ignoring or claiming that the repeated Soviet proposals on disarmament and for a lowering of the military confrontation in Europe are not "serious," of ignoring the fact that the Soviet Union has withdrawn a sizable contingent of tanks and troops from the GDR, and other peace initiatives by the USSR. The well-coordinated subversive operations by the intelligence services and ideological centers like the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe for "softening up" existing socialism, the extensive propaganda campaign carried on by the bourgeois press against the socialist countries, all these are also important lines in the imperialist psychological war.

This war is paralleled by attempts on the part of U.S. imperialist circles to exert economic pressure on the socialist countries, to apply "economic sanctions" against the USSR (discrimination in trade, bans on delivery of equipment, grain, etc.). Designed to bring pressure to bear on the socialist countries, these measures tend to disrupt international trade and to boomerang on the interests of the United States itself, notably U.S. farmers.

The imperialist strategists refused to be reconciled with the historical fact that their stake on a "position of strength" with respect to the USSR and its allies is absolutely groundless. Persisting in their efforts to secure military superiority over the socialist community, and carrying on psychological and economic war against it, imperialism tends to confront mankind with the prospects of a further worsening of the world political climate, with all the consequences that this entails.

Immense suffering and privation

Economic crises, monetary upheavals and inflation, constant features of imperialism, hold in store for the working people more and more suffering and privation.

In the much-vaunted "society of equal opportunities" there is a growth in the number of unwanted human beings, the unemployed. In 1980, their number in the United States reached 8.2 million. In the West European countries, 9 million people, of whom over 7 million are in the Common Market countries, are deprived of the right to work. At the top of the unemployment league is Britain, with over 2 million jobless; in 1980, Italy had 1.8 million jobless, France 1.8 million, Spain over 1.5 million, the FRG some 860,000. In Turkey, the jobless number 4-5 million. Altogether, there are now at least 455 million men and women in the non-socialist world who are fully or partially unemployed. The forced idleness of this huge potentially produc-

tive force is the tragic product of the capitalist system of social relations.

Another tragic paradox of capitalism is the extensive exploitation of child labor despite the mass unemployment among the adult population. In 1979, according to International Labor Office estimates, a minimum of 52 million children in the non-socialist countries were forced to sell their labor-power.

In the United States, where child labor was officially banned 30 years ago, 20 per cent of the farm laborers are children. According to the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, at least 800,000 minors, belonging mainly to ethnic groups subjected to racial discrimination, work on farms and plantations. They are forced to sell their labor-power because the wages earned by their parents are not sufficient to meet even the most elementary necessities.

In Europe, Italy has the sad notoriety of having the largest percentage of working children. Despite the law, which prohibits the hiring of persons under the age of 14 years, at least 600,000 children are exploited, with some of them working as many as 12 hours a day.

In Britain, there are half a million boys and girls aged 13 and 14 who have to sell their labor-power. In the FRG, the number of working children comes to 300,000. In Spain, some 280,000 children under the age of 14 years have to work for a wage. In Madrid alone, their number comes to 100,000. In Turkey, about a million children between the ages of 12 and 14 are officially registered as working for wages. For thousands of them their "career" starts at the age of 6-7 years. The 1967 Brazilian constitution lowered the "age threshold" for wage workers from 14 to 12 years. As a result, almost 10 million children work in production, with a working week that frequently runs to over 48 hours.

The exploitation of child labor is one of the most monstrous manifestations of the criminal nature of capitalism.

Chronic inflation, which pushes up the cost of living, increases the burdens falling on the working people in the capitalist countries as a result of unemployment.

In 1980, prices in the United States went up on the whole by 13.3 per cent, in the Common Market countries by 11 per cent. Moreover in Italy inflation increased by a postwar record of 22.5 per cent, with foodstuffs, gas, electricity, housing and everyday services registering the highest increases.

In Spain the prices of foodstuffs, consumer goods, rent, the cost of medical care, and public transport fares increased by an average of 11.3 per cent in the first nine months of 1980. In Greece, consumer prices in 1979 rose by 24.8 per cent, or double the average figure for the previous several years, and in Turkey by an estimated 130 per cent.

Housing has become a truly tragic problem for broad sections of the population in the capitalist countries. Capitalist profit-making from one of the most vital human needs — housing — has led to a steady growth in rents. Since 1937, they have gone

up by an average of 79 per cent in the United States, and now swallow up on average more than one-third of a worker's income. Some families find rent claiming up to one-half of their incomes. Nearly 34 million people in the United States have to live in buildings that are not up to elementary housing standards.

In Britain, a great many houses are vacant because of the high rents (650,000 in England and Wales alone), at a time when hundreds of thousands of Britons are forced to huddle in buildings unfit for habitation, to say nothing of the 50,000 families which are homeless.

In Italy, according to the tenants' association, 600,000 families faced eviction at the end of 1979 because of their inability to pay the rent. By the end of 1980, 20,000 families faced the same ordeal.

In the FRG, rents have been going up from year to year, and about 55 per cent of West German families with three and more children live in very crowded conditions. In Amsterdam, the capital of the Netherlands, over 50,000 persons are registered officially as having no dwellings, despite the fact that many houses are vacant because of the high rents. A similar situation prevails throughout the country.

While the working people's living standards in the capitalist countries have declined, the profits of the monopolies have soared. With the overall economic downturn in the United States, the volume of sales of the 500 major industrial corporations has been steadily growing. In 1978, they went up by 12.2 per cent as compared with the 11.9 per cent in 1977, while net profits rose by 17 per cent, as against the 6.5 per cent for the previous year. In 1977 and 1978, the assets of these monopolies increased from \$803.7 billion to \$898.5 billion. The eight major oil corporations, according to their statements, increased their profits from \$9 billion in 1978 to \$15 billion in 1979.

The "income equalization," which is being advertised by the ideological champions of the "society of equal opportunities," is no more than a figment of their imagination. In the United States, 1 per cent of the richest people now own a quarter of the national wealth and one half of this 1 per cent own a fifth; 3,500 people, or 0.002 per cent of the population, control nearly one-half of the assets in industry, banking, communications, transport and the services, and two-thirds of the assets in insurance.

Only 4 per cent of adults in the United States own property estimated to be worth \$60,000 and more, and the property owned by these 4 per cent adds up to over \$1,000 billion. At the other end is one-half of all the U.S. population, which accounts for only three per cent of U.S. fortunes. In the world's richest imperialist country, over 60 million people live in poverty.

In Britain, over a quarter of the national wealth is owned by 1 per cent of the population. In the FRG, 1.7 per cent of the population owns three-quarters of all the means of production.

Consequently, the "society of equal opportunities" turns out to be an exploitive system in

which the interest of millions of working people are in contradiction with those of a tight group of money bags.

Illusory freedoms based on deprivation

Imperialism constantly tramples on the basic socio-economic rights of man, and just as constantly violates proclaimed political freedoms.

Above were some facts and figures relating to the right to work (extensive unemployment) and the right to housing (a mass of deprived persons) in the capitalist world. Let us now look at problems like education, social security, medical care, and the condition of women and young people.

The education system in the capitalist countries largely reflects the exploitive character of the whole social system.

In the United States, 5 million school-age children cannot attend school. Illiteracy is widespread. Almost 30 million adults cannot understand a simple text or fill in a form when taking a job. According to *U.S. News and World Report*, it costs between \$3,000 and 4,000, and in some states between \$5,000 and 6,000 a year to obtain a college education, a financial barrier for many young people from working-class families.

According to official statistics, 9.4 per cent of school-age children in Italy do not attend school. In 1970, the country had nearly 12 million men and women, that is, more than one-fifth of the population, who had only an incomplete elementary education or none at all, and over 2.5 million were completely illiterate. In the economically backward southern regions of the country, 20-30 per cent of the children cannot afford to go to elementary school.

In Portugal, according to official statistics, 23 per cent of people over the age of 14 years remain illiterate.

In France, 57 per cent of the children of administrative officials and persons in the liberal professions, and only 3.4 per cent of the children of workers go through secondary school.

The working people's protracted struggle for an improvement of their condition in the capitalist countries has resulted in the establishment of systems of social security. However, these systems are largely based on deductions from wages over a period of many years, while the pensions and aids frequently amount to a pittance.

In order to obtain the right to receive a pension, a worker must pay insurance dues for 35 years in Austria, 40-45 years in Belgium, 49 years in the Netherlands, etc. These dues come to over 13 per cent of wages in the FRG, about 10 per cent in Belgium, from 6 to 7 per cent in Italy, France and Japan, and to over 4 per cent in the United States. Meanwhile, old-age pensions amount to no more than 23 per cent of average wages in Britain, and to 20 per cent in the United States.

Inflation tends to erode real aids and pensions. Thus, over the past decade the cost of living in the United States annually rose at an average of 7.4 per cent, so that the purchasing power of the pensions

of many of those who retired 10 years earlier has been more than halved. According to U.S. News and World Report, 34 per cent of the 22 million U.S. citizens who are over the age of 65 years live below the official poverty line, with the condition of aged people in the national minorities being especially grave. More than one-half of Black U.S. citizens live in downright poverty.

In France, 2.3 million people over the age of 65 years receive old-age pensions and aids which come to less than one-half of the official subsistence wage. *Le Figaro* says that in France three persons in four over the age of 55 years feel themselves to be social pariahs. In Japan, three-quarters of the nearly 10 million men and women over the age of 65 years cannot make ends meet on what they get on welfare.

Medical care is a most acute social problem in many capitalist countries. In the United States, for instance, it is highly expensive and has a steady tendency to grow, which is why for a sizable part of the population an illness can mean complete ruin.

In the United States, medical expenses for a family of four stood at an average of \$2,000 three years ago, but U.S. experts expect the figure to double over the next five years. Surgery at a hospital costs the patient between \$2,500 and \$10,000, while the cost of a hospital bed has multiplied 12.5-fold since 1950. A day spent at the hospital now costs the patient an average of \$256. For all practical purposes, almost 20 per cent of the U.S. population cannot afford medical care because of the high costs; 51 million U.S. citizens live in areas without a single medical specialist. Recent studies by the American Medical Association showed that only one-fifth of pregnant women from the non-property sections enjoy pre-natal medical aid. There are four times as many deaths among Black and other ethnic-minority women than among whites, and twice as many deaths among Black and other ethnic-minority newly-born than among whites. More than 10 million children are deprived of medical care altogether.

In many capitalist countries, discrimination is still practised against women in the remuneration of labor.

For over half a century now, it has proved impossible to enact an amendment to the U.S. constitution giving women equal rights with men. Newsweek has admitted that women's incomes average 59 per cent of men's incomes. In capitalist society, women are fired before men, and have fewer chances of obtaining unemployment benefits.

In Japan, women's wages come to only 33 per cent of those of men doing the same work. Most companies fire women who get married or give birth to a child. In the FRG, the per-hour pay of women in industry averages DM3 less than that of men. This discrimination is also reflected in the unemployment benefits and old-age pensions.

Young people in the West are frequently called the "lost generation." The social injustice, maladjustment, unemployment, uncertainty in the fu-

ture result, among other things, in a growth of alcoholism and drug addiction.

In the FRG, a study carried out in the second half of the 1970s showed that one-sixth of the young people between the ages of 10 and 18 years are inclined to alcoholism, while over 150,000 teenagers are downright alcoholics. Drug addiction among children has also been growing. In 1980, according to official data, more than 60,000 young people in the FRG were drug addicts.

In Sweden, more than 30 per cent of the young people between the ages of 18 and 25 are in the habit of drinking large quantities of alcohol. In France, there are 4.5 million hard drinkers, and of them 2 million are chronic alcoholics. Most of them are young people.

Extensive and constantly spreading crime is one of the most painful social sores of capitalist society. According to U.S. statistics, over 1 million crimes involving violence were committed in the country in 1979, which is 300,000 more than 10 years earlier. Since 1978, a robbery occurs every 3 seconds in the country, and firearms are used every 30 seconds. In Greece, the number of crimes over the past 10 years went up by more than 60 per cent. We find a similar state of things in other capitalist countries.

The actual and constant infringement of the working people's vital socio-economic rights is paralleled by political persecution on a large scale.

The American Friends Service Committee, a progressive Quaker organization in the United States, has published a book entitled *Police Threat to Political Liberties*. On the strength of numerous documents obtained by this and various other public bodies through the courts and by means of extensive studies carried out in several major cities, the authors reached the conclusion that police surveillance and the keeping of personal files for political motives are widely practised in the United States. The FBI alone has on file the fingerprints or vital data of nearly 200 million U.S. citizens, and is actively engaged in the collection of more data. Altogether, there are about 4 billion facts of various kinds on record in the electronic systems of numerous federal institutions. Over the past few years, the FBI has accused over 500,000 citizens of "subversive activity," although in their political activity they did not break the law. From 1975 to 1978, the Los Angeles police, for instance, maintained secret surveillance of and infiltrated informers into almost 200 public organizations in California. The so-called Civil Disobedience Group under the Philadelphia police department kept personal files on nearly 18,000 persons and 600 organizations. The Inspection Services division of the Baltimore police shadowed 125 public organizations, which were classified as subversive, extremist, civil-rights, left, pacifist, diverse and civilian.

In Britain, says the *New Statesman*, there is a system of telephone tapping and other types of surveillance. At each major telephone exchange in the big cities, at least 12 lines are regularly used for tapping. The magazine *Now* says that police files

are kept on one-fifth of the country's population, that is, nearly 11 million people.

Over 4,500 citizens in the FRG cannot become state employees because of the *Berufsverbot*, the disgraceful job prohibition system (similar systems also operate in a number of other countries), nearly 3 million people are subjected to political persecution, and five million are on file in various police departments.

Bourgeois propaganda boasts of the "freedoms" and "equality" in contemporary capitalist society, but in practice these "rights" and "freedoms" turn into their opposites. The jobless have the "freedom" to line up at labor exchanges, the homeless to sleep under the open skies, and the poor to remain poor. The sick have the "right" to medical care which they cannot afford, working women to lower wages, and children to hard work. The capitalist "paradise" for broad sections of the population spells out as gaping inequality.

Neo-colonial exploitation

The political collapse of the colonial empires was a heavy blow to imperialism, but exploitation of less developed countries in new and veiled forms remains a basic feature.

From 1971 to 1979 the less developed countries' external debt, according to the OECD, more than quadrupled to nearly £400 billion. In that same period there was a seven-fold increase in annual payments on various credits and loans, from \$10.2 billion to \$72 billion. By the end of 1980, the developing countries' debt, according to specialists, should go up to \$450 billion, and debt servicing to \$88 billion. The growing burden of such payments seriously hampers these countries' socio-economic progress.

The monopolies' plundering policy is the most important reason for the steady worsening of the economic conditions of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to incomplete data, issued by the UNCTAD Secretariat, from 1970 to 1977, foreign companies repatriated from the developing countries \$72.2 billion in the form of profit alone, and this was 80 per cent more than the influx of new investments. The lion's share went to the U.S. monopolies, whose average rate of profit in the developing world in that period was more than double the rate in the industrialized capitalist countries. The pace of the plundering is also indicative: in the 1964-1966 period, profits on foreign capital repatriated from Asia, Africa and Latin America averaged \$5.4 billion a year, and in the 1973-1975 period, \$26 billion. From 1976 to 1978, U.S. corporations in these countries made over \$40 billion in profits.

Imperialism has turned foreign trade into a wide channel for plundering the developing countries. The West's constant intensification of trade protectionism, and also the need to pay for licenses, patents and new technology cost the African, Asian and Latin American countries \$50-100 billion a year. The plunder is also effected by means of "transfer prices," that is, manipulations of purch-

ases and sales along intra-corporate channels by the transnationals. Imperialist policy in the sphere of foreign trade markedly worsens the newly liberated countries' monetary and financial conditions. In 1978, the deficit of the non-oil developing countries on current account totalled \$36 billion, a disbalance in trade and services that the following year went up to \$53 billion and, according to some estimates, reached \$70 billion by the end of 1980; this year it should go up to \$80 billion.

The neo-colonialist imperialist exploitation has aggravated the problem of hunger in the developing countries, where some 800 million people — nearly one-fifth of the world's population eat less than their fill, and 50 million people die of starvation every year.

Food problems are being constantly exacerbated by the monopoly on trade in the basic farm produce. Thus, the world's grain trade is controlled by five private companies run by businessmen from the United States, Switzerland and Belgium.

The economic expansion of powerful transnational corporations is a serious obstacle to an increase of production of food crops in the developing countries. The transnationals have established control of vast areas of farmland in Africa, Asia and Latin America to grow export crops. In Brazil, for instance, where the foreign monopolies have bought up 80 million acres of land, the production of soybeans for export has been increased to unusual proportions, while the growing of haricot beans, the staple food of the population, especially of its poor strata, has been sharply cut back, and the country is forced to buy haricot beans at high prices elsewhere.

Under the old conditions, imperialism simply scratched from the world's political affairs the ruthlessly exploited peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. Now the system of inequitable economic ties with countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, set up by imperialism, greatly hampers the efforts to overcome their backwardness, serves to perpetuate the sores inherited from the colonial past, and slow down the socio-economic progress of the bulk of the world's population.

Revival of gunboat diplomacy

In the recent period, imperialism has noticeably intensified its political and military pressure on the developing countries. Ever more frequently it seeks to counter in-depth changes going forward in these countries with warships, tanks and planes. Oblivious of elementary international rules, the imperialist powers, headed by the United States, have claimed whole regions to be a sphere of their "vital interests."

In the course of the 1970s, the United States sent its naval task forces to the Indian Ocean on 18 occasions. It is trying to control the situation in the Persian Gulf area, considering that nearly 60 per cent of the proved oil deposits (roughly 50 billion tons) and 40 per cent of the extraction of oil (in 1979, 1.07 billion tons) in the capitalist world is located in the area. For months, two aircraft carrier

battle groups have been patrolling the waters off the coast of Iran.

In accordance with its expansionist imperialist doctrines, the United States has taken measures to put its so-called rapid deployment force into a state of combat alert. These total 200,000 officers and men trained for armed intervention in the world's "hot spots."

The Pentagon staged its first — and futile — Blitzkrieg operation in April 1980, when an airborne force was sent deep into Iranian territory. In the autumn of that year, joint U.S.-British naval and air exercises were held in close proximity to the Persian Gulf. These involved 18,000 military personnel, 25 warships, including U.S. strike aircraft carriers *Midway* and *Eisenhower*, and also 170 aircraft.

In its expansionist urges, U.S. imperialism has been actively working to set up a network of bridgeheads in Asia and Africa. These have the practical purpose of providing support for operations by the rapid deployment force in the event of "instability," that is, a growth of the national-liberation struggle in this or that region.

In Turkey, the United States has over 20 bases, apart from radar installations, military equipment depots, etc.

In defiance of the UN resolution adopted 10 years ago on turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, the United States is feverishly enlarging its base on *Diego Garcia* to enable it to accommodate submarines armed with nuclear missiles and strategic B-52 bombers. The ruler of Oman, Qabus bin Said, has allowed the United States to set up three air and naval bases. President Sadat of Egypt turned out to be even more generous when he gave Washington unlimited access to Egyptian bases for the purposes of "defending" the Islamic countries.

The chain of imperialist bridgeheads has also stretched into East Africa. In Kenya, The United States obtained the right to use the Port of Mombasa and several airfields, including the airport in Nairobi, whenever it required to do so, and in Somalia the ports of Berbera and Mogadishu. The Pentagon has also been casting envious eyes on Djibuti and looking into the possibility of more active penetration of the Sudan.

Unconditional support for the militaristic preparations by the United States comes from Australia, whose government intends to give the Pentagon the use of the base at Cockburn Sound, and to take part in "joint defense" of the Indian Ocean.

Pakistan has a big part to play in U.S. global strategy as the chief bridgehead of aggression against revolutionary Afghanistan, and an instrument of blackmail and pressure on the Middle East countries and on India, which has conducted an anti-imperialist policy.

South Korea, with its army of more than 600,000 men, has a similar role to play in East and South-east Asia. The United States continues to station 40,000 troops on Korean soil for the purpose of supporting the Seoul dictator Chung Doo Hwan.

Israel, Washington's chief ally and privileged

partner in the Middle East, has a special role to play in the expansionist policy of U.S. imperialism. The Zionist regime has priority in receiving vast quantities of military, economic and financial aid, which fuels its aggressiveness. Trampling on the rules of international law and the will of the world community, as repeatedly expressed in UN resolutions on the Middle East, Israeli rulers have continued to pursue their annexationist line. They have been intensively assimilating the occupied Palestinian territories, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, where over 100 paramilitary and civilian Israeli settlements have already been established. The Arab section of Jerusalem has been officially annexed, and declared to be the "eternal" and "indivisible" capital of the Zionist state. Preparations are under way for taking over the Golan Heights, which is Syria's territory occupied by Israel.

One of the key elements of the policy of imperialism on the African continent is all-round support and reinforcement of the ignominious apartheid system, the racist regime of South Africa as a bastion against the national-liberation movement and a base for neo-colonialist operations. According to UN data, a total of \$28 billion has been invested in South Africa by the United States, Britain and the FRG. Foreign investments there have been growing at more than 11 per cent a year, yielding fabulous profits for the monopolies through the savage exploitation of the native African population.

The influx of Western capital has enabled Pretoria's racist regime to manufacture and to import — in defiance of UN sanctions — the most modern and diverse weapons. Under the cover of atomic-energy development, the imperialist powers have helped South Africa to build up material facilities for the making of nuclear weapons. With the imperialists' all-round support, the racists intend to dictate their terms to the peoples of southern Africa. For 14 years now, South Africa has occupied Namibia in defiance of UN demands. There, 70,000 South African soldiers and policemen are engaged in a real war against the native population and SWAPO, its only legitimate representative. The South African militarists also regularly stage punitive raids into neighboring African countries, above all Angola and Zambia, so maintaining constant tension in the region.

The imperialist policy of supporting reactionary, anti-people, dictatorial regimes and reliance on them is also clearly manifested in Latin America. Here, U.S. imperialism is most active. Terrified by the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the revolutionary explosion in El Salvador, among other developments, it seeks by every possible means to bolster its shaken positions on the continent.

In the 30 years from 1947 to 1977, the United States gave dictatorial regimes in Latin America aid totalling \$150 billion. Toward the end of his term, President Carter approved a decision to give \$90 million to the ruling circles of El Salvador which have openly instituted a reign of terror against the population of the country. Vast credits — between

\$800 million and \$1 billion a year — have gone to Pinochet's fascist junta, which has fully re-established the domination in Chile of transnational corporations like ITT, Anaconda, Kennecott, Exxon and General Motors. With the connivance and encouragement of the United States, the ruling fascist juntas have carried on a policy of genocide against their peoples to stamp out their anti-imperialist liberation struggle.

In Paraguay, under General Stroessner, over 2,500 people have been imprisoned and subjected to torture, and over one-half of the population has been forced to live in exile.

In Nicaragua, only in the last two months of Somoza's rule, nearly 40,000 people were killed, all the towns destroyed and factories and plants brought to a halt.

In Haiti, more than 30,000 people have been killed, and nearly 1 million Haitians have been forced to live in exile in the 23 years of rule by the Duvalier family.

In Chile, in the seven years of the fascist Pinochet's rule, nearly 30,000 Chileans have been killed, 2,500 people have "disappeared" and 1 million Chileans have fled their country.

In Bolivia, within less than a month after the recent military coup, over 3,000 people have been arrested, thousands have "disappeared," and hundreds have been forced to leave the country.

In Guatemala, which the United States has been trying to convert into the main bastion of counter-revolution in Central America, there are up to 3,000 political assassinations a year. Since 1954, when

reaction once again took power with the support of U.S. imperialism, over 70,000 Guatemalans have been killed. Abductions, tortures, disappearances, and killings — such are the everyday methods of the regime's anti-people policy.

In El Salvador, which is ruled by a reactionary junta, about 6,000 people were killed by the ultra-rightists in the first 9 months of 1980 alone. The Salvadoran army's punitive detachments under the command of U.S. military advisers, and fascist paramilitary outfits have instituted a reign of terror and have been daily killing dozens of patriots. In an effort to prevent a victory for the revolutionary forces, which are steadily intensifying their drive, Washington has not ruled out its well-tried reserve move: direct armed intervention to put down the popular uprising.

Time has furnished ever more evidence of the criminal substance of imperialism. These crimes are:

- the arms race, big and small wars;
- exploitation of the working people and curbs on their rights;
- economic sabotage of the developing countries;
- support of anti-people regimes of every stripe.

All of this is the result of the policy of imperialism, which carries to millions of people privation and suffering.

The struggle against imperialism has been and continues to be a historical task for progressive mankind as a whole.

The alliance Peking wants

China's ever closer partnership with leading imperialist powers is a new and dangerous development in world politics. Our readers — Venezuelan student José Rafael Castillo, and Francisco Encabo Sola of Spain, among others — want to know how far this partnership has gone, and what is its basis. The answers are provided by the following facts, statements by Chinese and Western leaders, and evidence in the press relating to Peking's foreign policy.

How the "chief enemy" has changed

In less than 20 years, Peking's foreign policy has gone through a complete evolution. Here is what happened with Peking's well-known call for a "broad united front" in fighting the "chief enemy."

1960s. The "25-point platform" adopted by the Peking leadership urges the establishment of "the broadest possible united front of struggle against U.S. imperialism and its henchmen." The Soviet Union's signing on August 5, 1963, of the Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was declared in Peking to be "reconciliation" with U.S. im-

perialism and unification with "the reaction of various countries." "We despise imperialism and boldly carry on an edge-cut-edge struggle against it," Deng Xiaoping told a rally in Shanghai in May 1966.

Early 1970s. In Peking, the "imperialism is the chief enemy" slogan gives way to the "struggle against two enemies" slogan. The thesis issued by the Propaganda Section of the Political Department of the Kunming Military District in November 1974 — which naturally reflected the Peking leadership's stand — declared: "We are facing two principal enemies: American imperialism and Soviet revisionism. We must defeat these two enemies."

Mid-1970s. The "struggle against two enemies" slogan gives way to the "struggle against one-two enemies" formula. Geng Biao, CC Political Bureau member, told an audience at the Diplomatic Academy on August 24, 1976: "If we place the two superpowers on the same plane and deal with them separately, this could have unforeseen consequences. Therefore, in order to survive, we must first have dealings with one so as to defeat the other... If we succeed in lessening Sino-American contradic-

tions, we will be able to cooperate with one side in all our undertakings."

Late 1970s. Peking returns to the "united front" slogan in the struggle against the "chief enemy," but on a different — and, in fact, diametrically opposite — basis. In October 1977, Deng Xiaoping told the director general of France Press that the "broadest united front" of struggle against the "chief enemy" should include not only the "second" and the "third worlds," but also a part of the "first world" namely, the United States (according to Peking's "three worlds" doctrine, the USSR and the United States constitute the "first world," the developing countries the "third world" and the industrialized countries the "second world" in between the "first" and the "third"). On November 1, 1977, the newspaper *Renmin ribao* spelled out the approach. The Soviet Union is the "chief objective of the struggle."

Late 1970s — early 1980s. In practice, Peking's "broadest united front" slogan takes concrete shape in the form of China's military and political alliance exclusively with the leading capitalist powers. Summing up the results of Deng's visit to the United States in February 1979, *The New York Post* wrote that the visitor had proposed the establishment of an alliance between Washington, Tokyo and Peking, in order to check the Bolshevik threat. *U.S. News and World Report* said that the purpose of the visit was to "sell" the U.S. ruling circles the idea of a "common front" consisting of China, the United States, Japan and Western Europe. The exchange of high-level delegations (including military delegations) between China and a number of leading capitalist countries in the course of 1980 also sheds light on Peking's true intentions.

Components of the anti-Soviet front

Peking — Washington. At the end of 1978, China's Foreign Minister Huang Hua told a closed meeting: "It is necessary to get the United States to side with us in order to concentrate all our forces on fighting the chief enemy." In January 1980, speaking on the results of his talks in Peking, U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown said that the Chinese leaders took an "understanding" view of U.S. military preparations, of Washington's "emergency measures" in the Middle East and in the Pacific region, supported NATO's modernization, the U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean and other U.S. efforts in the "sphere of defense." On April 18, 1980, *Renmin ribao* quoted Deng Xiaoping as saying that the rapprochement between China and the United States "is not a time-serving measure, but a long-term strategic policy." The material expression of this rapprochement is the decision taken by the U.S. government in 1979 to set up a \$2 billion credit fund to finance bilateral deals over the forthcoming five years, the sanctioning of export to China of some types of strategic goods, delivery of military equipment: radar installations, military transport planes, helicopters, communications equipment, etc.

Peking — Tokyo. According to the Japanese jour-

nal *Mantaimo* (No. 1 for 1974), Deng told a delegation of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Japan that Japan and China must prepare, "joining hands," for a "confrontation with the North." Peking seeks to "prepare an atmosphere in Japan favoring the establishment of an alliance with China against the USSR," Kyodo Tsushin agency said in the spring of 1977. The newspaper *Yomiuri* wrote on May 30, 1980, that Chairman of the CPC CC Hua Guofeng, who had paid a visit to Tokyo, persistently advised Japan to increase its spending for military purposes.

Peking — Western Europe. Summing up the results of Hua's visit to France, the FRG, Great Britain and Italy in October — November 1979, the *Financial Times* commented that: "China would like to have an unofficial alliance with a well-armed Western Europe." The following year, Deputy Premier Kang Shien visited Britain and Norway, and Foreign Minister Huang Hua went to Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the FRG. *Renmin ribao* wrote on June 14, 1980, that in the course of their visit these men argued that China and the West European countries have a "common will and common convictions."

Looking to a NATO — China alliance as the pivot for the whole mooted anti-Soviet bloc, the Peking leaders have declared China's readiness to "play the part of NATO in the East." On May 19, 1978, replying to questions posed by a group of visiting UPI journalists, Deng Xiaoping declared that he was on the whole in agreement with the views expressed by U.S. ambassador in Japan Mike Mansfield that China is an "Eastern NATO."

Objectives of the deal

Fight against world socialism. Forty years ago, in his work *On New Democracy*, Mao himself wrote: "The imperialists intend to fight the USSR, to fight the communists. If you enter into an alliance with them, they will require of you 'to march fighting against the North' and nothing will be left of your revolution." Forty years later, actually entering into an alliance with imperialism, the Peking leadership has itself been pushing it into a war against the USSR. An article in *Renmin ribao* on July 16, 1980, is highly indicative in this context: it urges the NATO countries, the United States in the first place, to fight the USSR "spearhead to spearhead . . . not stopping short of military operations."

Peking's coalescence with imperialism has inspired it to fresh provocations against the socialist countries. In connection with China's armed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in February 1979, the Paris-based journal *Afrique-Asie* said that if China had not been sure of support from the United States and its allies, it could not have allowed itself the luxury of attacking Vietnam. With that support, Peking has stepped up its hostile attacks against Cuba, Mongolia, Laos and other socialist countries.

Undermining the international working-class movement. On February 14, 1978, the Italian journal *Panorama* quoted General Alexander Haig then Supreme Allied Commander in Europe as saying

that China was something like the 16th member of the North Atlantic Alliance. The *Washington Post* said on January 24, 1976, that Haig had described the North Atlantic pact as a guarantee of the whole capitalist system. There is hardly any need to comment on these two statements.

Elaborating its program for a military-political deal with imperialism, Peking urges the working class of the capitalist countries to "be in the foremost ranks" in a possible war against world socialism. *Renmin ribao* wrote on January 18, 1978, that the working class in these countries "must be on the side of its governments" in preparing for such a war. Consequently, we find here an attempt to "win over" for imperialism one of the chief anti-imperialist forces of our day, to kill the class substance of the international working-class movement and ultimately to undermine it.

Attacks on national-liberation forces. Commenting on Hua Guofeng's talks with Carter in Tokyo, *Time* magazine wrote on July 21, 1980, that "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..." The coordination of subversive activity by Peking and imperialism was most clearly revealed in the past few years during the events in Angola, the Horn of Africa and Zaire. *Newsweek* admitted on July 7, 1980, that U.S. and Chinese policy coincided

in Asia and perhaps most obviously in Kampuchea, a country where the Pol Pot clique that they supported had killed over 3 million people. The undeclared war against the revolutionary regime in Afghanistan provides fresh evidence of the actual compact between Peking and imperialism against the forces of national liberation and social emancipation. In 1979 alone, at least 15,000 mercenaries were trained by Chinese and U.S. instructors for subversive operations in that country.

China's rapprochement with imperialism, and its coalescence with the latter on an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist, reactionary and militaristic basis is not at all accidental. The irrational obsession which stems from great-power chauvinism has led Maoism to the point at which it has begun to drive for its own goals, not to the detriment of imperialism, but by actively collaborating with it in the struggle against world socialism, the working-class and the national-liberation movement.

The changing balance of forces in the international arena against imperialism leaves no historical prospects for Peking's strategic calculations. But the fact that Maoism has struck up an aggressive alliance with imperialism points to the need for greater vigilance and resolute resistance to any attempts to harm the cause of peace, socialism and the liberation of the peoples.

Pavel Sergeyev

Book reviews

HYPOCRISY IN WASHINGTON

Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*. Nottingham, Spokesman, 1979, 441 pp.

The origins of the U.S. "human rights" propaganda campaign can be traced to the international revolution against the genocidal war conducted by the USA in Vietnam. In that war the barbarous acts committed by U.S. troops were part of a deliberate policy of mass murder of civilians and of wholesale violation of the rights of people.

To divert attention from the monstrously repressive nature of U.S. imperialism, the coordinated U.S. propaganda agencies resorted to a hypocritical manufacturing of a "human rights" case against the socialist countries and against developing countries taking a non-capitalist path.

The campaign was launched also because liberal and progressive writers in the USA kept attention focused on the realities of U.S. foreign policy, on the role of the CIA as an assassination agency, and on the creation and propping up of brutally repressive regimes in developing countries to serve U.S. ends.

Among the studies on this subject the book by

Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman* commands particular attention.

At the outset they say: "Whatever the attitudes of the U.S. leadership toward freedom at home — and as noted, this is highly ambiguous — systematic policies toward Third World countries... make it evident that the alleged commitment to democracy and human rights is mere rhetoric, directly contrary to actual policy. The operative principle has been and remains economic freedom — meaning freedom for U.S. business to invest, sell, and repatriate profits — and its two basic requisites, a favorable investment climate and a specific form of stability.... Respect for the rights of the individual, also alleged to be one of the cardinal values of the West, has had little place in the operating procedures applied to the Third World" (pp. 3-4).

The authors document and describe in detail the events and situation in 26 countries of the Third World where U.S. influence "has borne a heavy responsibility for the spread of a plague of neo-

*Noam Chomsky, professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, gained a reputation in the USA as a caustic opponent of U.S. foreign policy; Edward S. Herman, professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School.

fascism, state terrorism, torture and repression" (p. 1). Among these countries are what used to be South Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, Burundi, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, Guatemala, Uruguay, the Philippines and South Korea. In most of these the U.S. has given systematic aid to ultra-right regimes, including large-scale military assistance, economic grants and loans, and the training of special police and army units in the techniques of terror and torture.

Latin America, described in one report that the authors quote as "one gigantic prison, and in some regions one vast cemetery" (p. 298), is one of the main areas where U.S. policy has had a direct bearing on the obliteration of human rights. In Guatemala, where the CIA engineered the overthrow of a left-wing nationalist government and installed a succession of extreme right-wing governments, "the number of Guatemalans murdered since 1966 is approximately equal to the 22,000 killed by the earthquake of February 4, 1976" (p. 280). In Nicaragua, advertised in the *Wall Street Journal* as "An Investor's Dream Come True," it was reported just prior to the revolution that ousted the U.S.-backed Somoza government that "some 25,000 people have been killed in the 41-year reign of terror aided and abetted by Washington" (p. 287).

One of the unpublicized aspects of economic development for the benefit of U.S. multinational companies in Latin America has been the disastrous effect on the indigenous Indian populations. In Brazil alone the indigenous population fell between 1900 and 1957 from one million to less than 200,000 as a consequence of Indians being driven from their lands to work in plantations and mines or as a result of failure to provide them protection from the diseases of "civilization." The authors point out that "the destructive policy toward the Brazilian Indians and the maltreatment of the Brazilian poor in general are elements of a specific program of development keyed to the needs of the domestic and foreign élites who dominate Brazilian policy" (p. 127).

U.S. attitudes toward human rights in the Third World, as Professors Chomsky and Herman point out, are dependent on the amount of freedom that U.S. corporations have to operate and to get the maximum profit.

However, their book is concerned chiefly with the propaganda methods employed by U.S. imperialism to distort and hide the truth about human rights. "The annual survey of human rights put out by the U.S. State Department," they point out, "has this primary characteristic: it strives consistently and without intellectual scruple to put a good face on totalitarian states within our sphere of influence. The bias is so great, the willingness to accept factual claims and verbal promises of military juntas is so blatant, the downplaying of the claims and pain of the victims of official terror is so obvious, that these reports are themselves solid evidence of the primary official commitment to the dispensers of terror rather than its victims. They constitute a defense of

client fascism, not of human rights. The highly touted 'human rights program' must be understood in this context" (p. 15).

In U.S. (as well as British and other Western) propaganda, semantics are a major instrument for the brainwashing of home populations. The words "terror" and "terrorist" are reserved for liberation movements or for forces and governments opposing imperialist aims and policies, while official violence and denial of rights employed in client states of the U.S. are presented as "security measures" or "maintenance of order."

The U.S. bourgeois propaganda media have denounced and rejected revolution as a means for bringing about social change. They have always raised a hue and cry in defense of those punished by a revolution, but bloodbaths carried out by counter-revolutionary forces are regarded in a more favorable light.

One category of mass violence, as handled by the U.S. media, is termed "benign terror" by the authors. These lie relatively outside the sphere of U.S. interests and therefore are treated with sheer indifference. An example is the slaughter of many people in Burundi as a consequence of inter-tribal strife. This was officially ignored by the U.S. It also "did not notice" the killing of over 100,000 people in East Timor during the brutal suppression of the local independence movement by the Indonesian authorities.

The second category of mass violence and gross trampling on human rights is called "constructive terror" by U.S. official circles. This is terror that is blessed and justified by U.S. imperialism. Of this the worst example is the vast bloodbath in Indonesia in 1965, in which hundreds of thousands of communists and supporters of left-wing nationalists were killed in the most brutal fashion. Other cases cited are violent repressions by U.S.-backed regimes in Thailand, the Dominican Republic, and an array of military-fascist rulers in Latin America.

Numerous quotations have been used by the authors from the press (including from journals with a liberal reputation) to show how all of these events in developing countries have been distorted, falsified or made obscure in order to justify the goals of U.S. policy. In U.S. propaganda, "human rights" become an issue only when a "dissident" can be found in a socialist country or where the process of social emancipation leads to the suppression of counter-revolution in developing countries. Reviewing this phenomenon, Professors Chomsky and Herman ask why two Soviet dissidents are worth more than 20,000 tormented Latins (p. 22).

Unfortunately, the two U.S. professors are not always consistent and are sometimes trapped among the propaganda ploys of the very press they criticize. And their references to alleged violations of human rights in socialist countries only lower the level of their research and tend to defeat the very aims they set out to achieve.

William Pomeroy

THE TRUE FACE OF NATO

NATO Dossier, Lisbon, Avante, 1979, 202 pp.

The *Dossier* series of books and pamphlets, a feature issue started by the communist Avante Publishers, has won a large following in Portugal. Each is based on documents, facts, quotations and statistics related to a specific problem: terrorism, anti-communism, the CIA, or the returns of national elections. This series has an eager readership among party activists, for whom it is a valuable aid in their political work among the people.

A dramatic addition to the series is its seventh issue under the heading *NATO Dossier*, which exposes those who live with thoughts of war. This book was brought out before the Atlantic alliance decided to deploy U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, before the U.S. administration proclaimed its "new nuclear strategy." But even without these ominous decisions, which still further accentuate the bellicose intentions of NATO and its U.S. bosses, the alliance's entire history is eloquent testimony of its aggressive character. The facts put together in the book leave not the shadow of a doubt that NATO was set up chiefly as imperialism's spearhead against the socialist countries, the democratic and national liberation movements, the efforts to liberate nations. More, its purpose is to facilitate the fulfillment of the USA's claims to world supremacy (p. 9).

The *Dossier* lays bare the aggressive bloc's organizational structure, the mechanism by which it functions, the forms and methods of its work, its propaganda apparatus and intelligence machinery. Further, it lists many of NATO's actions against peace and détente, against the security of nations and their right to independence. The reactionary essence of this military-political group, the largest formed by imperialism, is borne out by its history of more than 30 years.

A major function of the alliance is to keep the capitalist order immutable. To quote General Alexander Haig, the former NATO Commander-in-Chief in Europe, the Atlantic alliance guarantees the preservation of the entire capitalist system (p. 10). This is further evidence of what underlies the "Soviet threat" myth and sheds additional light on the intentions of those who invented and circulated it. It will be recalled that NATO adopted a resolution stating that the direct threat of war (attack from without — D.L.) as such had diminished, but there was a mounting threat from the effects of subversion from within. It was therefore imperative that NATO should react to this subversion with concentrated effective means. NATO policy is thus aimed also at the democratic forces in the bourgeois states themselves. When the North Atlantic alliance was set up, Dean Acheson, the then U.S. Secretary of State warned that any revolutionary activity in any member nation would be regarded as imperiling the entire NATO system and would be treated accordingly (p. 17).

The bloc's arsenal of punitive measures includes

military, political and economic pressure, armed intervention, the overthrow of lawful governments refusing to accept dictation from NATO, slander and intimidation. Many of these measures have been experienced by the people not only of countries belonging to the alliance but also of countries that are not members but regarded by the bloc as being in imperialism's sphere of "vital interests." The *Dossier* reminds people of the NATO countries' criminal infringements on the rights and sovereignty of nations: participation in the U.S. war in Korea, assistance for the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt in 1956, support for the coup in Cyprus, the overthrow of the lawful governments of Mossadegh in Iran and Allende in Chile, subversion against the Angolan revolution, and so on.

The chapters headed "Oil Diplomacy," "Iran, Egypt, Israel," and "The Middle East" trace the acts of aggression undertaken against Arab peoples by the USA and its NATO partners to "protect" those selfsame "vital interests." The facts cited in these chapters have a very familiar ring today, when U.S. imperialism, openly or tacitly supported by its allies, including China, is brandishing a mailed fist in the region and preventing a just settlement of the Middle East problem.

After the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire in Africa, NATO tightened its links with the racist regime in South Africa. Capitalist powers are supplying that regime with advanced military hardware, getting in exchange the green light for building various military facilities, including facilities for space, air and sea intelligence. In Africa there is anxiety over the imperialists' intention to turn South Africa into a nuclear power. With the aid of the USA, the FRG, France and other NATO countries, the racist regime has already acquired all the ingredients for the manufacture of nuclear weapons (pp. 97-98).

Of course, considerable attention is given in the book to relations between NATO and Portugal. The very fact of Portuguese fascism's membership in NATO ever since that bloc was formed in 1949 underscores the hypocrisy of such provisions of the North Atlantic Treaty as reaffirmation of "faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" and the determination "to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law" (p. 73).

NATO's former Secretary-General Manlio Brosio called Portugal a nation expressing "the substance of our alliance, for it plays the role of a bridge linking North America with Europe across the Atlantic Ocean" (p. 77). The NATO champions of "freedom and democracy" were in no way put out by the circumstance that this "bridge" was a fascist dictatorship. In 1971 General H. de Sa V. Rebelo, then Portugal's Minister of Defense, promised the alliance "our geographical location, help in the form of our resources, and the support of our men in the North and South Atlantic and in the Indian Ocean" (p. 77). Josef Luns, the present NATO

Secretary-General, who, as became public knowledge some years ago, had himself been a member of the Dutch nazi party in 1933-36, was a bosom-friend of the fascist rulers. During a visit to Portugal in 1968 in the capacity of Dutch Foreign Minister, he exulted to newsmen: "I am happy that I have been received by Professor Salazar, a man who has so wisely ruled the destinies of this nation for 40 years. I shall never forget the pleasurable minutes spent in conversation with him" (p. 78).

The hospitality of the Portuguese fascists was repaid by the North Atlantic bloc with support for colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). This support included the supply of weaponry and spare parts, the training of Portuguese officers in the USA, the permanent presence of military advisers, consultations on counter-insurgency warfare in Africa, and much else (p. 121).

After the revolution of April 1974 in Portugal, the USA and its NATO partners took pains to obstruct democratic changes in our country and sought to reverse the revolutionary process. They had recourse to economic pressure and to threats of military intervention. This helped the rightists to considerably bolster their positions in Portugal.

The USA and NATO are trying to dictate a "line of conduct" to the Portuguese armed forces and to blunt the national spirit of patriotic servicemen. For instance, NATO demands appointment to positions of command on the principle of "loyalty" to the North Atlantic alliance.

NATO is casting a longing eye on Portugal's Azores Islands, which the Atlantic strategists want to turn into a strongpoint for the control of sea and air communications between Europe and North America. To this end they plan to modernize the Lajes military base, bring the Portuguese anti-submarine monitoring facility into the NATO structure, and station naval aircraft.

The book exposes the hegemonistic ambitions of Peking, which in its actions on the international scene, is shamelessly coalescing with the most bellicose circles of world reaction, coming forward as an assiduous accomplice of NATO. Extremely indicative in this respect is an article in *The Washington Post*, which writes that China is the USA's best assistant in the world. Peking, the paper says, is determined to split the "communist bloc" and calls down every evil on the Russians. Leaving aside all its rhetoric, it is clear that Peking is helping to strengthen the U.S. presence in South Korea, Japan, the Philippines and Thailand ... It is also helping the USA in the United Nations (p. 62). Little wonder that China is regarded as NATO's 16th member. The facts given in the book show that there are more than enough grounds for this assertion.

The wealth of facts collected in *NATO Dossier* invites the reader, so to speak, to comment on the book's contents and draw the relevant conclusions. The thoughts that came to mind as I read the *Dossier* form the content of this review.

Domingos Lopes

Political song

Q. During rallies and other actions organized by the communists and other progressives in the FRG I heard youth music groups performing political songs. The text of these songs is usually incisive and topical, denouncing and caustically deriding the ruling circles, and calling for militancy. Audiences respond eagerly to songs of this kind. I wonder if comrades from the German Communist Party would, through the medium of *WMR*, tell us what significance they attach to this form of work among the masses, what place they assign to it in their struggle, and how they organize it?

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A. First, let us consider this question from the standpoint of the processes taking place in culture. The contradictions between monopoly capitalist rule and its pernicious influence in this sphere on the one hand, and the vital requirements of the working people, of youth, their requirements in education and culture on the other, grow increasingly sharper and more tangible with each passing day. Lenin spoke of "elements of democratic and socialist culture," of a "second culture,"

taking shape in each nation of capitalist society in the course of the class struggle. We can say that in the FRG the development of this progressive second culture has been particularly pronounced during the past decade. This is seen in different forms and at different levels.

The people are more purposefully protecting cultural interests in the broadest sense of the word. Cultural activity with a socio-critical edge to it has grown more massive. The trade unions are increasingly including demands of a cultural nature and various forms of cultural activity in their work. For their part, the intellectuals working in culture are drawing ever closer, ideologically and organizationally, to the trade unions and the working-class movement. In art, enhanced influence has been won by the realistic, humanitarian and democratic schools. Lastly, many artistic personalities, some of whom are very prominent indeed, have joined the German Communist Party and this has given a more clear-cut profile to the consistently socialist section of democratic culture and strengthened its position.

Credit for these positive processes cannot, of course, be attributed solely to the GCP, but it is questionable if they would have surfaced without

its guidance, without the examples set by it, without its initiatives. Friends and enemies alike respect the influence enjoyed by the GCP in the cultural-political sphere. In its "survey for internal use," conducted in 1980, the Federal Interior Ministry had to note that in recent years the GCP has achieved perceptible cultural-political successes in the Federal Republic.

The development of the political genre in music is linked to this second culture. Songs have become an effective weapon also of political struggle, a means of spreading our influence.

In this field we have traditions upon which we can draw. The revolutionary German working-class movement of the period up to 1933 left us extensive experience in the sphere of political music. Political songs played a significant role also during the first few decades following the proclamation of the Federal Republic, especially in the 1960s in connection with the movement against the country's nuclear armament. Since then the GCP has acquired considerable experience.

Political songs combine an art form with a sharp political content. As a means of agitation these songs thus have the distinction of commanding a particularly large audience. Moreover, by their textual clarity they counter the spread of contentless, abstract and specious language. It must be noted that the political song is not confined to a single musical style, that its boundaries are mobile and embrace a wide spectrum of musical forms.

To a large extent, the life and orientation of political songs in the Federal Republic are determined by individual song writers, who frequently write the lyrics, compose the music and perform the songs themselves. Fifteen years ago the number of politically active song writers could be counted on the fingers of one hand, but today their number has grown significantly. And there has been a still larger growth of their audience. The ruling circles are opposing this process, in part by boycotting the products of these song writers and in part by superficially mirroring the mood of protest in their own output of songs (which, in turn, has a two-fold impact, in other words, it represents a certain danger to the ruling classes themselves). It is indicative that to this day, West German reaction has hardly produced any of its own composers and performers of political songs with an overtly reactionary program. In 1979 a singer appeared who performed songs with a right-radical content. But he at once found himself facing a determined democratic protest which forced him off the stage. The left song movement in the FRG has thus won the determining artistic and political influence in this genre. The GCP does not conceal its pride that some of the leading exponents of the song art form are its members.

Alongside professional and semiprofessional musicians, many amateurs are disseminating political songs in the FRG. Considerable popularity has been won by song groups, consisting of from two to as many as 20 persons, who tie in political work with this sort of cultural activity (devoting their

spare time to it). In the early 1970s the party gave its backing to the formation of many of these groups throughout the FRG. They rendered the GCP effective assistance by their musical agitation.

The main strength of the song groups is that they respond quickly and eloquently to current political events of a local or nationwide scale.

In recent years there has been a differentiation in the song group movement: the forms and functions of the song groups have become more diverse. Their example is widely emulated. Today such groups — it would be hard to estimate their number — exist in trade unions and in various democratic youth associations. They have become a widespread form of cultural leisure of young people and, at the same time, an expression of their political militancy.

To give a somewhat broader picture, I should like to note that the revival of our folk song genre with its progressive traditions, suppressed for a long time, has been a qualitative step toward the assertion of original, viable, democratic and at the same time, national culture in the FRG. This process has been vigorously gathering momentum since the mid-1970s. In the FRG, which is flooded with U.S. mass culture, the German folk song, the German heritage of music and folklore has long been ignored or given a distorted interpretation by performers of hit songs. Progressive circles have likewise been restrained for a long time in their attitude to the German folk song genre because they felt it had been completely discredited by fascism and nationalism. Non-conformist support for folk music was seen almost exclusively in the attitude to foreign, chiefly English-language songs, with the performers underscoring the English origin of these songs, going so far as to give the English pronunciation of their names.

There was a perceptible change of attitude to German folk songs after Marxist and other progressive singers and music critics began studying and popularizing the German progressive song heritage, including anti-feudal and anti-militarist songs and also songs of the 1848 revolution. The innumerable collections of songs and recordings reaffirm and, at the same time, stimulate this process. The democratic circles have, at least partially, broken the claim of the dominant culture to a monopoly in this sphere and counter it with a free alternative that is effectively practised among the people.

The democratic folk culture in the Federal Republic is thus acquiring a new self-awareness, its true, tradition-imbedded national image — the development of which, in view of the terrible devastation wrought in the cultural world by fascism and also the recent foreign dominance, it would be hard to overestimate.

In parallel and partially in interaction with the rejuvenation of folk songs, there are interesting new trends in rock music. Without closing our eyes to the manipulation of powerful capitalist music monopolies in this sphere, it may be said that rock music has become an established genre in its own right and with its own regularities reflecting the

mood and requirements of large segments of young people. But for us the important thing is that the mood of protest is finding expression in the rock music movement, especially among amateur groups. The Rock Against the Right movement appeared in the FRG in 1978. It strikes at neo-fascism in the Federal Republic and also at Franz Josef Stauss, the super-hawk among reaction's political leaders. Beyond the framework of the minimal political concord I have mentioned, this movement contains different political (including anti-communist) trends. The Socialist Organization of Young Workers, which is friendly to the GCP, cooperates in the "Rock Against the Right" alliance and advocates its consolidation and consistently anti-imperialist orientation. There are several hundred such groups performing rock music at concerts and festivals.

Yet another indication of the growing influence and attraction of progressive music culture in the FRG is that there are now quite large, amateur, democratically-oriented choral groups. These choirs, of which communists, social democrats, and non-party people are members, are picking up the threads of the fascism-broken tradition of revolutionary German songs. We feel that in this area there are realistic possibilities for developing a mass cultural movement: participation in choirs, it must be borne in mind, is not linked to any particular demands.

The symphony concerts for workers sponsored annually by the German Communist Party now hold a solid place in the efforts to promote music culture. With this is linked extensive cultural, political and educational work.

We are against the working people and the youth — definite social and age groups — being linked to any single category of music and thereby creating artificial and senseless poles. For example, our experience with cultural programs of festivals shows that such barriers can be successfully broken down with programs containing a diversified and attractive content. We thereby also help to promote a productive dialogue between progressive exponents of music art of all genres.

In our efforts to reinforce progressive national culture (in music) an invaluable role is played by political songs of other peoples — songs of liberation movements and political songs of other capitalist states and also of socialist countries. This international militant art, which is winning a growing number of adherents in the FRG, is a major factor helping to consolidate the anti-imperialist forces in the Federal Republic and serves as an important incentive for the creative work of our proponents of culture.

We assess our party's cultural-political successes (with which we cannot, of course, rest content)

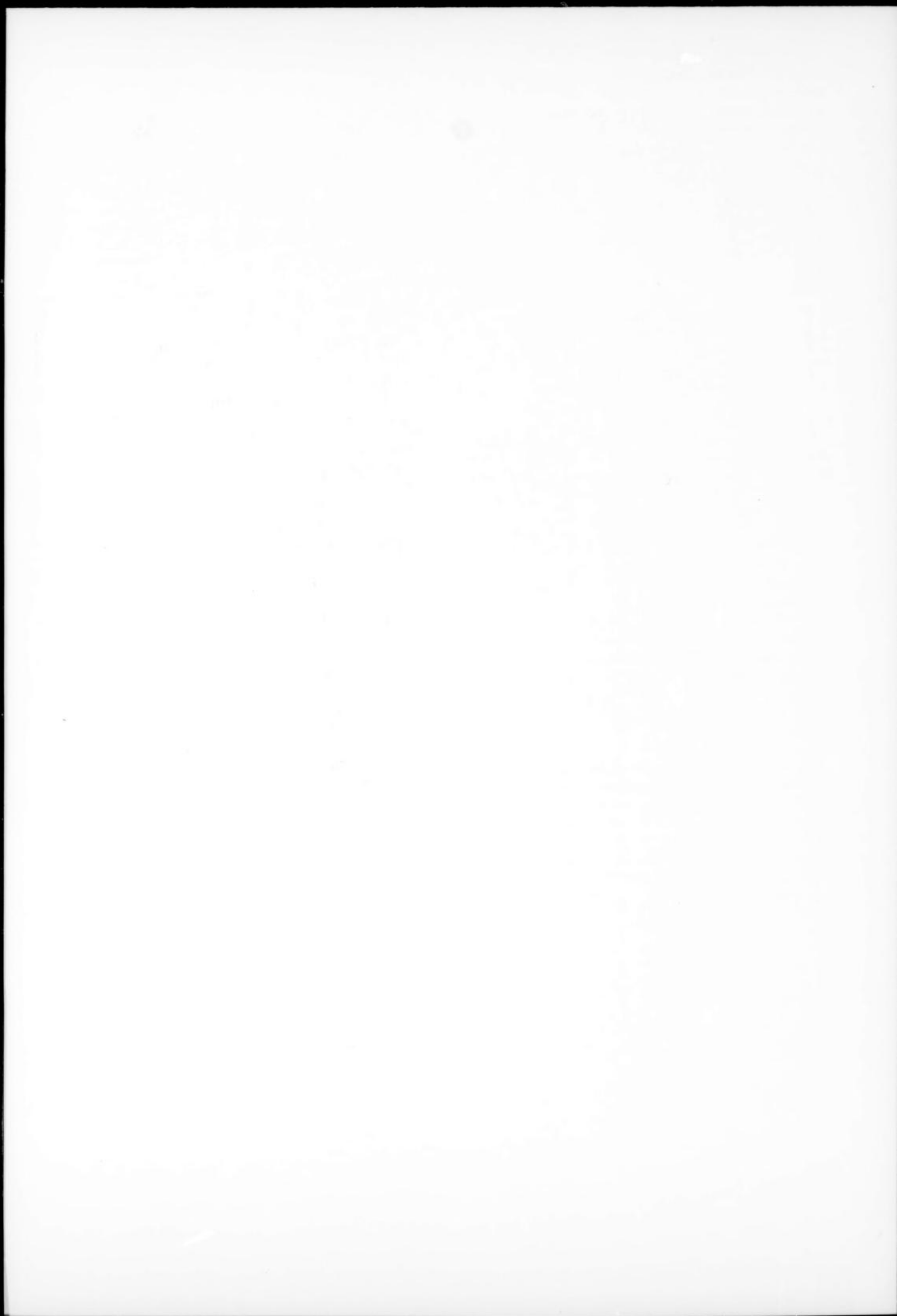
chiefly as a result of conscious and untiring work. The forms and methods used in this work include: conferences at different party levels with personalities in the world of culture and also — I should like to emphasize this — personal contacts and exchanges of views with them; purposeful distribution of creative assignments with the purpose of setting attractive examples of a politically active art, for instance, professional political theatrical revues; cooperation with Marxist youth associations, for example, in the form of annual meetings on a nationwide scale with the aim of discussing and enhancing the skill of young exponents of art (Victor Jara memorial meetings); compilation of model cultural programs for press festivals and other important undertakings with the participation of the policy directly involved.

The communists are neither put out nor irritated by the diverse and conflicting orientations in modern music culture and in that part of it which is directly linked to politics. We see this as a normal development, as the point of departure of our work. We lay no claim to monopoly but are active — in practical and theoretical terms — in the inevitable dispute of the actual aims and prospects of the movement and of the conditions for its success.

A few words about the material and institutional base of the anti-imperialist music in the Federal Republic, namely, of the democratic Pläne disk manufacturer. It promotes many German and foreign singers and musicians, who would have otherwise been victims of arbitrary treatment and censorship by bourgeois music business in the FRG. Pläne thus helps progressive trends to gather strength. It also has a concert agency and brings out a journal, in which questions of the democratic music movement are discussed. Music firms, publishing houses and initiative groups of musicians, that are independent of the monopolies, have sprung up in recent years.

On the level of content we feel that the progressive cultural movement in the Federal Republic should now concentrate on the safeguarding of peace and détente, the struggle for disarmament, the protection of democratic rights and freedoms not only in art but also in the broad sense. A task before the progressive cultural movement is to continue strengthening its links to the working-class movement, to the struggle of the working people, for without this it faces the danger of being turned into an isolated "playground" of youth culture, into an illusory alternative, and integrated into the existing system. This movement must consciously join the worldwide front of anti-imperialist culture.

Olaf Cless,
staff member of
the GCP Board



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