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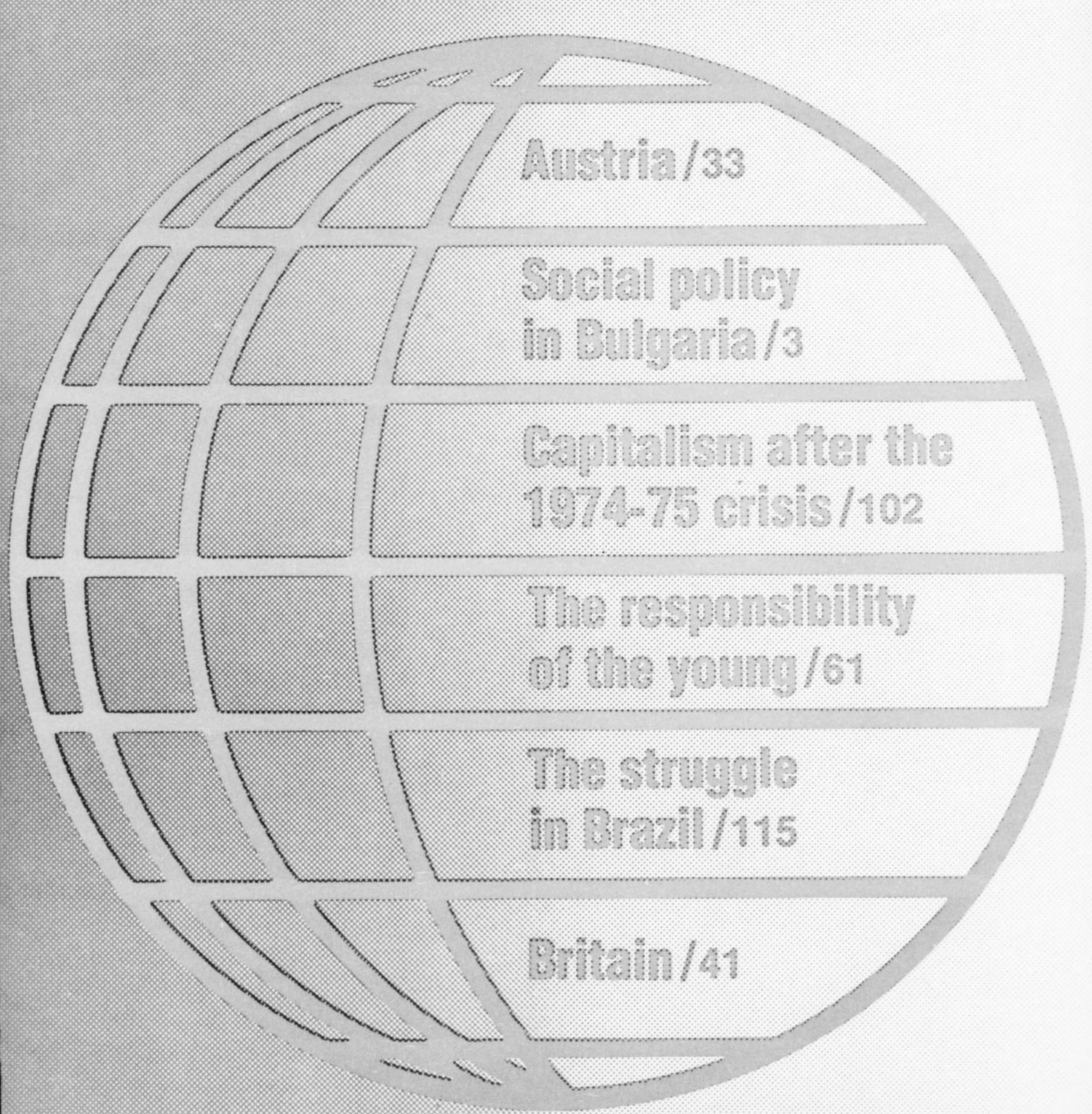
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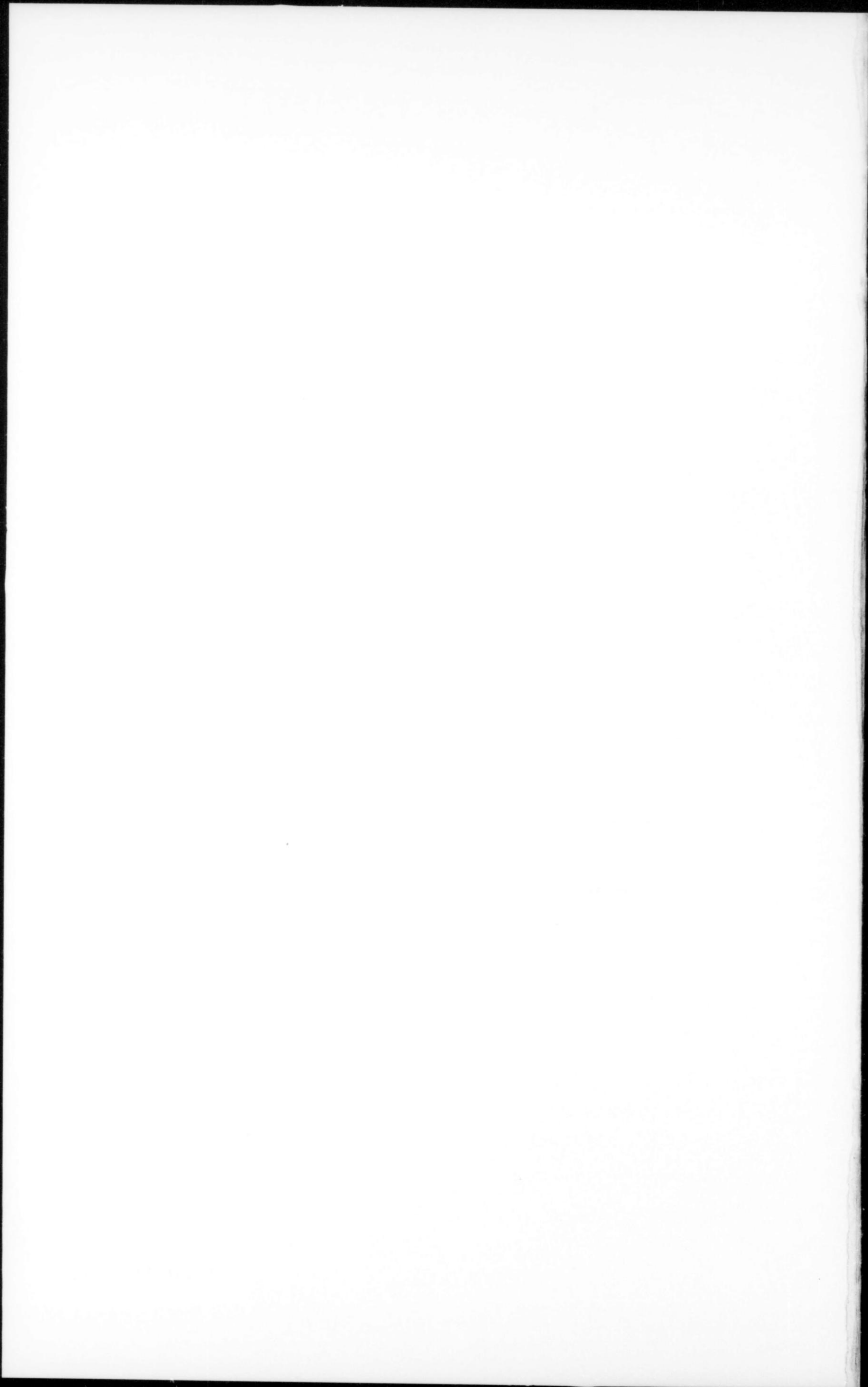
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The social policy of the BCP today

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Ever since the Bulgarian Communist Party was founded it has seen people's happiness and well-being as the supreme goal of all its activity. It was for this goal, for the bright future of the Bulgarian people, that the party rallied all the country's progressive and democratic forces, headed the victorious struggle against the monarcho-fascist regime, and brought formerly backward Bulgaria out on to the broad road of socialist development that leads to the highest stages of social progress.

Naturally, the social policy of the BCP has been changing with the conditions in which the party has had to work. In pre-revolutionary Bulgaria the party headed the class battles that the working people fought for — such rights as an eight-hour working day, social security for wage workers, free education and the satisfaction of other essential needs of the working people. After the victory of the socialist revolution of September 9, 1944, the BCP planned and carried out major projects that considerably improved the conditions of life and work of the great mass of the people. The elimination of exploitation and the exploiting classes was an important step in realizing such socialist ideals as building a socially homogeneous society and establishing social equality. An eight-hour working day was introduced. Systems of social insurance and social security, free medical care and education embracing practically all categories of working people were set up. Thanks to the abolition of unemployment and the dynamic development of the economy the people's living standard rose substantially, as did their cultural and spiritual expectations. All these changes laid the foundations of a socialist way of life.

A new stage in our party's social policy was launched by the historic April 1956 meeting of the BCP Central Committee, which pointed out the need for accelerated economic development as the basis for realization of the party's program. The experience we have gained since then clearly demonstrates that the content and scale of social policy at a given stage of society's development are determined

both by the actual problems that life poses and by the objective possibilities of solving them, particularly the economic possibilities available to society at the given stage. So, although in all preceding periods of socialist construction our party was guided by the desire to achieve a steady improvement in the standard of living, accelerated development of the material and technical basis was a priority task because our economic possibilities were limited.

The social policy has acquired new substance in the present stage. The program for building a developed socialist society approved by the 10th Congress of the BCP (1971) finalized the party's strategic line expressed in the slogan: 'Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man.' The setting of this goal was made possible by the fact that conditions had taken shape not only for sustaining high rates of economic development, but also for carrying out a comprehensive program for raising the people's living and cultural standards.

The strategic goals of the party's social policy today are defined by the decisions of its 10th Congress and the December 1972 meeting of the BCP Central Committee. This policy was specified in the Central Committee theses on fulfillment of the December program for improving the living standard during the seventh five-year plan (1976-1980) and up to 1990, and in the documents of the 11th Party Congress. A national party conference will discuss the party's tasks in improving planned economic management and the socialist organization and remuneration of labor. The theoretical generalizations and practical experience of the CPSU and the Soviet state, which are expressed most completely in the documents of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and in the new Soviet Constitution, are of great fundamental significance for the creative, comprehensive elaboration and implementation of social policy in our country.

The class goals, scope and content of social policy under socialism differ fundamentally from those of the social policy of the bourgeois state. In present-day capitalist society the policy of the ruling bourgeois parties in this sphere is designed to protect the economic interests of the monopolies and the military-industrial complex, to create favorable socio-political conditions for the extraction of maximum profit and for the use of modern methods and forms of exploitation of the working people. The bourgeoisie is trying to use in its own interests a number of the social gains made by the working class in years of struggle. It is intensifying labor to the utmost and fostering a consumer and reformist mentality among the working class and other working people with the sole aim of preserving the capitalist system.

Social policy under socialism is based on the idea that progress in all spheres of public life should be geared to the full development of

the abilities and talents of each individual. The measures taken in this sphere are aimed ultimately at forming a comprehensively developed individual operating as both a producer of material or spiritual values and a manager of production and of all other forms of social activity. Such an individual is formed in the process of perfecting socialist social relations and developing the socialist way of life. That is why our party and the fraternal parties of other socialist countries *today focus their social policy on the further formation and perfecting of the socialist way of life in all its variety.*

The accomplishment of this task is inseparable from raising the people's living and spiritual standards, from perfecting the relations between classes and social groups. The essential features of the socialist way of life are socialist labor, a scientifically based, rational consumption of material goods, a high level of education and culture of all members of society, physical and spiritual health, and active participation in public life.

The question may arise: Why is it that our party devotes increased attention to social objectives at the stage of building developed socialism? Like the fraternal parties of other countries of the socialist community, the BCP considers that rising living and cultural standards and a high level of spiritual development of the working people are now an objective necessity of continued economic progress, a most important prerequisite of the gradual transition to communism. We are far from taking a simplistic view of the productive forces of socialist society. Today we include not only material but social and spiritual factors in this concept, for, to quote Marx, production and wealth in the future will be based not so much on direct labor as on the 'development of the social individual.'

It follows that in the course of building and perfecting a developed socialist society the solution of social problems is objectively becoming an increasingly direct goal of socio-economic progress. 'Once we have assumed that the direct goal of social production is satisfaction of people's needs,' said Todor Zhivkov, at the December 1972 meeting of the BCP Central Committee, 'we must gear to this goal all our work in metallurgy, energetics, chemicals, construction, transport, etc., that is, in all branches and phases of the reproduction process.' The main task today is to set in motion all the mechanisms that can help to subordinate socio-economic development, and particularly social production, to the achievement of the social goals set by the party at the present stage. This line of action brings to the fore the problems of quality and efficiency in social as well as economic policy.

The BCP assigns an important place to the development and maximum satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual

requirements according to rational consumption standards. Even before completing the building of developed socialism we have set the goal of achieving optimal satisfaction of people's basic needs, the needs of a people with a high consumer standard. We maintain that socialism is incompatible with either asceticism or the bourgeois consumer ideology, which makes consumption an end in itself. This is why we concern ourselves so much with the problem of shaping a socialist consumption model differing fundamentally from its capitalist counterpart. Under socialism consumption in the deeper sense means creating the conditions for the individual's spiritual and physical development as a versatile personality. For this reason we give priority to meeting needs of a higher order, such as aesthetic, intellectual and other needs that play the key role in shaping the many-sided socialist personality.

All this explains why the party has founded its activity in the social sphere on the principle of the organic unity of social and economic policy. In his report to the 11th Congress of the BCP, Todor Zhivkov defined this unity as a combination of accelerated economic growth with a steady rise in the living standard. The unity of economic and social policy, which reveals the humanism of our system and its immense advantages over capitalism, stems from the basic economic law of social production and the means of attaining it. In other words, social policy under socialism is a continuation and realization of economic policy. In striving for the social goals of developed socialism, we apply a comprehensive approach, which consists both in satisfying material and intellectual needs in their inner unity, and in strengthening the influence of social factors on economic development.

This invites a number of practical conclusions relating to the activity of our party and state. We look on every economic measure from the standpoint of the social goals we are trying to achieve at the present stage of our development. In putting our social policy into effect, we give priority to measures that go furthest toward realizing the party's slogan: 'Efficiency and quality, quality and efficiency.' We are making a special effort to improve the education and skills of the working people, provide the best possible working conditions, transform public catering into a branch of the national economy and improve health care. We see the key to the unity of economic and social policy in complete harmony between social measures and goals and the available economic resources. This is the prime condition for steady economic and social progress.

Our party is pursuing a policy of highly efficient and dynamic growth. On this basis the national income is growing at a rapid and steady rate and the living standard is improving. In the 1949-75 period

the national income grew at an average annual rate of 8.25 per cent. In the first two years of the seventh five-year plan (1976-80), despite the unfavorable conditions for agriculture, we succeeded in raising the national income by an annual average of 6.5 per cent.

The party focuses special attention on introducing the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution into production, perfecting planned management of the economy and the socialist organization of labor, making effective use of working time, achieving a substantial improvement in the shift index and continuously modernizing fixed assets in keeping with the demands of scientific and technical progress.

The goals of our social policy are materializing as the economy grows. Some social measures are already being carried out under the current five-year plan, others are scheduled for 1981-85, and yet others for the subsequent period. The whole social program of the stage of building developed socialism is to be completed by 1990.

The party's social policy depends to an ever greater extent on the further development of the international socialist division of labor and on increasing specialization and cooperation in production among the CMEA countries. Socialist economic integration benefits production in Bulgaria and other socialist countries. Our party regards realization of the social program as an essential contribution to the strengthening of existing socialism and the demonstration of its advantages over capitalism.

To be sure, the party's pursuit of its social policy is affected to a degree by economic difficulties due, for example, to adverse weather conditions, which have slowed the development of agriculture in recent years. The unfavorable situation created on the capitalist market by the economic crisis has, for its part, told on our economy. The working people of our country, guided by the party, are making every effort to overcome these difficulties.

What are, specifically, the main lines of the party's social policy?

The gradual perfecting and comprehensive satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual needs are a top priority for the party and the socialist state. Rapid economic growth and the enhanced efficiency of socialist production have brought about a substantial increase in real incomes. Under the sixth five-year plan (1971-75) alone they increased by 32.4 per cent. Under the current plan they will average an annual growth of 4.6 per cent and under the subsequent plans, 4.5-6 per cent.

Wages will continue to be the basic source of income. In 1975 the average monthly wage was 146 leva, and under the current plan it will grow to roughly 170. In a relatively short period the minimum wage has risen considerably: from 65 leva per month in 1970 to 80 leva in

1975; by the end of the current five-year period it will reach 90 leva. The party sees wages as the main lever for realizing the socialist principle of distribution according to work, the basic factor for achieving a harmonious unity of the interests of society, the collective and the individual. This year a new wage system will be introduced in our country. Its purpose is to bring remuneration into full accord with the actual contribution made by production teams and individual workers in fulfilling national economic plans, reducing expenditure of living and materialized labor, and improving the shift index in the use of capacities. In the final analysis, the new wages system should achieve the maximum increase in productivity of labor. It will be a powerful incentive for increasing the quantity and improving the quality of output and will put a firm rein on the urge to secure income not based on labor or disproportionate to the quantity and quality of work done by the team or the individual worker. Wages under socialism are not only an equitable way of distributing income. They are also a factor that tends to improve education and skills and encourage the optimal use of knowledge for the production of high-quality goods.

The social consumption funds are a specifically socialist form of meeting people's needs. Today they are the source of nearly a quarter of the working people's material benefits. The social funds show a characteristically high growth rate: from 56 leva per capita in 1956 they have increased to 442 in 1976. They will continue to grow, but it is our view that their growth must in future be brought into closer accord with the growth of the national income and wages, so that the principle of incentives should not be violated. The July 1976 meeting of the BCP Central Committee adopted decisions on raising the social effectiveness of the social consumption funds and increasing their systematic effect on the working people's production effort. To achieve this, there must be a change of approach to the use of some of the collective consumption funds. For example, priority in their distribution must be given to workers who have achieved the best showings in production and who display a high level of socialist consciousness and discipline. This seems entirely logical and fair from the standpoint of society.

We have said that a key goal of the policy of our party and socialist state in raising the standard of living is to achieve, by the time we have built a developed socialist society, scientifically sound and rational consumption standards. Appreciable headway toward this goal will be made under the current five-year plan. By 1980 per capita consumption of meat and meat products should stand at 65 kg, milk and dairy products at 216 kg, eggs at 186 kg, sugar and confectionary at 36 kg, fruit at 187 kg and vegetables at 145 kg. Every 100 families will have 130 radio and 80 TV sets and 90 refrigerators. As a result of

the party's policy of steadily improving the standard of living, our country now has a relatively progressive consumption pattern whose main elements are food products rich in protein, fruit and vegetables, durable goods, and satisfaction of spiritual requirements and the demand for services.

Care of women, children and the aged holds a special place in our social policy. In 1973 the Political Bureau of the CC BCP approved the main lines of increasing women's role in the construction of developed socialist society. Our policy is designed to remove the last vestiges of women's inequality in the home and provide the social, economic and other requisites for women to combine their maternal duties with outside work and active participation in public life. Our laws entitle working women to a maternity leave of 120 days during the first confinement, 150 days during the second and 180 days during the third. Women get the full amount of their wages or salaries throughout this period. Besides, mothers are granted additional leave to care for their children: six months for the first child, seven for the second and eight months for the third. This leave is paid by the state at a monthly rate of 80 leva. Until the child is three years old, its mother has the right to an unpaid leave. She retains her job and is entitled to social maintenance, and her seniority is not affected. In 1976 mothers with small children to look after were paid a total of 61.2m. leva. By the end of the seventh five-year plan there will be kindergartens for approximately 90 per cent of children between three and seven.

An important aspect of the socialist way of life is broad democracy in the educational sphere, which is only possible where all class barriers to the acquisition of knowledge have been pulled down.

The current five-year period will see another noteworthy achievement, the introduction of universal secondary education. This will enable young people to use their creative abilities and professional skills more fruitfully, participate more actively in the advancement of our society, make fuller use of their opportunities and go further in fulfilling their aspirations.

A sufficient number of specialists with a higher or secondary education, and also research workers, are trained in our country. Today our party and state concentrate on raising the quality of their training fully in keeping with the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and the requirements of a developed socialist society. Accordingly, we are making a deeper study of the demand for specialists with a higher or secondary education so as to put planning of the training and employment of personnel on a more scientific basis.

The party takes proper care of those who have worked conscienti-

ously for the good of our country and are entitled to well-deserved rest. Our policy appreciates the contribution of veteran workers and provides adequately for their well-being. Pensions are periodically raised. Over 1,121 million leva was paid in pensions in 1976. There are to be more homes for the aged and disabled who will have greater opportunities for rest and recreation complete with cultural facilities. The needs of the elderly living in their own homes will be attended to on an organized basis.

An important aspect of the party's policy is to expand the service industry, which has a direct impact on extended reproduction and the use of manpower, the all-round development of the individual and the effort to perfect the socialist way of life. We have set the task of large-scale satisfaction of the population's demand for high-standard services.

Thus, retail trade in the sixth five-year period increased by 45.4 per cent and in the current five-year period it should go up another 40.5 per cent, with the growth of commodity stocks keeping ahead of the population's growing purchasing capacity. Public catering is to receive special attention, with emphasis on the provision of catering facilities in factories, cooperatives, offices and educational institutions.

However, the present level of trade and services does not satisfy us. It is well behind what economically developed countries have achieved. There is no doubt, however, that in keeping with our economic potentialities we shall in the near future achieve scientifically based standards of service; we shall do this stage by stage, ensuring a high growth rate.

A word about improving health care and medical aid. We now have 26 doctors, including dentists, for every 10,000 inhabitants, which places Bulgaria among the world's first in this respect. In 1976 we spent 3.17 per cent of the national income on health care and in 1980 this index will be 3.39 per cent. Under the current five-year plan we expect to considerably expand and modernize material and technical facilities for health care. Better living conditions and more effective health care have found expression in higher life expectancy and a longer active life. Whereas life expectancy between 1935 and 1939 averaged 52 years, in the 1969-71 period it was 71 years.

Recreation, including tourism and sports, takes up more and more time in the people's life. The party makes an increasing effort to expand the network of facilities and organize mass recreation more effectively and with due regard to increased requirements, particularly those of the young. In line with the aim we have set, all our working people will by 1990 be provided with ample facilities for enjoying their holidays and week-ends.

To solve the housing problem is another strategic goal of our social policy that holds an important place in the activity of the party and state. Housing policy today has a number of distinctive features. First, it is aimed at providing all working people with housing. By contrast with the capitalist world, housing conditions in our country are not determined by the family's socio-economic standing, income or any other such factors. We try to meet housing needs according to rational standards. Second, rent is not high and averages 2.5 per cent of the family income. Third, both public and personal funds are drawn on to build homes on a large scale. Fourth, housing is distributed under rigid public control. Fifth, the quality of housing is steadily improving and tenants enjoy increasingly modern amenities.

We expect to solve the housing problem in two stages. At the first stage, which will last till 1983, we plan to provide each family with a separate flat. By the end of the second stage, or by 1990, housing requirements will be met according to scientific health and social standards. We will build 420,000 flats under the current five-year plan and another 1.6 million by 1990.

Perfecting the socialist way of life and encouraging the all-round development of the individual are tasks inseparable from that of promoting the arts and culture. Reporting to the 11th Party Congress, Todor Zhivkov described the task ahead as ensuring that 'the movement for aesthetic education really becomes a movement of the whole people and that work rich in content and varied in form is carried on for the people's aesthetic education so that persons in any age group, irrespective of their occupation, may actively use their aesthetic capacities.' Our cultural policy is inspired by the desire to put spiritual values within everyone's reach and to enable every working man or woman to take an active part, not only in assimilating these values, but in creating and spreading them. Our country's achievements in this field are appreciated by a large body of world opinion.

Environmental protection and improvement have lately been more and more prominent among social measures. Article 31 of the Constitution binds government agencies, factories, cooperatives, mass organizations and individuals to protect nature and natural resources, the waters, air and the soil. Last June the State Council approved the main lines of protecting and improving the natural environment. Policy in this respect is not aimed at carrying out this or that individual measure but at protecting and rehabilitating the natural environment on a comprehensive basis. It rests on a scientific system of dynamic standards and requirements. Protection and improvement of the environment are increasingly becoming a concern of all, and this is important. A public movement in defense of nature has begun

under the leadership of the Fatherland Front. It is a distinctively Bulgarian form of committing all citizens to this noble cause.

The fulfillment of the tasks listed above will make it possible, in the party's opinion, gradually to pave the way for the formation of a socially homogeneous society, which is a key objective of a scientifically based social policy. In accordance with the principles of scientific communism, the BCP regards the construction of a developed socialist society as a stage at which 'distinctions between social classes and groups diminish to such an extent that the social composition of society approaches the threshold of homogeneity.' The prerequisites of gradually eliminating distinctions within and between classes and creating a socially homogeneous society mature with the development of its every sphere.

In shaping and implementing its social policy geared to the fulfillment of this task, the BCP has invariably acted on Lenin's postulate that 'in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, not enough to abolish *their* rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish *all* private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers' (V.L. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421). In the sphere of social class relations the stage of building and perfecting a developed socialist society implies doing away with essential distinctions between town and country, between mental and manual labor, and enabling all working people to take an active part in the management of public affairs, and particularly socialist production. When we try to define the substance of political leadership and management of the effort to perfect the social class structure, we realize that these are complicated social processes in which both inter-class and intra-class relations interlock.

What are the key tasks set by the party's strategy in sphere?

They include, first of all, continued effort to promote and perfect socialist property relations. Our party sees in the formation of agrarian-industrial and industrial-agrarian complexes the principal factor for drawing the two forms of socialist property closer together and for turning them into one socialist property which will ultimately become communist property. We now have 168 agrarian-industrial and 18 industrial-agrarian and research-production complexes. In April 1970 the BCP Central Committee decided on further specialization and concentration of agricultural production and the early adoption of industrial technologies and managing methods. The experience gained since then shows that cooperative farmers in agrarian-industrial complexes are drawing near the working class from the social point of view.

To make society socially homogenous, it is most important to take into account changes — often complex and even contradictory — in the nature and conditions of labor resulting from the application of up-to-date technologies and techniques. We are therefore pursuing a policy which concentrates on reducing the amount of hard manual, monotonous work, making all socially useful activities more attractive, and improving the production environment on an overall basis. The country is not economically capable of substantially improving working conditions throughout the national economy. Investments for these purposes under the current five-year plan will amount to 726.6m. leva. The national program for labor safety and hygiene and fire prevention is a component of the integrated plan for socio-economic development under the seventh five-year plan approved by the People's Assembly. We want to create in the foreseeable future a production environment meeting the requirements of the new type of worker, of people who are leading a life rich in cultural opportunities, who are well-trained professionally, excel in labor and are active politically.

Steps to modernize our communities are an important factor for progressive social changes. In March 1977 the CC BCP adopted a comprehensive development program for all communities whose fundamental principle is to provide all inhabitants wherever they live with identical working conditions and opportunities for employment, services, communication and recreation. Realization of this program will be a major social achievement and will help to make our society socially homogeneous.

In carrying on its social policy, our party does much to further socialist democracy as a requisite of building and perfecting mature socialism. Lenin wrote that 'when *all* have learned to administer and actually do independently administer social production . . . then the door will be thrown wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase . . .' (Vol. 25, p. 474).

In Bulgaria as in the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, democratic principles operate in every sphere of society, primarily in its basis, that is, in production relations. We attach special importance to fostering democracy in the production sphere and the economy generally, and so we follow a policy of steadily increasing the role of the workers, peasants and intellectuals (engineers and technicians) in the management of enterprises. This means, first and foremost, participation in economic planning by the working people, socialist competition, and their putting forward of supplementary plans as a new, original form of direct democracy. This method enables millions directly to take part in organizing production more efficiently and to ascertain additional possibilities of

raising the productivity of social labor and rapidly improving the standard of living. The working people made over 450,000 proposals while drafting supplementary plans for 1977.

Both the country's economic progress and the party's social policy have brought about notable changes in the class composition of our society. Between 1965 and 1975 the proportion of wage-earners in the population went up from 42 to 60.6 per cent and that of salary-earners (including many intellectuals), from 16.7 to 23.2 per cent. In the same decade the proportion of peasants dropped from 37.5 to 14.4 per cent. The number of specialists on economic jobs who had received a higher, incomplete higher or specialized secondary education increased in the 1960-76 period from 257,200 to 710,500.

The process of the workers and cooperative peasants, on the one hand, and the intellectuals, on the other, drawing closer together is largely conditioned by intra-class changes due to the intellectualization of labor and the working people's rising educational and qualification standards. As many as 2.6 million workers will acquire higher skills in the seventh five-year plan period. The party does much to pave the way for the fusion of mental and manual labor and for the subsequent raising of the social and spiritual standards of the workers and cooperative farmers to the standards of engineers and technicians.

To bring about these changes, we must create a material and technical basis adequate to developed socialism and ensure the workers and cooperative farmers a high standard of general and specialized education. In 1976 production assets per worker increased by more than 350 per cent over 1960: The educational standards of the economically active population are rising; 343 people in 1,000 have received a higher, incomplete higher or secondary education (against 187.4 in 1965).

The social policy of our party and state is becoming an ever more important factor in perfecting the socialist way of life and providing conditions for it to become a higher, communist form of human activity. In making people the central object of this policy, our party inculcates a high degree of socialist consciousness upon people. It stresses that implementation of our plans necessitates highly productive effort by all workers, cooperative farmers, specialists, office employees and students. Work by all for the good of each and work by each for the good of all is the bed-rock of our social policy.

World changes and the developing countries

Pieter Keuneman

General Secretary, CP Sri Lanka

There are events and turns in world history that become milestones in the destiny of mankind. In the 20th century, the principal event of this nature was the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, which ushered in an area of man's social and national emancipation and began a worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. The formation of the world socialist system, following victory over fascism in World War II, was mankind's next greatest gain after the October Revolution and the establishment of the world's first socialist state. The rise and spectacular advance of the national-liberation movement, which led to the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, is yet another turn in world developments whose repercussions on, and role and place in, modern history are of global significance.

All these great developments of our era confirm how accurate and correct was the scientific prevision of that great genius of revolution, Lenin, who said as early as 1919: '... The socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie — no, it will be a struggle of all imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 159). At that time about 72 per cent of the world's population and nearly 69 per cent of the earth's territory were included in the zone of colonies and semi-colonies. But Lenin had boundless faith in the creative abilities and revolutionary potentialities of the working masses of the colonial countries, in their 'big revolutionary role in the subsequent phases of the world revolution' (Vol. 32, p. 482). He stressed that, in the epoch of imperialism, the national-colonial question had been transformed into a 'world phenomenon,' this was a question of the fate of regions and countries with vast populations, and the influence that these vast numbers of people would exert on world developments would therefore be very strong. This scientific analysis dealt a powerful blow to the then dominant Eurocentric concepts, which concen-

trated attention mainly on the unresolved nationality problems of Europe.

It is also to Lenin's great credit that he discerned the thoroughly modern character of the national-liberation movement and the important role that new classes and social strata would play in this movement, attaching special importance to the revolutionary activity of the young proletariat and the need for its alliance with the peasants and other social classes and strata, including the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie, in the struggle to defeat the common enemies — imperialism and its domestic accomplices. This class approach clearly revealed the anti-imperialist content of the national-liberation movement, the possibility and necessity of its interaction with the forces of socialism, and its organic links with the process of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. It also helped revolutionaries to comprehend the contradictions that would develop between classes involved in the national struggle, contradictions which are now leading to an increasing differentiation between the national revolutionary and bourgeois reformist wings in the liberation movement.

It is not only in the sphere of theory, strategy and tactics that the contemporary national-liberation forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America owe so much to Lenin and the great Party of Bolsheviks that he founded and led. The victorious October Revolution and the emergence and strengthening of the world's first socialist state created the political and material conditions for a powerful upswing in the national-liberation movement, its development to new qualitative levels.

The victory and consolidation of the socialist revolution in Russia brought about a crisis of imperialism's colonial system. It ended the undivided sway of imperialism in the world, a factor that had hitherto doomed anti-colonial movements and uprisings across the vast expanses of Asia and Africa.* The collapse of the tsarist Empire, liberation of its oppressed nations, their free and equal development along with and helped by the Russian people — these and many other factors galvanized the anti-imperialist struggles of oppressed peoples in many lands. Paralyzed for decades by imperialist exploitation and social inertia, they grew more active in deciding their destinies. Under the impact of the October Revolution the popular revolution succeeded in Mongolia; Afghanistan won its national independence and the sovereignty of Turkey was strengthened; imperialist positions in

*The Latin American countries, which had won independence from Spanish and Portuguese colonialism as early as the first half of the 19th century, later found themselves in a position of neo-colonies of imperialism, mostly U.S. imperialism. Their development differed from that of Asian and African countries, but we shall not dwell on the differences in this article.

China were greatly weakened. National-liberation struggles mounted in India, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Indochina, Korea, Indonesia, Iran, and many other countries. Between the two world wars, the Soviet Union was the only state to champion the struggles of colonial peoples for national independence. This strong political and moral support was a great source of strength for the growing national-liberation movements.

The victory over fascism in World War II, to which the Soviet Union made the greatest and decisive contribution, carried this process still further forward. The peoples in the countries occupied by Germany, Japan and Italy were liberated, and world imperialism was generally weakened. The inability of the British, French, Dutch and other colonial powers to protect the peoples they ruled in Asia from the onslaughts of Japanese militarism also helped to deepen and spread anti-imperialist consciousness in this continent, and strengthen the patriotic forces which organized a powerful movement of resistance to Japanese imperialism. During this period the prestige and influence of communist parties grew rapidly in Asia.

The communist-led revolutionary movements in China, Vietnam and Korea showed their ability to end the colonial and semi-colonial conditions in their countries, and to embark upon the road of social progress. In other countries, such as India, Indonesia, Burma and Sri Lanka, the movement for national independence was surging high, although the leadership of the patriotic forces was, in the main, in the hands of the national bourgeoisie.

In the first decade after World War II, many countries in Asia were, in one form or another, able to win their political independence. This made it possible for them to struggle for democracy, economic development and social progress. The second and third postwar decades saw the national-liberation movement extending to the vast African continent. The movement in Latin America and the Caribbean received an enormous impetus with the victory of the Cuban revolution. All this greatly reinforced the world front against imperialism and colonialism.

The victories of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America laid a basis for new developments in the world. The harsh experience of colonial domination that the peoples of the new states had undergone profoundly influenced their foreign-policy orientation and gave it a marked anti-imperialist character.

Even in the early period when nearly all of the African continent was under foreign rule, and colonial enclaves still existed in Asia, and when, therefore, the anti-colonial objectives were given priority within the world national-liberation movement, the short experience that the young states had gained from independent development were

leading them to conclusions which have been of cardinal importance in the struggle for the subsequent reshaping of international relations. At the Bandung Conference of 1955 the leaders of these countries proclaimed the important need, first, to join in the struggle to maintain peace and to regulate international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and, second, to organize economic cooperation between the Afro-Asian countries and to adopt collective measures to stabilize world prices for raw materials and similar matters.

The Bandung Conference may be said to have anticipated the widespread struggle of the developing countries on the international economic front, a struggle which has intensified particularly in the 1970s. The awareness of the need for collective action in the international arena, including the economic sphere, which developed in the first postwar decade and grew with the rise of the non-aligned movement, was a most important factor for the subsequent rapid expansion of the front of developing countries opposed to imperialist policies, to discrimination against the new states in international trade and monetary policy, and to neo-colonialist practices. With the virtual end of colonialism in Africa, dozens of new African states are now active on this front. The impact of the ideas of economic liberation and equality, and proof of the attraction they have for the peoples of the developing countries, is seen in the fact that relatively moderate, and even socially reactionary regimes in the Third World are associating themselves with many activities on this front.

In the past decades, these ideas have gained new social content. In the 1950s, it was mainly part of the national bourgeoisie who claimed a monopoly in the interpretation of these ideas for Asian conditions, seeing economic independence as independent capitalist development, which they set up as the appropriate alternative to colonialism and dependence, and which was at times disguised by socialist slogans. However, imperialism would not settle even for this. Particularly in the first postwar decade, it exhibited a stubborn, diehard refusal to assist, for instance, any industrial development within the framework of the public sector, and entered into alliances with the most conservative social forces and the compradors.

The situation began to change basically when the imperialists initiated definite economic, political and ideological measures aimed at continuing the exploitation of their former colonies by new means. The bourgeois leaders of the national-liberation movement and their policy of capitalist development have proved unequal to the tasks of resisting the neo-colonialist counter-offensive. Meanwhile, anti-capitalist tendencies were growing among the broad popular masses in Afro-Asian countries, they were striving for an alternative way of

development. Of great significance here was the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, where there is crisis-free development, where social scourges such as illiteracy and unemployment have long ago been abolished, and where the living and cultural standards of the people are rising year by year.

All this has led, particularly in the past one and a half decades, to the rise of new, radical currents in the national-liberation movement, which express themselves in many ways. A most general development was the demand that the developing countries should have full control over their natural resources, and that economic, financial, and trade relations between the developing and the developed capitalist countries should be radically restructured so as to put an end to all forms of discrimination and inequality. It has also found expression in certain ways of radicalizing the national-liberation movement, extending sometimes even to regimes that are far from being progressive. Thus, Arab oil-producing countries, which have a decisive say in OPEC, at a certain stage used their oil as a political weapon to oppose imperialist powers.

By far the most obvious proof of the radicalization of the liberation process in Asia, Africa and Latin America is the increasing number of countries that are rejecting the capitalist road of development and accepting a socialist-oriented road instead. This development has been particularly marked in Africa where a big group of countries has accepted socialist orientation. This group of countries now play a vanguard role in the national-liberation movement. They struggle consistently for strengthening political and achieving economic independence, and against all imperialist intrigues and pressures. On the basis of an alliance of all popular forces, especially the workers and the peasants, they seek to modernize their economies and curb the various forms of exploitative relations. In external policy, they adhere to clear-cut anti-imperialist positions, influencing, in particular, the non-aligned movement, the Organization of African Unity, etc., and seek to strengthen their relations, at all levels, with the socialist community.

These developments reflect the important changes taking place in the leadership of the national-liberation movement at the present time. As the movement for radical social change gains momentum in the developing countries, the role of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle becomes even more inconsistent than before, and more prone to compromise. In some countries, such as Sri Lanka, the smallness of the domestic market, financial weakness, and technological backwardness and inexperience lead the growing national bourgeoisie, which played a positive role in the anti-imperialist movement some time ago, to seek various forms of compromise and

cooperation with imperialist monopolies, and thus to act as a brake on the further development of the national-liberation struggle. As a result, the national bourgeoisie in many developing countries today ceases to champion the ideals of patriotism, although some sections of it still operate from general national and democratic positions. While it is wrong to say that, in general, the national bourgeoisie in all the developing countries has exhausted its anti-imperialist potentialities, its capacity for leadership of the patriotic forces is declining.

In some countries the role played by the working class and the communist parties has visibly increased. The communists are the most determined fighters against imperialism and the most consistent advocates of a socialist orientation for their countries. They have considerable experience in struggle and — this is important — are equipped with a scientific knowledge of the objective laws of social development. They are firm friends of the socialist community, which, in its turn, gives unfailing and effective support to the national-liberation movement.

However, in many of the developing countries, specifically in Africa, the working class is still relatively small and in the early, formative stage, while Marxist-Leninist parties have either not yet appeared or are limited in their political and ideological influence. In these countries the radicalization of the national-liberation movement at this stage depends on the coming to power of revolutionary democratic parties and leaders. The emergence of such social forces to positions of leadership is a result of the important revolutionary role of the peasantry and the urban semi-proletarian and petty-bourgeois masses, often led by the patriotic and progressive-minded intellectuals.

As far back as the beginning of this century, Lenin drew attention to the important ways in which the positions taken by the petty-bourgeoisie could determine the outcome of the revolutionary process. He taught the communists that, while remaining loyal to scientific socialism and organizing themselves in a 'strictly independent class party' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 411), they should distinguish clearly between revolutionary and opportunist petty-bourgeois parties and leaders, and seek to influence, and unite in common actions with the former. In 1906, Lenin declared: 'Today there is nothing more important for the revolution than this organization, education, and training of the revolutionary bourgeois democrats' (Vol. 10, p. 413). Although these words applied to conditions that existed in Russia at that time, they are highly relevant to petty-bourgeois revolutionary democrats in a number of the developing countries today.

Many of the revolutionary democratic parties and their leaders of today have adopted demands and programs that have much in com-

mon with the theses of the communists on the national-liberation movement. This applies, in particular, to the struggle for economic independence, which the revolutionary democrats see as a road to far-reaching changes, including changes in economic relations with the capitalist countries. In the late 60s and early 70s, progressive, socialist-oriented Arab states, such as the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Algeria, Iraq and Syria, upheld such positions on the international scene and imparted a real content to them. In the current decade, they have been joined by many progressive African states. The revolutionary democrats' positions in regard to the socio-economic development of their countries are becoming more clearly defined and their ideological views more clearly specified. Of course, this is not a straightforward process that is equally successful in different countries.

Quite a few of the outstanding revolutionary democratic leaders in Asia and Africa, being true patriots, have been able to gain a deeper insight into the objective realities of the present epoch, to appreciate the significance of scientific socialism as a factor in social transformation, and to choose reliable allies in the world arena — the international working class and its creation, the world socialist system. The experience gained on the battlefields of the liberation struggle has led them to the conclusion that social progress can only be promoted in accordance with Marxism-Leninism. Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and the People's Republic of the Congo are cases in point.

A landmark in the formation of the progressive world outlook of revolutionary democracy was the realization of belonging to the camp of worldwide revolutionary struggle, in whose forefront is the world socialist system. The young Asian and African states, whose peoples have chosen a socialist orientation, now favor a strategic alliance with the socialist community. Bourgeois propagandists misrepresent this development, alleging that by establishing close bonds with the socialist world, the revolutionary democrats and the national-liberation forces generally will forfeit their independent and 'distinctive' character and find themselves in the 'orbit of Moscow and world communism.' Even national bourgeois-led governments that have entered into treaties of friendship and mutual assistance with the USSR are not immune from such attacks.

In point of fact, however, the development of cooperation with the socialist world, far from restricting the sovereignty of developing countries, is indispensable for the full exercise of the rights inherent in sovereignty — first of all, the right to choose for oneself the path of social development. All-round social and economic progress is unthinkable without solving a whole range of political, economic, social, cultural and ideological problems (e.g., those of uprooting archaic

social structures, emancipating the productive forces, the problem of the cultural revolution, training national personnel, shaping new ideological concepts and orientations, and remoulding established world economic relations). Only by, on the one hand, making possible popular participation of new historical proportions in the solution of these problems, and, on the other, by firm alliance with the socialist community and all other progressive forces, can the new states cope with the magnitude of the tasks they face.

It has been proved in theory and practice that genuine liberation of a developing country depends not only on the revolutionary unity of national progressive forces, but greatly on the extent to which firm ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are established, and on the support of the international working class and its advanced detachments like the communist and workers' parties. The interaction and cooperation of the socialist and developing countries are of exceptional importance also from the standpoint of general development of international relations and the deepening of détente.

The peoples of the developing countries know only too well that, although imperialism has lost its colonial system and despite its deep-seated crisis, it has not shed its exploiting and aggressive nature. It is true that, after its ignominious defeats in Indochina, Angola and elsewhere, imperialism is more cautious about launching direct military aggressions. But it continues to support the fascist junta in Chile and the racist regimes in southern Africa, to maintain and expand aggressive military alliances and bases, to engage in 'destabilization' of progressive regimes and other forms of political subversion, and to pressurize the developing countries through various neo-colonialist devices such as the manipulation of international prices and exchange rates, the activities of the transnational corporations and international monetary and financial agencies, and so on. It sows discord among newly-free states and even provokes armed conflicts between them.

All this has made the developing countries increasingly active in demanding the closing of aggressive imperialist bases, the establishment of 'zones of peace' in various regions of the world, the ending of apartheid and the liberation of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab lands it has forcibly occupied and a Middle East settlement that will guarantee the legitimate rights of the Palestine people to their own state, the peaceful reunification of Korea, and similar matters. The fact that so socially heterogeneous a movement as the non-aligned movement should have put forward such demands at its 1976 Colombo Summit Meeting is of great significance. It is not hard to see that these demands are fully consistent with the struggle for détente.

Thanks to the persistent efforts by the Soviet Union and other

socialist-community countries, the policy of détente has in recent years brought about a marked political improvement of the international situation. This is of great interest and importance to the developing countries, which actively support such a development. They see in it an important factor which strengthens the trend toward independent development and paralyzes the intrigues of imperialism, which is set on subverting progressive regimes. The developing countries also know that every positive initiative toward ending the arms race and bringing about disarmament is in their direct interest. This provides favorable external conditions for them to strengthen their economic sovereignty, the mainstay of their political independence. They also know that a general worldwide cut-back in military expenditures would open new opportunities of economic assistance to the new states.

This is why Soviet initiatives such as the proposal to reduce the military budgets of the permanent members of the UN Security Council by 10 per cent and to use part of the money so saved to help the developing countries, has been so enthusiastically hailed. This is why the Colombo Non-Aligned Summit Meeting welcomed the Helsinki Final Act and wanted détente extended to other continents as well. This is why the Peace Program adopted by the 24th and developed at the 25th CPSU Congress, and Comrade Brezhnev's proposals in regard to a simultaneous cessation of the manufacture of nuclear arms and a moratorium on nuclear tests for peaceful purposes have received such a warm reception in the developing countries.

The peoples of the developing countries are well aware of the intimate relationship that exists between their spectacular achievements in the past three decades and the absence of world war in this period. They support making détente irreversible, and a truly universal, global phenomenon. Their current fight to end the 'old economic order' established in the colonial era is seen by them as a reinforcement of the processes of détente, for as long as this antiquated relationship survives, there will always be growing tensions between the developing and the developed capitalist countries, and hence a constant danger of confrontations and collisions.

To sum up, the national-liberation movement has now become a broad and powerful united front of states, which is clashing with imperialism on the economic and other fronts as well. The transformation of the peoples and states of Asia, Africa and Latin America into a growing independent factor of world politics has been one of the most important results of the national-liberation struggle. As Lenin predicted, millions of people who were the objects of history have now become active makers of world history.

Commentary

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WASHINGTON'S STAKE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

From listening to some U.S. politicians, diplomats, experts and journalists holding forth on United States policy in southern Africa one might think their sole concern is to serve the 'cause of freedom and justice.' If one were to believe them, as the *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, told the world at the close of last year, the Carter Administration 'has been the first to take serious account of the inequity and the gravity of the situation in southern Africa and to deeply involve the United States in the search for solutions'¹ 'I think we are trusted now where we weren't before, say in Africa,' the President himself announced in a widely broadcast interview.

It is claimed on the other side of the Atlantic that Washington's burning interest in the region springs exclusively from 'humane' considerations. Any action taken by U.S. diplomacy in that area is generously spiced with propaganda ingredients and leavened with talk of 'disinterestedness,' 'humanity' and 'defense of human rights.'

But verbal artifice does little to conceal the true nature of this intense interest or the motives behind the U.S. ruling circles' open intervention in southern Africa's affairs. (Sometimes, it should be noted, they act alone but, more often than not, in company with British imperialism and neo-colonialism). Even the least informed observer could not fail to see that Washington's (as well as London's) strategy in that area depends on the role played in the world today by the continent as a whole and its southern zone in particular, and on their potential significance in the struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction.²

Today, the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, which has increased the need for raw materials, with the advent of the nuclear-missile weapon, which has imparted a global character to strategy planning, and, last but not least, in a situation where ever more countries in the continent tend to follow the road of socialist orientation, Africa looms notably larger in Washington's policies. Now that the tide of the national-liberation movement has washed

most of the colonial colors off the map of the continent, and the sphere of imperialist influence is steadily shrinking, the U.S. is making a bid to retain at least the bastion in southern Africa, comprising the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia³ and Namibia.

Even the Washington ruling élite often fails to camouflage these intentions of U.S. imperialism. In an interview published in the *U.S. News and World Report* in June 1977, President Carter, when asked about the role of Africa in U.S. foreign policies, said: 'If there's one overwhelming impression that's growing on me, it's the long-range strategic need — looking 10, 15, 20 years in the future — for a close friendship and mutual trust, social and political alliance' with the countries of that continent.⁴ (The neo-colonialist character of the 'social and political alliance' which Washington would like to impose on African countries, leaves no doubt as to what is implied by 'close friendship'.)

The economic interests of the U.S. military-industrial complex in that area are great indeed. The largest reserves of chromium, cobalt, industrial diamonds, manganese, metals of the platinum group and vanadium, all indispensable for modern industrial development, are concentrated in southern Africa. This is where nearly half of the U.S. consumption of them is imported from. South Africa accounts for 57 per cent of U.S.-consumed vanadium, 48 per cent of the platinum and 30 per cent of the chromium. Until recently some 60,000 tons of chromium was shipped annually from Rhodesia in defiance of UN sanctions. The imperialist powers expect to get in the coming years up to 15 per cent of the uranium ore for their military and civilian needs through imports from Namibia. And can anyone afford to ignore the fact that South Africa produces more than three-quarters of the gold mined in the capitalist world?

African mineral resources attract U.S. dollars with the force of a huge magnet. U.S. investments in the African economy have grown almost fourfold since 1961 and now amount to about \$4,000 million. At the close of 1976 U.S. investments in the Republic of South Africa and Namibia alone exceeded \$2,000 million. Almost 500 American monopolies, including such giants as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and General Electric, operate there at present. But the total number of American firms doing business with the Pretoria regime is approaching 6,000. U.S. capital has seized important positions in the mining of gold, uranium, vanadium, chromium, nickel, copper, diamonds and antimony.

Furthermore, the overseas investors are greatly attracted by cheap labor in Africa enabling them to make fabulous profits. The average rate of profit there is 34 per cent of the invested capital, more than 50 per cent higher than in the rest of the capitalist world. This brings the

U.S. monopolies operating in Africa \$1,000 million annually. So it is not hard to see who is behind the southern African lobby in Washington, a lobby which the *International Herald Tribune* had every reason to describe as 'a voice from Wall Street.'⁵ And why they are behind it.

The African continent plays a no less important role in Washington's military plans. In a report to Congress early in 1977, General Brown, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, bluntly stressed the need to secure access to airfield and seaport facilities and to communications all over Africa and around it. Special significance is attached to the southern zone. James Noyes, Deputy Assistant to the U.S. Secretary of Defense, once explained in a Congress commission that this part of the continent is traversed by the vital arteries to the Indian Ocean and that U.S. strategists regard it as the 'soft underbelly' of the Middle East.

Since the late 60s Washington has been trying to set up a military bloc under its aegis in the Southern Atlantic. It has already invented a name for it: the South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO). Even though Washington's plan to involve in this alliance South Africa and a number of Latin American states never got off the ground, it has not given up this idea. Quite the contrary. As the Paris monthly *Le Monde diplomatique* commented in March 1977, 'the events in southern Africa have once again given strategic priority to the old idea of SATO.'⁶

These plans are not feasible without reliance on the economic, military and political potential of the Vorster regime. But Washington cannot fail to see that now, in the last quarter of this century, any support for South African apartheid — even if tacit — may completely ruin the already damaged U.S. reputation in Africa and heavily undermine U.S. economic ties with African states. The Pretoria and Salisbury rulers' stubborn refusal to pursue a 'more flexible' policy and their intensification of racist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia has already led to a powerful outburst of militant revolutionary struggle. Washington's strategists fear the possible consequences. The tremors caused by this outbreak are felt far outside the two countries. A 'highly placed U.S. official' told a *Newsweek* correspondent that such a course of events 'could lead to . . . the possible introduction of even more militantly anti-Western regimes in the area' (that is, in the whole of southern Africa — *E.P.*).⁷

This is why Washington is so verbose in its attempts to dissociate itself from the racist excesses of Vorster and Smith. Washington's priority task in Africa, as it was formulated by Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to the U.S. President, in an interview with the *International Herald Tribune*, is 'to avoid a transcontinental war,

which will simultaneously be a black vs. white and a red vs. white war.' In other words, he explained, 'a war which will merge the racial conflict into an ideological conflict.'⁸

Yet another reason behind Washington's desire to style itself a 'champion' of Black rights in southern Africa is the turbulent 'domestic front' in the United States itself. 'If you have a race war in Africa there's no way we won't be affected,' warned Andrew Young, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, in June 1977. 'Racial tensions,' he said, 'are always just below the surface' in the United States and a greater confrontation in Africa would cause panic among 'white Americans' and set them against 'Black Americans.'

It is obvious, however, that the U.S. diplomat leaves out of account the social and political aspects of the problem. In his predictions he ignores the growth of class-consciousness among U.S. Black working people and politicization of the civil rights movement in the U.S. The U.S. communist newspaper *Daily World* had precisely this prospect in mind when it wrote that 'there are 30 million Afro-Americans who are clearly in support of freedom for the peoples of southern Africa. These 30 million are also potentially anti-imperialist if they are given the truth about southern Africa.'⁹ This is what worries the U.S. ruling circles.

How can one believe their declarations in defense of human rights in other countries, particularly in southern Africa, when Indians — the indigenous population of the U.S. — are actually deprived of civil and social rights? At an international conference in defense of rights for the indigenous population of America held last September in Geneva, representatives of Indians from the USA declared: 'We have always been told that we are not human beings. But in this world all are born equal and, unless equality is observed, the future of mankind will be in peril. We have arrived here to tell you, on behalf of American Indians, that we are humans too and must enjoy human rights.'

We have listed here some of the main factors which have been determining Washington's African policy for years. But while its strategic goals remain unchanged, the tactical line has zigzagged. Whether it wants it or not, U.S. diplomacy has to adapt to the deep-going processes which have turned Africa from a 'colonialist preserve' into a fighting ground of anti-imperialist battles.

The mounting national-liberation movement in southern Africa and the failure of the racist-imperialist aggression and intervention in Angola prompted the then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to work out a sophisticated plan. Returning to an analysis of this problem, the *New York Times* wrote in the spring of 1977 that the plan centered on 'a policy of seeking Mr. Vorster's cooperation to bring

about negotiated transfers of political power to acceptable representatives of the black majorities in both Rhodesia and Namibia.'¹⁰

What could be more fantastic than Vorster championing Black rights in Rhodesia and Namibia?! The Vorster who boasts in one breath that he never goes to bed before reading a chapter from the Bible and in the next declares that his government will use 'every means available' to suppress 'anarchy and chaos' (i.e., popular protests). Using Vorster to pressure Smith would be as absurd as asking a tiger to talk a wolf into becoming a vegetarian.

Such a policy was bound to fail, and fail it did.¹¹ So, when it came to power in January 1977 the Carter Administration was faced with a sharp aggravation of the situation in the south of the continent. The internal political crisis was mounting in South Africa, where the oppressed Black population, led by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, had stepped up the struggle against apartheid and for social progress. The Vorster government hit back with harsher reprisals, a policy that had already evoked strong protests across the world. In Namibia the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) heightened its armed actions to put an end to the illegal colonialist occupation by South Africa. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which have joined in the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, warned that they would not tolerate any further delay over majority rule in Rhodesia and intensified military operations against the Smith regime.

This left Washington no time for reflection. The setting up of Carter's 'emergency staff' betrayed the White House alarm for the fate of its vested interests in Africa. For the first time a Vice-President of the United States had to take part in solving African problems. Walter Mondale was assisted by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and U.S. Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young.

Some people say the new is the well forgotten past. But even that rather cynical view cannot be applied to the 'new' African policy elaborated and pursued by this brain-trust. Basically, its strategic goals are no different from the well remembered political conceptions of the Nixon and Ford administrations. Now, as before, Washington seeks to preserve the capitalist system in southern Africa and, with Pretoria's support, exert maximum influence on developments in other parts of Africa. Now, as before, one of its main objectives is to undermine the unity of the revolutionary and patriotic forces and sow discord among African states.

South Africa is the cornerstone of U.S. African policy, although Washington is trying hard to mask the fact. All these overseas politicians intend to do is to patch up the racist South African regime.

Realizing that changes are inevitable, the U.S. is ready to 'sacrifice' Smith and counts on 'moderate' Africans in Rhodesia (as well as in Namibia). Their coming to power is expected to produce governments gravitating toward the U.S. and other Western powers.

This is naturally served up as something novel. Cyrus Vance, for instance, tells us that what Rhodesia needs is 'free elections, open to all parties and in which all of voting age could participate equally ... so that the rights of all citizens, of all races, are protected.' In Namibia, he declares, 'a solution leading to independence is being sought.' As for South Africa, Vance says there should be 'an end to racial discrimination ... and establishment of a new course toward full political participation by all South Africans.'¹² Attempts are being made to convince public opinion, above all in African countries, that Washington is ready to take 'tough' measures in order to achieve these goals. There was talk of 'the use of the big stick' and 'action instead of words.'

In the event, the 'new' American plans have also proved abortive. In the autumn of 1977 sanctions against Pretoria to make it agree to the 'reforms' desired by Washington still had not gone beyond recalling U.S. military attachés, cessation of official contacts between the intelligence services of the USA and South Africa, introduction of stricter regulations in issuing U.S. entry visas to South Africa's citizens, and so on. Deliberating on 'how "penal" these alleged penalties would seem to Mr. Vorster,' the newspaper *Guardian* had good reason to ask: 'Would they be more than pinpricks?'¹³

Analysis leads one to the conclusion that the chief concern of U.S. diplomacy is *not to do* any serious damage to Vorster's positions. It becomes more painfully obvious in a critical situation. Witness Washington's response to the decision, taken by the South African authorities in October 1977, to ban 18 Black and white opposition organizations, close down several periodicals and imprison without trial dozens of Black activists and their white sympathizers, a decision which evoked world protests.

This time Washington did not venture, as it did in the past, to deadlock the UN Security Council decisions on sanctions against Pretoria. Nevertheless, its stance was ambivalent. The United States flatly refused to support the proposals of African states on complete cessation of economic ties with the Vorster regime, although this was the only effective way of exerting pressure on him. True, the U.S. did not oppose the resolution on imposing an embargo on military supplies to South Africa. But considering the amount of weapons already handed over to Vorster by imperialist powers and their aid in building a military (including nuclear) industry in South Africa, capable of manufacturing, according to UPI, up to 60 per cent

of its weapons needs, this decision can hardly influence Pretoria's position.¹⁴ In this context the *Washington Post* was right in stating that the U.S. had supported the demands for an arms embargo only to prevent more serious sanctions against South Africa.

In a vain attempt to demonstrate the stability of his regime, Vorster launched a counter-maneuver: elections were held in South Africa ahead of schedule on November 30. But who will be convinced by another election 'victory' of the champions of apartheid if a white skin was the only pass to the polls? A mere two million of the 26-million population had the right to vote.

U.S. diplomacy is playing a double game in the Rhodesian question too. The initial impression was that the new U.S. Administration was ready to force Smith to place real power in the hands of the Black majority. But the Anglo-American plan for a settlement of the Rhodesian problem, made public in September 1977, included provisions which were opposed by those who are fighting for genuine national independence.

The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe is opposed above all to the provision in the Anglo-American plan for holding elections *before* power is passed over to the majority, that is, in a situation when the elections would be fully controlled by the racist regime. It is likewise opposed to the intention actually to disarm the patriots of Zimbabwe. Formation of a 'non-racial' government, envisaged in the plan, is viewed by many observers as a loop-hole for retaining the old order in the country. As for the 'Zimbabwe Development Fund' to be made up of Western countries' investments, the newspaper *Zimbabwe People's Voice*, definitely stated that its purpose is to make independent Zimbabwe depend on capitalist countries and thus keep it within the capitalist orbit.¹⁵

Encouraged by the ambiguity of the Anglo-American stance, Ian Smith advanced his own 'bold' proposal on November 24, agreeing that the 'one-man, one-vote' principle be applied in Rhodesia. But, of course, on one condition: the new government should provide 'constitutional guarantees of the rights of the white minority.' These 'guarantees' should provide the white community, that is *one-twenty-fourth* of the population, *the number* of seats in parliament which would allow the racists to block any legislation on constitutional questions that was not to their liking. Smith also insists on the right to form a new army of Zimbabwe on the basis of the existing racist 'security forces.' What is more, Smith discusses his proposals not with Patriotic Front representatives who have categorically rejected them, but with the so-called 'moderate' Black leaders in the country, about whom the *Zimbabwe People's Voice* wrote that they have the same goals as Smith has. They want to take his place and

become Black capitalists.¹⁶ 'Ian Smith fully deserves the reputation of a master of political trickery,' wrote the Paris *Le Monde* commenting on his new maneuver.¹⁷

Now about Washington's position on Namibia. At the outset, the Carter government declared that it had departed from the course of its predecessors, who had virtually approved South Africa's forming a 'transitional government' from among the tribal chiefs loyal to Pretoria. Washington did join London, Paris, Bonn and Ottawa, which rather than face 'something worse' were trying to persuade Pretoria to agree to a settlement in Namibia that would, to some extent, satisfy world opinion.

But by the end of September last, Washington and its partners yielded to blackmail by Vorster, who declared that South Africa would under no circumstances withdraw troops from Namibia until 'free' elections were held there. To 'appease' him, the Western representatives offered a rather doubtful 'compromise.' Reuter reports they have agreed to South African troops remaining in the country, though under UN command. But who will swallow this modern version of Little Red Riding Hood, with the racist wolf about to masquerade in the blue UN helmet? Certainly not the patriots of Namibia.

For all the contrivances of U.S. diplomacy, the national-patriotic forces of Africa, experienced in struggle, cannot fail to see that Washington's policy, however modified, can only lead Africans into the old impasses of exploitation, oppression and lawlessness. Life shows convincingly that imperialism may abandon certain tactics, but never the ultimate goals.

Resistance to such a neo-colonialist policy is growing daily. It is becoming more and more difficult for Washington to offer 'moderation' as a panacea. The myth peddled by imperialist propaganda about the 'purely racial' character of the confrontation in the south of the continent is rapidly evaporating. The struggle here is a national and class struggle. As is pointed out in the resolution of the April 1977 plenum of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, the events in southern Africa 'have thrown into sharp contrast the differences between real people's power and neo-colonial "solutions," between real liberation of the masses and "liberation" of an elitist minority dependent on imperialist patronage.' 'In short,' the resolution says, 'the events focused attention everywhere on the choice between a revolutionary nationalism which leads to social emancipation, and a nationalism which serves a small class of exploiters and puts the nation in pawn to international capital.'¹⁸

At the same time South African communists see fresh opportunities for countering imperialism and reaction. 'The all-round ferment in the

area,' says the April resolution, 'makes it impossible for reaction to continue ruling in the old way for much longer. In response to this reality, imperialism is forced to take initiatives with which it hopes to trap the revolutionary forces, but which at the same time also generate renewed militant responses from the people.'¹⁹

The struggle waged by the peoples of southern Africa against the combined forces of neo-colonialism, racism and reaction is gaining momentum. It is inseparable from the struggle of all peoples in every part of the world against imperialism, for peace, justice and national independence. Herein lies its strength, and an earnest of its victory.

1. *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 30, 1977.

2. This commentary deals only with the policy of the United States, although, as is generally known, an extremely active role in southern Africa is also played by Britain.

3. Called Zimbabwe by the patriotic national forces fighting for the liquidation of the Smith racist regime.

4. *U.S. News and World Report*, June 6, 1977, p. 20.

5. *International Herald Tribune*, October 10, 1977.

6. *Le Monde diplomatique*, March 1977.

7. *Newsweek*, September 12, 1977, p. 12.

8. *International Herald Tribune*, October 10, 1977.

9. *Daily World*, August 11, 1977.

10. *The New York Times*, May 17, 1977.

11. For more detail see the commentary, 'Washington's "New African Policy",' in *WMR*, November 1976.

12. *Daily World*, August 11, 1977.

13. *The Guardian*, May 17, 1977.

14. See *International Herald Tribune*, December 10-11, 1977.

15. *Zimbabwe People's Voice*, November 20, 1977.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Le Monde*, November 26, 1977.

18. *The African Communist*, No. 70, 1977, pp. 25-26.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 28.



A powerful impulse for our struggle

Franz Muhri,
Chairman, CP Austria

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 23RD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The Austrian communists' 23rd Congress, held in Vienna, December 8-11, 1977, did not set itself the task of working out new programmatic guidelines. These had already been formulated in the 'Politico-Ideological Guidelines of the CPA Struggle' approved in January 1974 by the 22nd Congress. The development of events has fully confirmed their correctness and continuing relevance. The task of the 23rd Congress was rather to analyze the changes that have occurred in recent years and the current situation, and also to draw up the political line and objectives for the next few years.

During preparations for the Congress, 73 district meetings of party activists were held in which 2,385 party members participated. Contributions to the discussions were made by 639 people. These forums elected 285 delegates to the Congress with full voting rights. In addition, in September 1977 the Central Committee of our party published for discussion the drafts of two resolutions, 'For Security, Social Progress, for Democracy, Peace and International Solidarity' and 'For the Politico-Ideological and Organizational Strengthening of the Party.' The *Volksstimme*, our party newspaper, printed over 50 responses from readers, who expressed their opinions on these documents. Eighty delegates took part in the discussions at the Congress itself. The draft resolutions and decisions were again discussed and edited by several commissions, then passed on for approval by the Congress. So it may be fairly stated that the 23rd Congress was prepared and conducted on truly democratic principles.

What essential changes have taken place in the political situation in Austria? What tasks were set by the Party Congress?

The outbreak of the economic crisis in 1975 was a most important event. In Austria, this crisis, in comparison with the situation in most of the other industrial capitalist countries, has two specific features.

Unlike other countries in the grip of chronic mass unemployment,

Austria has so far been able to maintain full employment. What is more, the number of available jobs has on the whole grown. Naturally this should not be taken as evidence of some 'special wisdom' on the part of the social-democratic government. The situation has rather been conditioned by factors that were taking effect even before the social democrats came to power. These include certain specific features of the economic structure, along with the well developed tourist industry, which has kept employment at a high level in the service sector. The expansion of economic ties with the socialist countries has also played a big part; without this there would already have been considerable unemployment in Austria.

The other peculiarity of the situation is that the class struggle in our country has not acquired wider scope in the years of crisis. On the contrary, the shock of the crisis has had a detrimental effect on the actions that were under way at enterprises as far back as 1974. The crux of the matter is that the employers and the government, acting jointly with the trade unions led by the social democrats, have been able to use the difficulties on the labor market as a political lever. The aim of this pressure has been to cushion as far as possible the resistance to intensified exploitation and the efforts of big capital to shift the economic difficulties on to the shoulders of the working people.

The escalation of prices and charges, the steep rises in taxation, the low wages stipulated by labor contracts, and the deteriorating socio-political situation, have all been excused on grounds of the necessity of maintaining employment. The working people are told that it is better to put up with certain hardships than to be faced with mass unemployment. Naturally, this kind of policy has been effective only because in Austria 'social partnership' has for many decades featured as the specific and moreover predominant tendency in the policy of state-monopoly capital.

The Party Congress studied the situation and discussed how the CPA can be most instrumental in inducing a fresh upswing of collective action by the working people for realization of economic and socio-political demands. In this connection the Congress formulated two main tasks, which we have made the focal point of a broad public campaign.

First, we want to convince the politically conscious section of the working people by reference to their own experience that the policy of increased hardship and intensified exploitation can never provide a way out of the crisis, and that it has no prospects. And above all, no prospects at all for the young generation.

The development of events increasingly bears out the truth of this assessment. The brief revitalization that could be observed in the

Austrian economy in 1976 has recently been followed by renewed stagnation of economic growth and reduced investment in industry. The national debt is growing. Particular concern has been caused by the widening of the foreign trade deficit, due to the one-sided orientation on the Common Market and the activity of the multinationals. In 1977 this deficit reached the huge sum of 70,000m. Austrian schillings. Quite recently the government announced that in view of current circumstances it would be impossible to maintain full employment in 1978. The pursuit of the present policy therefore threatens increasing hardship for the working people of our country, including unemployment.

The second, also highly important task of our mass campaign over the next few months will be popularization of the action program which we passed at the 23rd Congress. The steps envisaged in its ten points should reveal the democratic way out of the crisis. The carrying out of this program would make 400,000 new jobs available in Austria. This is essential to prevent unemployment in our country, particularly among the young people. One of the main directions of the party's efforts should be toward unity of action with blue- and white-collar workers who are social democrats, Christians and non-party people.

In this program we demand a complete restructuring of economic policy. This means abandoning the one-sided orientation on the Common Market and the international corporations, an orientation which deepens the Austrian economy's susceptibility to crises. Austria's foreign-trade policy should be aimed at developing economic cooperation with all countries, particularly long-term cooperation with the socialist countries, and also economic ties with the developing countries.

We also demand the drawing up of a structural and regional policy that would promote development in the framework of the nationalized sector of the manufacturing industries. We insist on the democratization of the nationalized branches of the economy. Specifically, this entails removing people who represent the interests of Austrian and foreign big capital from the management of these enterprises. At the same time the blue- and white-collar workers must be given effective right of access to information, and of supervision and participation in deciding the key questions of production. And finally we demand an effective wages and social security policy, democratic tax reform and effective measures against the escalation of prices. We proceed from the assumption that the increased purchasing power of the masses can provide a guarantee of job security.

The demands in the action program drawn up by our Congress can be partially realized within the framework of the present social sys-

tem. Some of them, however, presuppose limitation of certain aspects of the activities of the state-monopoly mechanism. So, pressing for these demands should advance the struggle for anti-monopoly democracy, which will open the road to socialism.

We stressed at the Congress that the struggle against the international corporations cannot be isolated from the international working-class and trade union movement. We have once again confirmed our solidarity with the campaign that is developing in the FRG against the 'professions ban' (*Berufsverbot*). We have advocated stepping up the joint struggle on an international scale — both at trade union and party level — against international monopoly capital, against the hegemonic proclivities of the ruling classes of the United States, and for an anti-monopoly and democratic Western Europe of the working people.

The developments observed in recent years have not only smashed any illusions as to the possibility of changing the essence of capitalism, of capitalism's becoming 'crisis-proof.' It is also becoming more and more obvious, in Austria too, that capitalism is the chief obstacle in the path of human progress, in the path of democratic decision-making in all spheres of social life.

In the specific case of our country we are witnessing an intensification of the crisis in health care in general and the hospitals' financial crisis in particular. One of the basic causes for this is the greed of the monopolies that control the building of medical institutions and production of drugs and medical equipment. We demand the nationalization of these monopolies.

Or take the case of housing and rent. Fewer and fewer houses are being built and rents are constantly rising. The problem of the reconstruction of the old part of Vienna has not been solved at all. And the reason for this is again the same overriding urge for profit on the part of the bosses of the construction industry, the land speculators, the real estate owners and the banks, and also the Socialist Party leadership's neglect of social problems and policy-making in the sphere of housing construction and rents. The CPA calls for a return to the policy of meeting social needs. Such a policy was pursued in the years of the First Republic. We regard the right to housing as one of the most important human rights.

The aggravation of contradictions and crisis phenomena in the economy and other areas of bourgeois society stimulates the growth of anti-democratic tendencies. The 23rd Congress underlined the close interconnection between the action program considered above and the struggle for strengthening and extending democracy. We advocate more vigorous joint action by all democrats against neofascism, which has been surfacing more and more often of late. We

oppose the growing tendencies toward political discrimination against the progressive elements in production and other spheres of society. We demand freedom of political and trade union activity in factories and offices. We oppose the expansion of the regular army, which has been embarked upon not in order to defend Austria's neutrality but to preserve and fortify class domination by the capitalists. The reduction and democratization of the armed forces is an essential element in our general democratic struggle.

The 23rd Congress of the CPA put forward the following demands: equal pay for equal work, equal training opportunities for women, democratization of the mass media and the education system. The Congress reaffirmed its solidarity with the campaign of national minorities in Austria for full equality of rights in accordance with Article 7 of the State Treaty.

Today the new draft program of the Socialist Party of Austria is being discussed. It has a lot to say about 'democratization of all spheres of social life.' But this principle is in glaring contradiction to the policy of the social-democratic government, which acts as a prop and executive organ of the capitalist system — the very social system whose inner laws of development predetermine the erosion of even the formal bourgeois-democratic freedoms and stimulate social instability and crises.

Our Congress resolutely condemned the demagogic pseudo-opposition represented by the Austrian People's Party (APP), a party that is essentially bourgeois by tradition, and by the right-wing radical Austrian Freedom Party (AFP). These parties try to present the economic difficulties as a consequence of the 'socialist' policy of the social-democratic government, thus refusing to acknowledge that the source of the crisis lies in the capitalist system. So, in fact, the leaders of the APP, the AFP and the SPA, each in their own way, of course, are helping to perpetuate this system.

At the 23rd Congress it was stressed that the crucial condition for realization of the democratic alternative indicating the way out of the crisis and guaranteeing the defense and extension of democracy is unity of action of the working class and all anti-monopoly forces. Cooperation between communists and socialists must form the hub of such united action. We are convinced that the main contradictions exist not between the communists and the socialists, as the right-wing social-democratic leaders claim. As before, the basic contradiction in our society is the contradiction between labor and capital.

Considerable attention was devoted to organizational work and building up the party. In recent years we have managed to put through various measures for improving our organization. But there are still serious weaknesses in this field that must be overcome. As in the

solution of political questions, the main thing is to stimulate the activity of the young people, draw them into the party and train young party activists and functionaries.

Thanks to the recruitment of young people the proportion of under-40's in our party has increased. Experience shows that the organizations that succeed in attracting the largest numbers of young people are able not only to activize inner party life but also to substantially increase their influence in social life. The 23rd Congress stressed that work with young people is by no means a 'departmental matter,' and that it should be handled not only by the youth organizations. It should become more a part of the general party work at factories and offices, in communities, and also in the spheres of ideology, mass agitation, and so on. This is the slogan we shall adopt for the campaign we intend to organize in connection with the 60th anniversary of the foundation of our party and the proclamation of the Austrian Republic.

Improvement of organizational work demands a strengthening and invigoration of the primary organizations which have not yet shown sufficient activity. What we need most of all for this is energetic leaders with plenty of initiative. The style of work of the party leadership also needs improving. It should react rapidly to new political phenomena and give more effective help in charting the direction of activity and checking up on performance. It should pursue a methodical cadres policy and improve contacts with the district and primary party organizations. And this is only a little of what needs to be done.

The organizational strengthening of the party is an important precondition for a more active implementation of the political line and the defining of practical targets, for improving the fulfillment of the tasks facing us, as the revolutionary party of the working class.

It is quite natural that the work of the 23rd Congress should have focused on the above-mentioned questions of home policy (particularly its economic aspects) and the political, ideological and organizational strengthening of the party. At the same time our Congress formulated the party's position on the international situation and Austria's foreign policy, and also the problems of the international communist movement.

We proceed from the fact that the imperialism of the United States, a country that is the most powerful center of capitalism, is banking on continuation of the arms race and is the main conductor of the policy of reaction, militarism, exploitation and oppression. At the same time the 23rd Congress stated that in recent times there has been an increase in the danger to democracy, to our country's independence

and to détente in Europe, emanating from West German imperialism, from the reactionary forces of the FRG.

The foreign-policy resolution passed by the Congress calls for a more active participation by the Austrian government in the work of ensuring security, strengthening the political détente and halting the arms race. It should work for renunciation of the production of new mass annihilation weapons, including the neutron bomb. The resolution also points out that Austria should be more persistent in promoting the success of the Belgrade meeting of representatives of the countries that participated in the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, and in ensuring complete fulfillment of its Final Act. The party's task is to mobilize Austrian public opinion toward achieving this goal.

Our Party Congress firmly denounced the lie peddled by anti-communist propaganda about the 'Soviet threat' and 'violations of human rights' in the socialist countries. The general resolution passed by the Congress points out that, in reality, democratic rights and freedoms are infringed wherever imperialism and monopoly capitalism hold the reins of power. Human rights and democratic freedoms that do not exist in any capitalist state are guaranteed in the countries of the socialist community. The resolution also stresses the unbreakable unity between democracy and socialism. Our Congress reaffirmed that the ideals of democracy, freedom and human rights are inscribed on the banner of the Austrian communists.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries, our Congress declared, threaten no one. What is more, by their policy of peace they perform a democratic and humane function in the international sphere. No anti-communist persecution can force the Austrian communists to abandon their efforts to build up contacts with their class brothers in the socialist countries. This position of the CPA's is an important element in our struggle for détente and peace.

At the 23rd Congress we again confirmed our solidarity with the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist movements, spoke out against the apartheid regime in South Africa, against the fascist dictatorships in Latin America and other countries. We particularly stressed the support that we, along with left-wing socialists, Catholics and other democratic and anti-fascist forces in Austria, are giving the heroic fighters for freedom in Chile.

The 23rd Congress reaffirmed its solidarity with the communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe. We rebuffed the attempts of anti-communist propagandists to use the 'Eurocommunism,' which they themselves invented, to set the communists against one another. Our party holds the opinion that different points of view on this or that question should be resolved, now and in the future, by means of

friendly and creative discussion. At the same time the general struggle for a Europe of peace, security, cooperation and social progress should be strengthened, as agreed upon by the participants in the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe.

In the communist movement there is no leading center and the CPSU does not claim such a role. The CPA works out its policy independently. At the same time it is bound by ties of solidarity with the international working-class and liberation movement, with the international communist movement — the most powerful and influential force of modern times. These internationalist ties were expressed in the speeches of greetings made by fraternal delegates at the 23rd Congress of the CPA and in the numerous messages sent to the Congress. We advocate strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Consequently we reject the position of the Maoist leadership of the Communist Party of China, which is waging a struggle mainly against the Soviet Union and not against imperialism. Our Party Congress gave its support to the persistent efforts of the Soviet government to restore normal relations with the People's Republic of China.

There is every reason to believe that the 23rd Congress of the CPA, which was held in a complex situation, went off successfully. We were able to make a self-critical assessment of our work and formulate the correct political line and objectives for the immediate future. The Congress not only confirmed the unity of the party, but also prepared the ground for its further consolidation. It was undoubtedly an impulse for the new stage of our party's struggle for a democratic way out of the crisis, for the defense and extension of the working people's democratic rights, for our country's independence, for social progress, peace and international solidarity.

Linking the present with the future

Idris Cox

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Great Britain on the journal

There have been many congresses of the Communist Party in Britain. That which was held in London for four days during November 12-15 last year was the 35th Congress, the first being in August 1920 when the Communist Party was founded. Like most congresses it had some special features.

Its most outstanding aspect was that its main attention was centered upon the new draft of the communist program *The British Road to Socialism*, and within this context related the immediate mass struggle in Britain to the political problems involved in the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism in Britain.

It was timely also that the Congress took place just after the 60th anniversary of the 1917 Russian Socialist Revolution, an anniversary which marks the Soviet Union as a mighty force for world peace. Together with the other socialist countries, and the progressive and peace forces in the capitalist world, it is a powerful factor which imperialism has to take into account.

I have been present at every communist congress in Britain in the past 52 years, and served on the Executive Committee for 24 years. In my view there has never before been such a serious and deep discussion on basic principles, and the need to translate Marxist-Leninist ideas to grapple with new political problems arising from rapid changes in the world situation.

There were earlier congresses in which there were sharp political controversies, as in 1929 when the political situation in Britain was still strongly influenced by the aftermath of the betrayal of the 1926 general strike by the reactionary Labour and trade union leaders. The struggle against the reaction and opportunism at that time went to the other extreme, giving rise to a serious trend of isolation from the organized labor movement.

However, this sectarian trend did not last long. Early in 1932 Harry Pollitt, who was General Secretary of the Communist Party for 30 years, made a serious and passionate call for a sharp change in our

political outlook, and urged a serious turn to basic mass work and closer relations with the workers in industry, and upwards from below the organized labor movement. From then onwards the Communist Party has a splendid record of leading mass struggles, fighting for the unemployed, supporting official and unofficial strikes, and waging the battle against fascism.

In recent years the crisis of the British economy and political system has demonstrated very closely the need for a complete change of course in government policy, the abandonment of imperialist policies, for friendship with the socialist countries, and the adoption of policies in Britain itself based on socialist principles. This underlies the need for the growth of mass struggle, the building of a strong Communist Party, and bigger sales for the daily paper *Morning Star*.

The British Road to Socialism has been the guiding perspective for British communists for the past 26 years, revised from time to time in the light of new political factors. First published in 1951, it was revised in 1952, then again in 1958, and the last version was adopted in 1968. At the 1975 Congress the new National Executive was instructed to prepare a new draft of the program for discussion at the 35th Congress. The new version will appear this year, and will become the main guiding line for current mass struggles and the communist perspective of the way forward to socialism in Britain.

Bearing in mind the vast scope of the subject, it is not surprising that discussion before and during the Congress was extremely frank in the expression of opposing views. It was a basic political debate. Many speeches combined the teachings of Marx and Lenin with the changes which had taken place since their time, and especially the experience of mass struggles in recent years, taking into account the changes within imperialism and the growing impact of socialism in the world in the past 30 years.

It was felt that the international communist movement was facing a constantly changing situation and that new problems could not be solved simply by repeating familiar slogans. So the aim of the pre-Congress discussion and the Congress itself was to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to old and new problems, and especially to new situations which had arisen in recent years.

The new draft of *The British Road to Socialism* was completed at the end of 1976, and for nine months in 1977 it was the subject of wide discussions by party organizations, and letters and articles in the daily paper *Morning Star* and the fortnightly journal *Comment*. Discussions were held all over the country, and those present included many who were not communists.

Never in the history of any political party in Britain has there been such a widespread free and democratic discussion. During this time

invitations were sent to all party organizations to submit amendments to the new draft of *The British Road*, and present resolutions on other political subjects, together with nominations of communists to be considered in the election at the Congress for the new Executive Committee.

No less than 2,619 amendments were sent in to the new draft of *The British Road*, and 262 resolutions on other subjects. All delegates also had a printed report on the work of the National Executive since the 1975 Congress. It is no wonder that many delegates felt 'snowed under' with so many documents.

However, the Congress method of working through commissions (and with a most experienced chairman and Congress stewards) made the procedure smooth and efficient, and nearly 200 delegates spoke in the commissions and from the rostrum of the Congress. Three commissions were chosen early on the first morning of Congress, and these were representatives of delegates from all parts of Britain.

The main commission dealt with the amendments to the new draft of *The British Road*. Another dealt with Congress arrangements, lists of speakers, and with the 262 other resolutions from districts and branches. Another important commission dealt with the nominations for the new Executive Committee, and the arguments of delegates for and against. Every delegate had the right to attend one or more of these commissions to put his or her view. They met in separate rooms away from the Congress hall, but came back to Congress when the voting took place.

Congress started with a stirring speech from the Chairman Mick McGahey — who is also Vice-Chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers. After the commissions had been chosen, Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the CPGB, made his opening speech to introduce the new draft of the program. It was a powerful statement. At the outset it made clear that Britain was facing a deep economic, social, and political crisis. The program outlined how this could be solved in the interests of the people, and a new and brighter perspective opened up for Britain by the transition from capitalism to socialism.

It was emphasized that Britain's crisis was a crisis of capitalism, of imperialist policies pursued throughout the postwar years by both Tory and right-wing Labour governments. These policies, responsible for the stagnation and distortion of the economy, subordinate the needs of the people and of society to extract maximum private profit. They have greatly increased the domination of the giant monopolies, not only in the economy, but in every aspect of British life.

For the people the crisis meant new sacrifices and heavier burdens. Nearly two million unemployed, real wages cut down, pensions

eroded, and savage cuts made in housing, education, and other social and public services. It was not only an economic crisis, but also political, social and cultural.

Gordon McLennan emphasized that communists share the concern of all Labour and progressive people with the ugly prospect of the return of a Tory government. This would be a disaster. But neither did we want a Labour government which carried out a Tory policy. The Communist Party recognized there was widespread opposition among ordinary people to the measures being proposed by the right-wing Labour government, which was even further compromised by its opportunist coalition with the Liberals.

However, it was not enough to protest against this. Nor would mass protests against this coalition produce lasting results unless this rising opposition was closely bound up with clear socialist aims, based on the specific economic and political factors which existed in Britain. *What the new draft strove to achieve was to link together the immediate mass struggle with a clear socialist outlook which could speed the transition from capitalism to socialism in Britain.*

It was emphasized that the conditions existing in developed capitalist countries had certain common features, and this was therefore a common challenge to communist parties in all those countries, especially in Western Europe. In this respect Gordon McLennan said: 'We warmly welcome the advance of communist, socialist and democratic forces in Western Europe and their growing unity, but we independently decide our policy for Britain. If it coincides in some important respects with that of other communist parties in Europe and elsewhere it is because many of the objective conditions they face are similar to ours, and in creatively applying Marxism to them they arrive at similar conclusions. We do not consider the term "Euro-communism" is a useful or accurate one to describe this reality.'*

After this opening speech Congress got down to work to discuss the new draft of *The British Road* and the amendments to it, the 262 separate resolutions, and to listen to the speeches of nine fraternal delegates, and letters and telegrams of greetings from 54 communist and workers' parties. All this was achieved before the election of the new Executive Committee and the final speech of the Chairman.

It seemed a gigantic job to discuss the 2,619 amendments to the new draft and 262 other resolutions, but this was made easier by getting the agreement of Congress to include the amendments to the new draft under nine main themes, and to have a political debate on each of them, with speakers for and against.

There was no proposal to reject the draft as a whole, for those

* Further extracts from the text of Gordon McLennan's speech appear in *Information Bulletin*, No. 2, 1978.

opposed to it realized they would get only a tiny handful of votes. So they resorted instead to a procedural motion for the reference back of the new draft, so that it would not be discussed but would appear on the agenda again in 1979. Bearing in mind that the 1975 Congress had decided it should be the main item for the 1977 Congress, and that it had been under discussion for nine months Congress delegates rejected this proposal by 330 votes to 48, and then proceeded to discuss the main themes on which there was political controversy.

The term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' did not appear in any edition of the program from 1951 onwards, but its real essence was expressed in every edition as the organized power of the working class and its allies. There are three reasons for not using the term 'dictatorship.' First, it gives the wrong impression of the socialist society which communists strive for, especially as the term is associated with the rise of fascism and its bestial action. Second, it is associated with the concept of armed insurrection as the only road to socialism. Third, although Marx, Engels and Lenin all made clear that it was an alliance of the working class and its allies, the term itself does not make this clear.

That is why the Communist Party in Britain prefers to advocate the concept of 'political power in the hands of the working class and its allies.' In Britain it is easier to convince the workers and all progressive people that this is more in keeping with the principle of revolutionary democracy.

However, the new draft, while asserting the right of democratic political parties to exist during the transition period and under socialism, also makes clear that the advocacy of racism would be illegal.

The debate on whether political parties hostile to socialism would be tolerated gave rise to sharp exchanges on what was described as the principle of 'pluralism.' It was emphasized that one could not refuse electors the right to vote for reactionary candidates, but it was essential to strive for the victory of Communist, Labour and other progressive candidates in favor of socialism. In every election in Britain communists were asked that, if they were elected, would those in disagreement have the right to oppose them at the next election and choose others to take their place, and form a reactionary government. We could not burke this issue. The answer must be a positive one. To deny this right was to destroy the basic principles of a democratic system, which enabled people to choose a government expressing their political outlook. The main emphasis of most speakers was that the essence of the program *The British Road* was to strive forward toward socialism through a democratic process. It could not be achieved at one stroke, but only through several stages.

Objection to the rights of parties hostile to socialism was influenced

by the idea that the one-party system was something sacred because it existed in the Soviet Union — the first socialist country. Though political power was achieved in Russia by armed struggle petty-bourgeois opposition parties still existed in Russia after the 1917 revolution until they lost the trust of the masses and went over to the camp of counter-revolution. Even then it was never laid down as a principle that only one political party could exist under socialism.

The whole essence of the new draft is that in the new world situation (with the great advance of socialism and the growth of national-liberation movements) it is possible to conceive of a relative peaceful advance to socialism in Britain, without armed struggle and civil war. This is a possibility but *not* a guarantee, and circumstances could arise (bearing in mind especially the experience in Chile) when the most determined steps would have to be taken against the forces of reaction who would try to retrieve their power and position.

Another important political debate was upon the objective either of a broad democratic alliance or alternatively an anti-monopoly alliance. The main argument in the discussion was that the term 'broad democratic alliance' would attract many who do not see the big monopolies as the enemy, but in fighting for democratic demands will objectively be resisting the big monopolies.

One of the delegates who spoke strongly in favor of the broad democratic alliance was a young woman, Sue Slipman, who was Secretary of the 800,000-strong National Union of Students until she retired in March 1978, and is a member of the National Executive of the Communist Party. Another was Tom Bell, National Secretary of the Young Communist League, which is associated with the British Youth Council, which represents 4.5 million young people.

When the vote was taken all except 65 delegates were in favor of a broad democratic alliance, but it was understood this would also be directed against all forms of capitalist monopoly control.

One of the central issues in all the debates was the relations of the Communist Party to the Labour Party. Opposition was expressed to one paragraph which read: 'The Communist Party does not seek to replace the Labour Party as a federal party of the working class. Rather, we see a much more influential mass Communist Party as crucial to the future of the Labour Party itself.'

To understand the basic factors involved in this debate, one must bear in mind that it was the British trade unions which gave birth to the Labour Party, and the affiliated trade union members to the Labour Party are more than five million, compared to about 300,000 individual members. Without the trade unions the Labour Party would hardly be able to exist in its present strength either from the financial angle or from the standpoint of its organization.

All communist trade unionists also pay their political levy through the trade unions to the Labour Party, and at one time (1920 to 1925) could be elected as delegates to Labour Party conferences and become official Labour candidates in elections to municipal councils and Parliament. This situation was changed by the anti-communist decisions of the Labour Party in 1925 and since, but within the trade unions all communists have the right to express their political views and to influence trade union decisions in relation to the Labour Party.

Despite the bans imposed by Labour Party leaders many local Labour Parties have close relations with local branches of the Communist Party, and join with them and other organizations in joint campaigns against racism, unemployment, and in solidarity with liberation struggles in southern Africa and elsewhere. There were a few delegates who sought to delete this paragraph in the new draft whose aim was to strive to develop the Labour Party into a genuine all-inclusive political force of the working class and all progressive people. They received only 14 votes from among the 375 delegates.

The commission of *The British Road* discussed all the amendments submitted, and made recommendations to Congress on how they should be dealt with. Some were accepted in principle, others conditionally, some were rejected; and the remainder were referred back for consideration in redrafting the program in the light of the main Congress decisions on points of principle. Finally the Congress accepted the new draft and the amendments agreed upon as the basis for the new edition of *The British Road* with only 29 votes against and four abstentions.

However, from the standpoint of the Communist Party itself and the daily paper *Morning Star* it was clear that Congress was facing a serious situation. There had been a tiny breakaway from the Communist Party last July. This accounted for only 400 or 500 members, less than 2 per cent of the total. But the membership had dropped in the past two years from 28,519 to 25,293 — a drop of 3,226.

It is no consolation that the Labour Party individual membership has dropped from over 600,000 to just about 300,000 in the past three years, for this is a serious matter both for the Labour Party and the Communist Party. After striving to replace Tory governments with a Labour government it is a matter of political irony that this creates new problems for the Communist Party. Because the right wing is dominant in the leadership of the Labour Party and its government it creates a feeling of political despair among some Labour supporters and angry opposition among others. However, the result is a drop among its individual members.

It makes matters more difficult for the communists because loyal Labour supporters are so anxious to retain a Labour government and

prevent the return of a Tory government that they argue they must maintain the Labour government at all costs even though from several angles its policy is a reactionary one. But the basic weakness in this situation is that the Communist Party has not yet succeeded in convincing the mass of working class that a stronger Communist Party would serve to strengthen the labor movement itself, which can advance only if it has leaders who strive to lead the struggle of the workers.

Despite the small membership of the Communist Party and inadequate sales of the *Morning Star* it would be a serious mistake not to recognize the big influence of the paper on the organized labor movement. The Labour Party has a weekly paper, but not a daily paper like the *Morning Star*. Scores of Labour members of Parliament write for the *Star* and give interviews on current issues. It has strong support from many important trade unions on a national and local level, and financial donations from important circles in the labor movement as a whole.

Still, Congress recognized this was not enough, and set the aim of winning more people to join. There was a special evening session which was entirely devoted to discussing proposals for increased sales of the *Morning Star*. Its financial situation was serious, and its price had to be raised to 12 pence, and its monthly fighting fund from £8,000 to £9,000 — an extra £1,000 each month. So the new Executive was charged with the task of working out proposals for a mighty campaign for more readers and more donations, and also to improve the content, style, and presentation of the *Star*.

Apart from the new draft of *The British Road* and its amendments there were many other resolutions adopted at Congress. They were on the situation in southern Africa, the Middle East, Bangladesh, Chile, Cyprus, Northern Ireland, on peace and détente, on devolution in Britain, on racism and fascism, on youth and unemployment, and some other subjects.

Toward the end of Congress an analysis was given of the ages and length of membership of the delegates and those elected to the National Executive. Of the 370 delegates 306 were men and only 64 women. Women were 17.2 per cent of the total, compared with 22 per cent in 1975 and 13 per cent in 1973. The number of delegates under 40 years of age was 234, and 136 over 40 years. Just over 200 of the delegates had been in the Communist Party less than 10 years, 151 between 10 and 40 years, and 15 over 40 years. No less than 308 had attended branch education schools, 261 district schools, and 156 national schools.

Of the delegates present 365 were members of their trade unions, and many of them were in leading official positions in their unions.

There were 190 nominations put forward for election to the new Executive Committee, and 42 of them were elected, their average age being 39 years. It is customary in the Communist Party in Britain for comrades over 65 years old not to seek election or re-election to the Executive Committee. In the present Executive Committee there are nine new members.

One cannot conclude a review of the 35th Congress without paying tribute to the splendid contributions of all the nine fraternal delegates, and the 54 letters and telegrams of greetings from fraternal communist and workers' parties. When Dinmukhamed Kunayev, the leader of the CPSU delegation, was announced to speak there was a long and vociferous standing ovation before he could utter a single word. This was not only a personal response, but an acclamation of the 60th anniversary of the Russian Socialist Revolution of November 1917, and the tremendous advances made in building socialism. It was also a great tribute to the solidarity of the Soviet Union with the liberation struggle in all parts of the world, and its consistent struggle for world peace.

Comrade Kunayev paid great tribute to the work of the Communist Party in Britain, but also went on to explain that: 'Each party defines its policy independently and on its own, and each seeks to muster the whole of its experience and skill in order to apply in the best possible way the greatest revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, in its country's specific situation.'

There were cheers and standing ovations also for all other fraternal delegates. First, there was Madge Davidson from the Communist Party of Ireland, pin-pointing the slaughter and terror in Northern Ireland. When Francis Meli made his fraternal speech from the African National Congress of South Africa he remarked that listening to Madge Davidson gave him the impression she was speaking about the situation in South Africa. Stelios Kosti also brought greetings from the tortured island of Cyprus, and applauded the consistent solidarity which the people of Cyprus had from Britain in their struggle. Alejandro Yanez spoke about the revival of mass struggle in Chile after the ruthless terror which killed President Allende and the murder of many thousands.

Saliba Khamis brought fraternal greetings from the Communist Party of Israel and emphasized the immense solidarity of the Arab people in their country, and the support of many Jewish people. Said Hammami from the Palestine Liberation Organization brought greetings from Arab people throughout the Middle East,* and the unity of progressive forces in Israel and the Arab world against the common

* Said Hammami was killed early in January in his London office from a pistol shot by an unknown assassin.

enemy was exemplified in the Congress by their photos being taken together sitting side by side.

From Zimbabwe came the voice of Mischeck Chinamasa, speaking on behalf of the Zimbabwe African People's Union which, through the Patriotic Front, is waging a stern struggle against Ian Smith's regime of the white minority rule. And from the South-West Africa People's Organization Peter Katjavivi expressed deep gratitude for all the Communist Party in Britain had done to swell the solidarity movement with the liberation struggle in the whole of southern Africa.

Mick McGahey, in his final speech to close the Congress, made a stirring call to all delegates to go out to the people with the message of Congress, which then ended with a lusty singing of the *Internationale*.

A new stage in the development of socialist Rumania

Barbu Zaharescu

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The rapid and all-round development of the socialist countries is a distinctive feature of our time. Public ownership of the means of production and political power in the hands of the working class have ensured particularly high growth rates of industrial and agricultural production and the people's well-being and cultural level.

The Socialist Republic of Rumania is a good example of such rapid and all-round progress. For more than 30 years since the Second World War, the national economy has been developing at an exceptionally fast rate, as will be seen from the results of the first two years of the sixth five-year plan (1976-80). Although the plan envisaged high growth rates of industrial and agricultural production and socialist accumulation funds, existing possibilities allowed these rates to be increased. The working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, free from any forms of exploitation and oppression, have been able to draw on new reserves and resources to increase production in spite of the fact that at times natural conditions were less than favorable.

The motive force of all these achievements has always been the

Rumanian Communist Party, the vanguard of the country's working class. Closely linked with the masses and heeding the working people's advice and wishes, the party has invariably supported their initiative and encouraged their labor and political activity. The results are apparent.

The average annual industrial growth rate for 1976-77 was 11.6 per cent, instead of the planned 10 per cent. The rate was even higher in the key industries: iron-and-steel and machine-building — 13 per cent; chemicals — almost 14; and building materials — over 19 per cent. Consumer goods output increased rapidly, with an 11.8 per cent annual average increase in the light industry, and 10.6 per cent in the food industry.

Agriculture also made notable progress. The almost 20-million-ton grain harvest in 1976 was the best in the country's history; close to 18 million tons were harvested in 1977, despite unfavorable weather conditions, more than the annual average for the preceding five-year plan. The annual increase in gross agricultural output averaged 9 per cent, a high figure for this branch of the economy.

In 1976-77 capital investments showed an average growth of 10.7 per cent even though there was a certain lag behind the planned targets. Labor productivity in industry increased by an average of 8.3 per cent in these two years, surpassing the planned targets and accounting for 78 per cent of the increase in industrial output. More than 1,000 large-scale industrial, agricultural and live-stock enterprises were commissioned, bringing the value of the fixed assets up by more than 300,000 million lei. Sixty-eight per cent of the fixed assets in the national economy are modern enterprises commissioned in the past ten years. Nevertheless, attention is still focused on applying the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in all branches of the economy, promoting research and accelerating technical progress.

All this was not easy to achieve and required the people's sustained effort, particularly since the capital city and a large part of the country suffered from a devastating earthquake in the second year of the five-year plan. The damage is estimated at over \$2,000 million. Hundreds of industrial and agricultural enterprises, social and cultural establishments and tens of thousands of apartments were destroyed. Thanks to the efforts of the people guided by the party, the damage has been almost completely made good and within three or four months the plants and factories that are affected resumed operations. By the end of 1977, approximately 222,000 dwellings, thousands of schools, hospitals and polyclinics had been repaired and put into service.

The sixth five-year plan was approved by the 11th Party Congress in November 1974. Economic and other results of the first two years

showed that amendments were necessary to raise certain targets. This was done by the National Conference of the Rumanian Communist Party held on December 7-9, in Bucharest.

The regular holding of national conferences, along with party congresses, is a reflection of Rumanian society's objective requirement. The rapid development of the productive forces and the resultant changes in social relations and the social structure must be taken into account by the party before the regular party congress is convened. (Party congresses are convened every five years according to the needs of socio-economic planning.) This is why the party has introduced the practice of holding national conferences in between congresses to sum up the results of social development and the work done by the party, and define what has to be done to reach the goals set by the preceding congress.

The December 1977 National Conference of the RCP examined fulfillment of the 11th Congress decisions and the party program it adopted, and outlined new measures to enhance the qualitative level of all economic and social activities, ensure a more rapid growth of the productive forces, multiply the national wealth and, on this basis, substantially raise the people's material and cultural standards. The conference paid special attention to such issues as guidance of the building of a sophisticated and developed socialist society and of the advance to communism. This implied the growing role of the state in the planned guidance of socio-economic affairs and the further raising of the party's role as a guiding political force in all social development. Promoting inner-party democracy and socialist democracy in general, and enhancing the role of the working class in guiding society were likewise examined.

A report 'On Fulfillment of the 11th Congress Decisions, the Program of the Rumanian Communist Party and the Tasks Ahead' was delivered by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu. The final resolution of the conference calls the report of the General Secretary 'an excellent example of a creative approach in the spirit of dialectical materialist ideology to fundamental questions of the current and long-term development of Rumanian society.' Considering the exceptional importance of this report as a program document charting the ways of fulfillment of the 11th Congress decisions and the Party Program, the conference resolved that it should be the basis of all the activities of the RCP, state bodies and all the working people of Rumania.

The good results of the first two years of the five-year plan show that it is possible to raise the basic plan targets. Of course, there were difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes. Besides the damage caused by the earthquake, there were subjective difficulties, shortcomings in

the use of material and manpower resources, in making production more effective and improving organization in all spheres. Had these shortcomings been avoided, the conference noted, our achievements would have been much more impressive.

Besides abolishing the lag in the development of some sub-branches and sectors of the economy, the supplementary program approved by the conference envisages a 100,000-130,000 million lei increase in industrial production over and above the five-year plan. This will be done through equipping the existing industrial enterprises with new machinery, better use of available capacities and commissioning new enterprises. In order to improve the link-up with the next five-year plan, certain key construction projects will be completed ahead of schedule. In the remaining three years of this plan, the less developed districts of the country will be industrialized so that by the end of the plan period all districts will be producing no less than 10,000 million lei worth of industrial goods. Enterprises employing mostly women will be built in towns with a large concentration of workers.

In accordance with this supplementary program, gross industrial output is to increase in 1976-80 by an average of 11.5 per cent a year (10.7 per cent)*; agricultural production — 6.9-9.0 per cent (6.5-8.6); capital investment — 12.8 per cent (10.3); labor productivity in industry — 9.2 per cent (8.5); and national income — 11 per cent (10.3). Retail trade will show an average 8.7 per cent growth (8.1 per cent), while the various service facilities for the population will increase by 11.9 per cent (11 per cent).

The purpose of supplementing the five-year plan, the report of the conference underscored, was to lay even greater stress on the qualitative aspects of economic activity, i.e., improve technical standards of the products, accelerate the development and make more rational use of the internal sources of raw materials, fuel and energy, speed up the growth of labor productivity, increase the returns on the fixed assets, and lower production costs.

Dynamic industrial and agricultural development will broaden Rumania's opportunities in the international division of labor, in increasing and improving trade and economic cooperation with other countries. In the first two years of the current five-year plan, the average annual increase in Rumania's foreign trade was almost 13 per cent with exports increasing by 14 per cent. Economic cooperation with CMEA and other socialist countries increased. Today, economic ties with the socialist countries account for 47 per cent of Rumania's foreign trade.

*Here and further the figures in brackets indicate the original growth rates envisaged in the five-year plan.

Rumania is in solidarity with the developing countries striving for independent socio-economic development. It maintains economic ties with more than 100 such countries and has concluded agreements with them on trade and cooperation and on joint construction of more than 130 key economic projects.

Economic exchange and cooperation have also increased with developed capitalist countries although there are difficulties because of the barriers they erect.

The national conference considered higher targets not only for production but also for living standards. The five-year plan provided for a 29.5 per cent increase in nominal wages and 22 per cent in real wages by 1980, while the supplementary program raises these figures to 40.3 and 32.3 per cent respectively. A 46-hour work week will be introduced by 1980. The peasants' real incomes will, on the whole, go up 30 per cent (instead of 20-25 per cent as planned in the 11th Party Congress Guidelines). Incomes of the population employed in other areas will likewise increase.

The 'Program of Supplementary Measures for Rumania's Socio-Economic Development up to 1980,' adopted unanimously by the conference, stresses that these plans 'reflect the strength and dynamism of our national economy and the correctness of the party's policy of developing the productive forces as the decisive factor in our society's multilateral and harmonious progress.'

The conference, however, went beyond bringing the targets of the five-year plan up into line with the new potentialities brought out in the course of fulfilling it. Though almost three years remain till the plan is completed and the new five-year plan (1981-85) will be up for discussion at the 12th Party Congress in 1979, the party leadership felt the conference should examine the general goals and guidelines for drawing up the new five-year plan. This was because drawing up such a plan entailed intensive and prolonged work, and discussion of the draft at the Congress should be preceded by a clear definition of the main goals and trends in the development of society. Broad discussion of these questions at the national conference is further proof of the profoundly democratic character of our party, which submits the key issues of domestic and foreign policies for discussion and approval by the party membership.

The conference decided that in the next five-year period the productive forces would continue to develop at an accelerated pace, with industrial output going up by 55-60 per cent between 1981 and 1985, thus increasing its share of the national income to roughly 70 per cent. In 1985, the per-head output of some basic products, like steel, electric power, machinery and plant, cereals, meat, vegetable oil, sugar, eggs and milk, is to reach the level of the economically de-

veloped countries. The rapid development of industry and agriculture will help to boost national income to \$2,400-2,500 per head of the population by the end of the next five year period. This will be another qualitative leap in Rumania's socio-economic development. Nicolae Ceausescu said that successful fulfillment of the next five-year plan will raise Rumania's level above the present level of the developing countries, and turn it into a country with a medium level of economic development.

Progress in economic and social development will also bring about a qualitative leap in the working people's living standards. The consistent application of the socialist principle of distribution according to work will help to boost the people's real incomes. The work week is to be further reduced, to 44 hours and close to 1.3 million new flats are to be built and urbanization accelerated. There is to be an unflagging effort to protect the environment.

The conference discussed further improvement of the organizational forms for the whole people's participation in managing the affairs of society. As measures were taken to deepen our socialist democracy, new organs were set up to provide greater opportunities for massive participation in administering the affairs of society and the state. In 1976 and 1977, we had a congress of the People's Councils which set up a Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils, the first congress of persons occupied in political education and socialist culture, and an agricultural congress, which established a National Council for Agriculture. The Councils of Working People of Industrial, Construction and Transport Enterprises and Industrial Amalgamations held their first congress, which formed the Working People's National Council. The organizational forms shaped in this way provide extensive opportunities for the people's increasingly vigorous participation in state affairs and social and spiritual life. The conference helped to deepen the democratization of the country's socio-economic life by adopting a decision to extend participation by the working people engaged in production in the activity of all the central and local party and state bodies.

The economic and social progress of Rumanian society required further perfection of the country's legislation. The conference discussed the relevant problems and mapped out the corresponding measures aimed to protect our socialist property and the personal property of citizens, to ensure the maintenance of public law and order, conditions for the citizens' normal work in peace, and defense of the people's revolutionary gains and of our national independence and sovereignty.

The conference decisions enjoin a different approach to the imposition of penalties for those who break the country's laws and the rules

of social community-living. In an effort to return to society those who have transgressed, emphasis is henceforth to be laid not on their punishment but on their re-education. Legislation now being formulated will be based on the stringent observance of the principle that no one can evade responsibility and remain unpunished for breaking the law or the rules of social community-living. At the same time, there is to be scrupulous observance of the legal principle that a person is deemed to be innocent until his guilt has been proved.

Special attention is being given to re-educating offenders who are under the age of 21 years, and who cannot be written off by society. Accordingly, the new legislation provides for persons who commit crimes that are not socially dangerous measures like work at a socialist enterprise under strict control by the working people's collective, which seeks to re-educate them, and under surveillance by organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Only grievous crimes are to be punished by deprivation of liberty.

Of course, defense of the people's revolutionary gains continues to be a key task. That is why the Rumanian socialist state will continue to show no mercy to those who attack these gains, commit acts hostile to the cause of socialist construction, and jeopardize law and order and our socialist country's independence and sovereignty.

Enhancement of the party's leading role in every sphere of social life, steady improvement of the style and work methods of the party bodies and organizations, development of their revolutionary spirit and consolidation of their bonds with the masses provide a guarantee that the important conference decisions will be fulfilled. These bonds imply, on the one hand, a sustained dialogue between the party and the masses, a knowledge of their requirements and aspirations, a need to take into account the working people's proposals and initiatives, and to put forward various problems for their discussion. On the other hand, it implies a steady development of inner-party democracy and discussion by party organizations of all the questions of party life, and of the domestic and foreign policy of the RCP and the Rumanian state.

'The decisions taken in each party organization and also on a national scale,' Nicolae Ceausescu said at the conference, 'should result from collective thinking and work by the communists and the party.' But party democracy also 'implies firm discipline, responsibility for fulfilling decisions, and duties for each organization and every member of the party.'

Development of the party's leading role also necessitates greater efforts by the party in the ideological and political education of the masses, in raising the level of their socialist consciousness and culture, and in moulding the new man. The conference adopted relevant

decisions on these questions. It endorsed a decree, earlier issued by the RCP Central Committee, on the abolition of censorship and transfer to the governing councils of the agencies and establishments concerned of responsibility for the content of printed matter, radio and television broadcasts and cultural and artistic activity. Here again, measures were taken to ensure broader participation by workers and other working people engaged in production in the activity of the corresponding governing councils. At the same time, the conference stressed the need to further enhance the responsibility of the communists working in these establishments.

In the final section of his report, Nicolae Ceausescu gave a broad account of Rumania's foreign policy, which is aimed to ensure peace, friendship and cooperation with all the nations and the Rumanian people's active participation in solving important problems in the modern world. In this context, the conference resolution emphasized 'the crucial contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the party and President of the Republic, to the elaboration and implementation of the foreign policy of our party and the state, ... which serves the goals of socialism, vindication of the sovereign right of all the peoples to freedom and independence, establishment of new-type relations of equality and mutual respect among nations, and creation of a new world economic order.'

The report assessed the fundamental changes which have taken place in the world balance of forces in the postwar period. It stressed that one of the key features of the present international situation was the growing urge of the peoples to put a final stop to the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of domination and diktat, to become masters of their own national resources and to secure for themselves free and independent development in every field. At the same time, the report noted the highly contradictory course of world development. The imperialist quarters were seeking a way out of the crisis by intensifying the exploitation of their own peoples and also through economic subordination of the developing countries. Alongside the class contradictions, and the contradictions between the socialist and capitalist systems, there is a deepening contradiction between the developing countries and the economically advanced capitalist countries.

There is now evidence of a further flare-up of the scramble between the imperialist countries for a redivision of the world, of spheres of influence and for new positions of dominance. In face of these alarming developments, the world's anti-imperialist and progressive forces resolutely oppose the drive to recarve the world into spheres of influence and domination. The peoples are resolved to defend their national independence and sovereignty by every means.

The policy of international détente, says the report, has yielded certain positive results. But in some areas of the world there is a cross-current of sharpening contradictions between states and fresh outbreaks of conflict among them. The continuing arms race is having a negative effect on the international situation. Thus, in 1977, nearly \$400,000 million went into armaments. The sharpening of these contradictions is fraught with new conflicts and wars and with the danger of a third world war. This further enhances the responsibility of all the peoples, the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, in the fight to preserve peace and ensure the freedom and independence of nations.

It is in no doubt that the strength of the forces opposing imperialism is steadily growing. They are capable of effectively combating the drive to redivide the world into spheres of influence, halting the arms race, and bringing about a new, democratic policy in international relations that would help to establish lasting peace in the world. This calls for greater solidarity of all the forward-looking forces, and of all the nations fighting for peace, cooperation and social progress. The way out of the crisis, Ceausescu said, does not lie in more intense exploitation of the masses and oppression of other peoples, but in reducing the profits of the monopolies and pursuing an economic policy that would make the propertied classes bear the burden of the crisis in the first place. There must be an end to the drive to recarve the world, the spheres of influence and domination. It should give way to cooperation among all the countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, establishment of a new international economic order meeting the requirements of equality and justice, general disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, and arrangement of relations among states on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and repudiation of the threat or use of force.

The active foreign policy pursued by the RCP and the Rumanian government since the 11th Congress has been aimed above all to strengthen the relations of cooperation and solidarity with all the socialist countries in the struggle for socialism, security and peace. The bilateral contacts at various levels, above all the personal meetings of the RCP General Secretary and SRR President with these countries' party and government leaders and the jointly signed documents are all key factors in the upgrade development of the relations between Rumania and the socialist countries, and between their ruling parties.

'It is safe to say,' Nicolae Ceausescu said at the conference, 'that our party has been acting with firmness ... in strengthening the solidarity, unity and cooperation of the socialist countries, holding

this to be the primary factor in spreading the prestige of socialism throughout the world, in enhancing the socialist countries' role in accelerating the changes in international life, and in pursuing a truly democratic policy, a policy of détente and peace.'

In that same period, Rumania actively extended its relations with developing countries. This was done by developing cooperation on a bilateral basis aimed to eliminate underdevelopment and spur economic and social progress, and by intensifying the joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for each people's right to be master of its own national resources, and the establishment of a new international economic and political order. Rumania has been ever more intensively involved in the whole of international life, extending its ties with the developed capitalist countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and taking an active part in the international division of labor.

Our state has been making an ever more effective contribution to the effort to create an atmosphere of security, détente and peaceful cooperation in Europe on the basis of the Helsinki principles. It has taken a firm stand for developing bilateral cooperation in the Balkans in forms that are acceptable to all the states in the region. It wants to see a speed-up of the current Vienna talks on mutual arms and troop cuts in Central Europe. It would be of special importance, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his report, to set up, after the Belgrade meeting and in the spirit of the Soviet Union's proposal, a special commission of all the Helsinki states that would meet parallel to the Vienna talks to discuss and propose concrete measures for a military détente in Europe.

The RCP National Conference resolutely came out for resolving all conflicts between states by political means, through direct negotiations between the parties concerned. The Middle East question is now an especially acute one. Rumania has always urged Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the 1967 war, and advocated a solution of the problem of the Palestine people in accordance with its national aspirations, including the establishment of an independent national state, and guarantees of the integrity and security of all the states in the region. Rumania has resolutely condemned the policy of racism and apartheid, which is such a source of suffering for the peoples of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, and the armed aggression against Mozambique, and has given active support to these peoples in their struggle for independence.

The conference strongly urged more vigorous efforts to achieve disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place. It emphasized that Rumania attaches much importance to the forthcoming special UN session in the spring of 1978 to consider disarmament problems.

The conference gave special attention to the current problems in the international communist and working-class movement. It came out for each party's legitimate right 'to act independently, creatively to apply general truths to the specific conditions in which it has to carry on its work, and contribute to the uninterrupted development and enrichment of the common treasure-house of revolutionary theory and practice of the communist and working-class movement.'

The conference reaffirmed the RCP's determination to continue advocating the development of relations of solidarity and cooperation with all the communist and workers' parties. Its resolution once again stressed the RCP's resolve 'not to take the path of censuring or condemning other parties, and consistently to advocate an elucidation of issues through discussion directly between the parties and their leadership, thus helping to strengthen the unity of the international communist and working-class movement.' We are sure, the conference noted, that this stand accords with the effort to strengthen the solidarity and unity of the communist and workers' parties.

The RCP, working in the interest of the struggle for social progress, détente and peace, wants active development of relations with socialist and social-democratic parties and greater cooperation with the national-liberation movements, the ruling parties of countries which have risen to independence and which are fighting for independent socio-economic development, and with other democratic parties of all the countries.

The National Conference of the RCP discussed the progress in building a sophisticated and developed socialist society and adopted highly important decisions on Rumania's socio-economic development and the foreign policy of the RCP and the state, thereby inaugurating a new and dynamic stage in the country's advance along the road of socialism and communism. This is bound to generate a fresh upswing in the labor and political activity of the working people, regardless of their nationality, for the best fulfillment of the adopted decisions and for raising the material and spiritual well-being of the whole people.

The responsibility of the young

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At the dawn of the communist movement, Marx wrote that 'the more enlightened part of the working class fully understands that the future of its class, and, therefore, of mankind, altogether depends upon the formation of the new working generation' (K. Marx, F. Engels. *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 80).

These words of Marx's are meaningful to this very day. For more than 60 years now socialism has existed and developed; the Soviet Union, Poland and the other socialist-community countries have been steadily advancing along the path leading to the radiant future of the whole of mankind. Our country's historical experience warrants our assertion that the young generation of the working class and of the whole working people of Poland have justified the hopes of their fathers and grandfathers, who handed down to them the baton in the revolutionary struggle for social emancipation and national liberation. They have also borne responsibility for the success of the great endeavor of socialist and communist construction.

The Polish communists regard the youth problem as a part of the problem of implementing the ideals and purposes of communist construction and of fulfillment by the working class of its historical mission. Quite naturally, this problem acquires a specific tenor in each socialist country. In our country, this is determined largely by the fact that Polish society is exceptionally young. Most citizens in socialist Poland were born after the Second World War, so that their average age comes to under 28 years, while 37 per cent of our 34-million strong people are under the age of 19 years. This is a situation that will evidently continue for a long time to come. While the aspirations and hopes of the young generation of the Polish people are organically integrated with the interests of the country's socialist development, our society and the Polish United Workers' Party are faced with diverse and frequently intricate problems arising from the upbringing

of the young. This is, above all, the need to develop among young people a sense of being masters of their country and of responsibility for carrying it closer to its communist future.

The heightened attention of our party and the whole of society to the way of life and development of social activity among the young is determined primarily by the fact that our country has entered upon a new stage, the building of a developed socialist society. Here we must emphasize above all the tremendous importance today of the scientific and technological revolution and the need to make use of all its achievements. It is also increasingly obvious that further social progress implies harmonious and full development of every aspect of social life: production, culture, science and the people's well-being. If we are to realize the perspective set out by the Seventh Congress of the PUWP (1975) in its socio-economic program, we must, among other things, make more rational use of the country's economic, scientific and technical potential, improve the application of modern technical ideas and technology, enhance the level of labor organization, and so on. None of these tasks can be fulfilled without the participation of the young people, who must be highly educated, keen, disciplined and dedicated to the ideals of socialism. Hence the need constantly to perfect the existing methods in educating the young and seek new and more efficient ways of doing this, so as to enhance their occupational and socio-political activity.

The seventh plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee in November 1972 adopted a broad program for bringing up the rising generation in line with the requirements of the present days and the goals of our further development. It sets out the tasks of the party, the state and the whole people within a coherent system of socialist education of young people. Today, young Poles believe that the main line of their work and social activity lies in the acceleration of the pace of economic and social development, and consolidation of the principles of socialism in social life, work and everyday activity. The party believes that active participation in the work of transformation and in elaborating and putting through the policy for Polish society's further development is not only a right but also the basic duty of Poland's young people. First Secretary of the CC PUWP Edward Gierek said at the seventh plenary meeting: 'Our task is to involve the rising generation in active effort and joint responsibility for the development of the country. We shall resolutely support the young people's aspirations, opening up fresh fields of endeavor for them and entrusting the young with responsible assignments.'

It is our party's view that the responsible role of the young calls for a different approach to them. On the strength of the lessons of our own development and the existence of the CPSU and of the other

fraternal parties of the socialist countries we have reached the conclusion that the closer the connection between the educational process and the long-term perspectives of our society's social, economic and cultural development, the more effective this process. These perspectives have been defined in the PUWP's program for building a developed socialist society, which is of tremendous importance for the young. The goals and tasks it sets out fire the imagination of young people, meet their aspirations and expectations and provide a sound foundation for their hopes of a better future and satisfaction of their requirements in material well-being and spiritual development. In other words, the rising generation of Poles regard the aims of this program as their own, which is why it stimulates their social energy, their work and political activity, channelling them to meet the needs of society's development.

Poland's youth movement is actively involved in fulfilling the party's program. Efficient work by every section of the young has been markedly enhanced in the implementation of the decisions of the seventh plenary meetings of the PUWP Central Committee. The socio-political role of youth organizations, which are an integral part of our society's political system, has increased. These are mass associations bringing together young people in various spheres of social life, and designed to represent and defend their interests and rights, and to organize and direct their participation in the building of socialism.

An important role in this has been played by the changes in the organizational structure of the youth movement carried out in 1973, notably the establishment of the Federation of Polish Socialist Youth Leagues (FPSYL). It includes the Socialist Youth League, the Socialist Rural Youth League, the Polish Students' Socialist League, the Polish Harcerz League,* and the Army Socialist Youth League. Since its establishment, the FPSYL has done much to strengthen the young people's ideological and organizational unity, but it became obvious that the youth organizations had to be further integrated and their organizational structure even more flexibly adapted to the tasks of accelerated socio-economic development. For that purpose, in 1976, three independent organizations — the Socialist Youth League, the Socialist Rural Youth League and the Army Socialist Youth League — were brought together in a single Polish Socialist Youth League. Thus, together with this League, the FPSYL now includes two others: the Polish Students' Socialist League and the Polish Harcerz League.

We feel that this is the best structure for the youth movement in our

*A voluntary educational organization for children and young people, which is similar to the Young Pioneer organizations in other socialist countries. — *Ed.*

country. It helps to involve young people, to represent the interests of their various groups, and to make effective use of their creative potential. One of the FPSYL's key tasks today is to explain the party program for socialist construction and to enhance its invigorating effect on the young. The spread of economic and political knowledge among young people and explanation of the basic aspects of the PUWP's policy and the ways it has charted of solving important social, economic and political problems not only help young people to gain a better understanding of the mechanism in the administration of the state and the laws and principles on which the economy and society as a whole function, but also to grasp the humanistic meaning of the party's policy, and so to induce them to even more vigorous action in translating it into life.

The policies, forms and methods used in educational work among the young are also determined by the international situation. In the context of détente and peaceful coexistence, the center of gravity in the contest between the two social systems moves into the economic, political and ideological spheres. The socialist countries' tremendous successes in their socio-economic development are the decisive factor, which now determines the outcome of this contest and provides striking confirmation of the triumph of the ideas of scientific socialism and convincing evidence that only under this system can a powerful economic basis be geared to the service of genuine social progress in solving all the vital social problems and fully satisfying the reasonable requirements of all the working people.

That is why our party has always carried on its educational and ideological work among the young with an eye to the existence of two opposite social systems. The ideological education of the young is an issue over which there is a clash of interests of various sections and political trends. We all know that the reactionary forces of the world attach much importance to resisting the youth policy pursued by the communist parties in the socialist countries, including the PUWP's youth policy. The opponents of socialism are well aware that it is the young people who are going to assure the continuity of the historical process, and therefore seek to disarm them ideologically, so as to slow down the pace of socialist development.

Accordingly, our party gives much attention to combating the bourgeois and other anti-communist ideologies. This is a struggle for our people's world outlook, for shaping the socialist-type individual and channeling the social activity of the people, including the young, into the mainstream of socialist transformations. The party has encountered the hostile activity of our ideological adversaries with consistent and well-considered ideological and educational work. We can say with satisfaction that the struggle for the hearts and minds of

the young covers every sphere of life and yields good results. The party and the youth organizations teach young people how to take the Marxist view of social phenomena and problems, and the class approach to economic, political and ideological issues. Marxist-Leninist theory and scientific socialism are highly precise instruments, which help young people to distinguish what is truly new and progressive from the modern fads the bourgeois ideologists seek to insinuate into their minds.

In its ideological work, the party attaches much importance to working out the criteria of the socialist way of life and spreading our society's moral and social values. Simultaneously we are also preventing penetration into our midst of the rules and principles of the bourgeois way of life and petty-bourgeois ideology, which are alien to socialism. We seek to show that the socialist ideals are incompatible with self-seeking and individualism, with the way of life which is based on the urge to get the most for oneself with the least possible effort. We seek to counter these views and ambitions by presenting developed socialism's ideal of a harmonious individual, who has spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical well-being. In shaping the young personality, we frequently turn to the fine traditions of the Polish people's struggle for progress and social justice, and the traditions of the Polish and international working-class movement.

We have been conducting a vigorous ideological and political drive to show the true face of capitalism and the essence of the contradictions and class conflicts, which are tearing it apart, together with the injustice and anti-humanistic spirit of the capitalist society, which poses a threat to the well-being, freedom and the very life of millions upon millions of men and women in the world. The economic and social achievements of the socialist countries, including Poland, and their provision of the broadest civil rights and freedoms have an especially telling effect against the background of the crisis of capitalism. The 1977 Constitution of the USSR, a genuine charter of the developed socialist society, is a fresh expression of the strength and vitality of socialism, which is the future for the whole of mankind.

We strive to explain to the young the meaning of the foreign-policy activity of the PUWP and the Polish state, aimed above all to strengthen the socialist community, of which Poland is an integral part, and to develop friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Young Poles are becoming increasingly aware that our people's future is closely bound up with the rest of the socialist community and the continued progress of world socialism. They have a growing sense of pride in our country's belonging to the great family of fraternal countries and a growing sense of responsibility for the cause of triumphant socialism all over

the world. We want every young Pole meeting foreign young people to feel that he or she is a representative not only of his own country but also of the fraternal socialist community as a whole.

What has been said confirms our party's view that the impact of the objective socialist conditions cannot alone turn the young into an active and creative force. This can be achieved through purposeful activity by the subjective factors (youth organizations, the state, the party), through their performance of the necessary ideological, political and organizational work. Only then, as we find from our rich and diverse experience, can the social activity of the young be fully channeled to tackling the present-day tasks in socialist construction.

In our ideological work, we are guided by Lenin's dictum that communism cannot be built from textbooks alone, and this is why our emphasis is on the young people's active participation in social life and acquisition of practical skills and experience. The present and future generations of young people must be able to tackle on their own the tasks and problems which arise, while displaying a high sense of consciousness, and labor and civic discipline. We do not conceal from our young people the difficulties which now and again one has to face in a first job, in setting up a family, and so on, problems which arise in the country's dynamic development. We have taken into account that any complications in realizing the socio-economic program help our adversaries to step up their activity, make use of any difficulties in the economy to spark off political disturbances and to disrupt public law and order. That is why we have openly and frankly told the young about the existing problems and explained the causes of the shortcomings and difficulties, thus leaving less room for the activity of forces hostile to socialism and countering their arguments, while strengthening the young people's trust in the party's policy and their belief in the reality of our socialist transformations and the ultimate success of our cause.

Acting on the Marxist conception of education, our party has never regarded the young as a mere object for educational influence but has attached special importance to their independent activity. We have used the term 'guided partnership' to characterize our party's approach to the young, and this implies both guidance of the youth movement by the PUWP and the young people's conscious definition of the tasks and plans of their organizations and collectives, an independent quest by young people for their own place in the life of society and opportunities for exerting a real influence on its development.

This is above all the youth movement's creative participation in framing socio-economic programs and finding ways and means for solving the problems which are of concern for the whole of society.

Young Poles have been taking an active part in preparing and adopting important decisions in every sphere of life and at every level of the country's administration. In the past few years, Polish young people have actively and with great interest discussed, among other things, the draft amendments to the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic (1976), the reform of public education, and the fundamentals of the labor code.

Another important form for the young people's involvement in the administration of society is their representation on the organs of state power and the People's Unity Front. Thousands of young people have been elected to the national councils, and this shows once again that the party and the state have deep trust in the young generation and its organizations. Thus, almost one-fifth of the deputies of the wojewodztwo (regional) national councils are young people under the age of 29 years. Polish young people are also represented on the Sejm, the highest organ of state power.

However important these forms for involving young people in the administration of the country, the day-to-day practical activity of the young, aimed at fulfilling national tasks and attaining the desired goals is the most crucial, for it is in work, study, and research that the Polish young people's social activity and creative powers are most fully and vividly expressed.

Let me emphasize that our party believes work to be one of the most essential elements of the whole educational process, because it is not only a key right and a social duty but also the main means for developing the human individual. That is why the most important aspect of the ideological and educational effort of the party and the youth organizations lies in explaining the value of labor and its tremendous social and moral importance, and the shaping of the socialist and communist attitude to it.

Today, millions of young Poles are in the forefront of the drive to develop and modernize our economy. There is the young people's sponsorship of our largest construction projects: the Katowice metallurgical combine, the Lublin coal mines, and the Ursus tractor works, among others. This sponsorship implies that thousands of young people are assigned to work on these projects, while at hundreds of enterprises across the country young workers undertake to do more to produce materials and equipment for these projects. This enhances the responsibility of the young and their organizations to solve the major national-economic problems and to raise the skills of the new generation of workers.

However, this sponsorship is not only of educational but also of political importance. It yields a direct economic effect. For instance, the young people's sponsorship of housing construction from 1971 to

1976 helped to build more than 25,000 flats over and above the plan. In that period, the value of the construction work carried out by young people in the volunteer Work Teams was in excess of 85 billion zlotys.* What is also important is that one in three of the workers we now have in construction learned their skills in these teams.

Polish young people have been taking an active part in various forms of socialist competition and have initiated ever more efficient forms. The new ideas and inventors' movement has also developed successfully. Last year, one in three young workers put forward at least one new idea or produced an invention.

Socialist competition has also spread within the grass-roots organizations of the socialist youth leagues, where its motto is: 'My success goes to my socialist country!' Its aim is to step up the activity of the members of the young people's organizations in fulfilling program tasks, adopting and carrying out personal and collective commitments, and in extending the young people's involvement in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the country, the district and the wojewodztwo, and primarily of their village, enterprise, school, college and military unit.

Last year, all the grass-roots organizations of the youth movement held a review of their potentialities and this produced a new initiative — the Youth Civic Program — under which each young people's unit revised their work commitments upward in order to do more in the whole people's effort to turn out more goods over and above the plan.

In tackling the tasks of socialist construction, the Polish youth movement seeks to express these in the concrete terms applicable to the place where the various youth groups live, work and study. Thus, interesting forms and methods have been developed for work with the rural young, to meet the needs of the occupational training of young peasants, enhance their social and production activity and modernize the peasant farms. The young peasants' groups, which account for more than 55,000 members of the Polish Socialist Youth League, enjoy a high authority in the countryside. Among their key tasks are teaching young peasants how to set up cooperatives, and introduce specialization on the individual peasant farms. There is an ongoing contest among rural working people for the title of 'Young Master

*These teams were first set up in 1958 on the initiative of the Socialist Youth League and now operate under the guidance of the FPSYL. They involve all sections of the young and assume various forms, making one- or two-day trips, doing seasonal work, or being permanently based in a locality. Of key importance among their tasks are the labor education of the young, provision of jobs and opportunities for learning skills and also preparation for the country's defense through military and physical training. In 1977, for instance, there were 428 teams permanently based for two years, involving over 50,000 persons, and 6,540 summer teams, with 238,000 school-children and students.

Grower,' and those taking part have achieved high output levels. Practice shows that young peasants are playing an ever more important part in the social life of the Polish countryside.

The Polish Students' Socialist League has a broad field of activity and its own methods, representing as it does the interests of students in state establishments, of higher schools, political and public organizations and the trade unions. It tries to create for the young the best conditions for study, work and rest and leisure. It has a say in drawing up curricula, especially in the social and political sciences. It has done much in cultural activity, in organizing research and in helping students to solve their social and everyday problems.

The Polish Harcerz League also has its specific features, and uses its own methods to involve its members in social activity, helping children and young people to develop an active attitude to study and school duties, to learn more about the world, and increase their knowledge about modern technology and culture. In the schools, Harcerz organizations work together with teachers and represent the study body when dealing with the school board. The important thing to emphasize is that it also helps to organize the children and young people's leisure in various ways, notably by setting up courtyard groups and children's holiday camps. At the end of 1977, the Polish Harcerz League had three million members.

The practice of our socialist reality shows very well that the young people have responded with deeds to the great trust put in them by the party and the state. By their work they seek to accelerate the pace of life in our society and to bring the people closer to their radiant future. This is also being done by the Federation of Polish Socialist Youth Leagues. We are well aware that only a vigorous youth movement, organized on modern lines and unafraid of complicated problems and difficulties, can guide the energies and enthusiasm of the present generation of young Poles. Our young people are enthusiastic and dedicated, qualities whose value is multiplied when they go hand in hand with deep knowledge and a sense of responsibility. These have been precisely the characteristics of many generations of Polish communists, whose life and struggle is an example for us and a source of inspiration in the effort to build socialism and communism. Only by deepening and carrying on these traditions can the young generation of Poles do their duty by the party and the people.



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

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

On January 17 and 18, 1978, an International Scientific Conference, 'The Dialectics of Economics and Politics During the Struggle for the Revolutionary Transformation of Society,' was held in Prague. Organized by *World Marxist Review*, it was attended by leading members of communist and workers' parties and Marxist scholars from 45 countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Greece, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mongolia, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Uruguay, USA, USSR and Venezuela. In this issue we start presentation of the contributions at the Conference.¹

Some important aspects of the problem

As we begin our work, *Konstantin Zarodov*, *Editor-in-Chief of the journal*, said in his opening speech, we are, of course, aware that we do not have to start from scratch in discussing the topic we have chosen, namely, the dialectics of economics and politics in the period of struggle for democratic transformations, for establishing the power of the working people led by the working class and consolidating the victory of the revolution. We have a dependable foundation to rely on.

A profound analysis of the dialectical interconnection of economics and politics runs right through Marx's doctrine of the laws of social development and Lenin's theory of socialist revolution. Allow me to recall some of the important conclusions that have been drawn on the basis of this analysis. Politics is a concentrated expression of economics (V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 32, 83). This means that Marxist-Leninists always see politics as being rooted in the economic interests and economic relations of a given society. At the

same time, the proletariat's class struggle, rooted, as it is, in the economic sphere, becomes, according to Lenin, 'real, consistent and developed only when it embraces the sphere of politics . . . (and) takes in the most significant thing in politics — the organization of state power' (Vol. 19, p. 122). No revolutionary transformation of society is possible unless it has matured economically. But the transition from capitalism to socialism is unfeasible on the basis of the changes taking place in the economy alone and not directly or immediately affecting the system of political power, while the old government, Lenin says, 'never, not even in a period of crisis, "falls," if it is not toppled over' (Vol. 21, p. 214).

Apart from the theoretical elaboration of the question, we also rely on the experience gained by revolutionaries from the Paris Commune onwards, on the experience of the October Socialist Revolution, which has become the main event of the 20th century, and other victorious socialist revolutions. We rely on the experience of the class battles now paving the way for the establishment of the working people's power; on the experience of the revolutionary battles which were not won, but from which the communists have learned some very valuable lessons.

It goes without saying that the communists do not regard theoretical ideas and conclusions as hard and fast formulas providing exhaustive solutions for all problems. Nor does the experience of past generations of revolutionaries, however instructive, provide any ready-made recipes, because life does not stand still. It keeps introducing new elements into the interaction of economic and political factors in the revolutionary process. The specific conditions — economic, political, historical — in each country also induce the communists to take a creative approach in applying, pin-pointing and developing the general theoretical conclusions and to work out party strategy and tactics independently.

We are all aware that the question before us is one of the most difficult in theory and practice. This is because at various stages of the revolutionary struggle the problems of economic transformation and the problems of political superstructure may, in view of objective factors, alternately come to the fore. Of course, it is necessary to reckon with the objective requirements of life, but there is a danger of a rift in the dialectical connection between these problems, especially when our ideological adversaries seek to give a push toward such a rift, alleging either the possibility of economic development that would automatically transform capitalism into socialism, or extolling an abstract democracy which could of itself change the substance of society without transforming its economic foundation. The danger of

a rift between economics and politics may also arise in the communists' everyday activity when tackling specific problems.

All of this makes the interconnection of economics and politics a problem that is eternally vibrant, ever new and always stirring for revolutionaries.

We believe it important, therefore, to draw attention today above all to some factors and social phenomena which within the framework of this interconnection produce new issues or make one take a new look at traditional problems.

Capitalism in the 70s is an exceptionally high level of economic socialization of production through the concentration and centralization of capital. It is broad intervention in the economy by the state. It is domination by a monopoly-capital elite, which bends the whole of society's economic and political system to its own interests. It is, simultaneously, a profound crisis, which dislocates the economic and political mechanisms set up by the bourgeoisie. Finally, it is a society all of whose social forces, including the ruling class, have to urge the need to overcome the existing situation.

Today, the problem of getting out of the crisis is a central one in the social life of the capitalist world. Here, the main line of demarcation between the class positions has also been clearly determined, for on the one hand, measures are being proposed to 'cure' capitalism and save it, and on the other — programs paving the way for replacing capitalism with socialism. Consequently, this is not only a dispute about ways to overcome the given crisis, but also about the very foundations on which society is structured and the prospects for its development.

The communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries are clearly aware of this and have said as much in their proposals for a democratic way out of the crisis. They have emphasized that the ills of the capitalist economy cannot be overcome by economic measures alone. This calls for far-reaching social transformations, and a pronounced enhancement of the working people's positions and influence in national political affairs.

Indeed, democratization of the economy and its restructuring in the interests of the working people, a majority of the nation, are inconceivable without the broadest and most active participation by the masses in this process. It necessarily entails consistent practice of political democracy, both at the stage of struggle to abolish the omnipotence of the monopolies and in the subsequent course of socialist transformations. The substance of the problem is clearly expressed in the well-known Marxist-Leninist dictum that socialism and democracy are indivisible.

But there is also another aspect of the matter. Every stride forward

along the road of substantial democratic transformations in the economy inevitably results in a sharp clash of class interests, a clash between the proletariat and its allies, on the one hand, and the monopoly bourgeoisie, on the other, and this may objectively produce violent forms of struggle in politics.

This suggests a number of problems which the participants in this conference will evidently consider. There is the question of the relationship of the forms and the changing class content of political democracy at the stages of anti-monopoly and socialist transformations. There is the question of alliance of the left, democratic forces and of the Communist Party's role in the struggle for a revolutionary restructuring of society. There is the question of the character of the political power capable of putting through revolutionary transformations in society's socio-economic basis. There is the question of the attitude of the revolutionary forces to the existing state, to its institutions and to its statutes.

Now about another group of highly relevant problems, which, we believe, also spring from the dialectical interaction of economics and politics in the present conditions of the revolutionary struggle.

The new level in the development of capital itself, above all the high degree of its economic socialization, objectively urges the need to nationalize the means of production. Recognition of this necessity also runs through the reformist conceptions envisaging the possibility of an evolutionary transformation of capitalism into a different system in which private-property interests and relations will allegedly disappear of themselves.

However, there is the experience of many capitalist countries which graphically demonstrates that nationalization does not in itself alter the nature of capitalist society. What then is the combination of social, economic and political conditions in which nationalization begins to serve the working people's interests and leads to a change in the substance of the social system itself? That is a problem which each communist party has to face in ever new concrete historical forms at every stage of revolutionary development.

Virtually the same problem may be posed in a somewhat different plane. If the working class and the rest of the working people score major successes in the fight for society's political governance, will they be able to maintain their positions without underpinning them with increasingly stronger foundations in the economy?

In the struggle for nationalization, the revolutionary forces have to tackle highly concrete problems which are determined by the specific features of the concrete situation. But more general theoretical problems also arise in this context. To what extent, say, does effecting a program for nationalization — especially concerning the details on

deadlines, terms, etc. — depend on the revolutionary forces taking over the country's political leadership? Or how far are the scale, pace and forms of nationalization economically determined and how far do they depend on the level of development of socialization of production, and how deeply may they be influenced by political circumstances? If, for instance, these forces have to face fierce resistance and sabotage on the part of the industrialists and bankers, and the danger of the revolution going down in economic chaos, will this not make them reconsider their earlier nationalization plans?

When considering the present-day specifics of the interaction of economics and politics one also has to consider the following. There is no doubt that in our day it is not only capital but also labor, manpower, the working man's status in production and society that have all acquired new qualities. While remaining an object of fierce exploitation, the working people in the developed capitalist countries have nevertheless gained a great deal: the growing role and scale of trade-union activity; certain socio-economic gains; participation, however heavily restricted, in the management of production, and in some countries, also an influence on the whole of the nation's socio-political life. What in these conditions are the economic and political goals in the struggle of the working class against capital and for socialism?

The political goal is clear: it is the winning of leading positions in the democratic movement and ultimately a takeover of the instruments of state power. But what is the economic goal? Does it boil down to eliminating unemployment, the high cost of living, poverty, and arduous working conditions? These tasks are certainly very important but isn't the establishing of the worker, the working man, as the master of the economy, with full powers and responsibility in deciding what happens to it, now coming to the fore as the main issue and key in solving these problems?

In a society in the throes of revolutionary change, the working people are entitled to expect satisfaction of their vital economic interests. But, as many fraternal parties have noted, it is exceptionally important that these interests should not be seen in the light of sheer consumerism. Doesn't this suggest the need for a more thorough analysis of the question of how in the course of the class struggle the working people, having been politically activated, are to be involved in building up the new power and then the economic mechanism, and in structuring the new economy?

The political strategy of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries attaches much importance to strengthening the alliance of the working class with other contingents of the working people, with the petty-bourgeois or so-called middle sections of the population in the

common struggle against the omnipotence of the monopolies, and in the further advance toward socialism. Of course, the soundness of such an alliance fundamentally depends on the coincidence of the economic interests of those it brings together. If at the stage of the general democratic struggle such community of interests is ensured, so to say, by the monopoly oppression itself, the advance to socialist transformations will inevitably require the establishment of an economic mechanism capable of maintaining this community of interests in new conditions and on a new basis. Experience shows that the destinies of the revolution largely depend on the solution of this complicated problem.

Yet another group of problems arises, we believe, under the growing influence exerted by international factors on the revolutionary processes within the national framework of individual countries. We live in an epoch of contest between the two world systems, and also of rapidly advancing internationalization of the productive forces, economic integration and unrestrained growth of transnational monopolies. In these conditions, the communist parties believe it to be necessary to formulate their international strategy with an eye to the high degree of every country's involvement in the existing system of international economic and political ties and relations. Experience shows that the rigidity of these ties is most acutely manifested whenever it comes to truly radical transformations in the economy and the social structure of society. Even at the stage of the struggle when the advent to power of the left, progressive forces becomes a tangible possibility, the transnational monopolies seek to thwart this by threatening to stop their investments, and so on.

That is why we hope that our conference will bring out the fraternal parties' views on how, in the communists' opinion, some international factors could be neutralized and others used for the revolutionary struggle, and show the interaction between the détente and its concomitant development of economic cooperation among states with different social systems, on the one hand, and the political struggle in the capitalist countries and also in the international arena, on the other.

Our conference is attended by representatives of communist and workers' parties which have to work in different conditions. Each party has had and still has to tackle problems which are determined by the specific features of social-development stages and the national situation. Of course, this will be reflected in the speeches to be delivered here. At the same time, I think that the more attention we pay to bringing out the general regularities that are forcing their way up through all the peculiarities of the conditions of time and place and that are concretely expressed in revolutionary practice in this or that

country, the greater the theoretico-scientific importance of this exchange of opinion.

We shall be able, I believe, to clarify and enrich our theoretical understanding of the problems brought up for discussion only if we go beyond the most general arguments and considerations. You will probably recall these words of Marx's: 'People have your own opinion of the *details*, and not only of the principles, before you come to power.' Allow me to express the hope that this conference will also deal with both the principles and the details, that it will reflect the fraternal parties' theoretical achievements and the concrete content both of the experience of the victorious revolutions and of the constructive programs showing the communists' alternative to the bourgeois society.

Toward an anti-monopoly democracy

In its activity, our party has always taken into account the dialectical connection between economics and politics, *Otto Marx, head of the Karl Liebknecht Party School (FRG)*, said in his speech. This is also reflected in our new program document. In pursuance of the decisions taken by the party congress, which was held in Bonn in March 1976, the GCP Board put up for discussion by the communists and also by concerned democratic forces in the country a draft program which should be adopted at a congress next October.

The party regards the economic and political changes that have taken place in the country over the past few years as a dangerous trend toward a shift to the right, but also notes the formation of the democratic forces working against this trend. In the light of the situation, the party has drawn this conclusion: the aim of our struggle at the present stage should be to effect a 'swing toward democratic and social progress.' We have been working to rally the country's progressive forces in defense of democratic and social gains, which have done something to narrow the fields of activity for monopoly capital. We believe that in this struggle democrats can display the strength required for deep-going social transformations leading to an anti-monopoly democracy that could pave the way toward socialism.

By anti-monopoly democracy we mean a period of fundamental transformations, when the working class and the other democratic forces will have enough political weight and parliamentary influence to form a coalition government representing their common interests. Our party's draft program emphasizes that such a government, based on an anti-monopoly and democratic alliance of forces, mindful of historical experience and acting as an organ democratically legitimated by the people, would rid the army, the police, the courts and the administrative apparatus of the influence of neo-nazi and militaris-

tic forces and would stop the abuses of the organs of state power which harmed the people and the constitutional government.

At the same time, such a coalition should rely on the extra-parliamentary activity of the working class and other democratic forces. The idea is to ensure a preponderance of the democratic forces and to bar the way of the counter-revolution. This could broaden the participation of the working class, its trade unions and other non-monopoly sections in controlling production and investment. Such participation in practice and the conversion of precisely specified enterprises dominating the market into state property under democratic control could help to narrow down and undermine the economic power of the monopolies, thereby clearing the way for democratic planning of the economy for the benefit of the working people. This will also open up fresh prospects for artisans and for businessmen who now depend on the monopolies and whose very existence is in jeopardy.

We believe that anti-monopoly democracy is not an isolated stage: the anti-monopoly and socialist stages are stages in a coherent revolutionary process of transition from capitalism to socialism. Our concrete conceptions of socialism are predicated on the idea that it has general features: political power of the working class and its allies, socialization of the basic means of production, direction and planning on the scale of the whole of society for the purpose of multiplying the productive forces and making rational use of them for the benefit of man.

On the strength of these general regularities, socialism in our country will have national features corresponding to the level of development of the productive forces, the changing historical conditions and democratic traditions. Contemporary experience, in particular, suggests that the united trade unions which have taken shape in our country will historically have a most important role to play in putting through social transformations directly affecting the working man's will in every sphere of social life. We want elected people's organs simultaneously to be the highest organs of state power free from the influence of big capital, so that parliamentary institutions at every level may become a true embodiment of the people's sovereignty.

On property and power

The Basic Program of National Unity gave priority to the task of ending the domination of imperialist and domestic monopolies in the economy and the domination of the landed proprietors in agriculture,² said *Cademartori*, CC member of the Communist Party of Chile, Minister of the Economy in the Allende government. We succeeded in accomplishing our anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic tasks. But we

were unable to do all that was needed to consolidate and defend these gains.

One of the main mistakes of National Unity was strategic duality in implementing the Basic Program. Due to a close intertwining of anti-imperialist and socialist objectives and to the lack of a clear-cut delimitation of the stages of the revolution, certain sectors, influenced by the 'leftists' from the outset, attributed a socialist character to the revolutionary process.

Indeed, the program did speak about 'proceeding to build socialism' but it did not say this should begin immediately. The same paragraph of the program stated that the precondition for this should be abolition of 'the power of national and foreign monopoly capital.' In other words, it was made clear where one task ended and the next began.

On the other hand, the program pointed to the need to preserve the capitalist private property sector in industry, the services and agriculture alike. It provided also for the establishment of a mixed property sector combining public with private capital. 'The Popular Unity government,' said an election campaign document, 'will serve as a guarantee for . . . the vast majority of proprietors, manufacturers and traders who are not linked with the narrow circle of capitalist power but suffer from it in various ways.'

It is occasionally said that the middle strata failed to back the Popular Unity government in spite of the economic benefits they had been granted and that their behavior was therefore not determined by economic factors but by the fact that their social consciousness had developed under the influence of bourgeois ideology and nothing but pressure from the working class relying on its own strength could have induced them to go along with the revolution.

Although the Popular government did much to meet the material demands of these strata, they regarded these benefits as temporary because of the contradictory character of the revolutionary process. The middle strata dissociated from the working class on a more and more massive scale under the impact of increasing strategic differences in Popular Unity, growing disorganization and inflation and incipient anarchy, because their well-being and independence were being threatened. This confirmed that the economic interests of social classes continued to determine their political behavior.

Due to one-sided emphasis on the correct postulate that socialism is collective ownership of the means of production, the opinion asserted itself that you have only to expropriate or confiscate the enterprises to bring into being bastions or at least seats of socialism. Yet a certain period of time had to pass before it became possible to alter the character of property, restructure the enterprises, reorganize their

operation, raise the workers' role, establish fair relations between specialists, technical personnel and workers, and introduce a new, conscious type of labor discipline. It would also have taken time to introduce obligatory planning throughout the public sector, establish new relations with the private sector and learn to dominate instead of being dominated. Furthermore, it was essential to learn the art of operating in the market according to its objective laws, which had to be kept in harmony with strategic goals.

The formation of the public sector rid the country, if temporarily, of monopoly tyranny and super-exploitation of the workers, helped to raise industrial production to an unprecedented level, curb inflation in the early period and reduce unemployment. The cooperative system in agriculture proved viable; it began to take root as a progressive form of production management.

However, the public sector did not become dominant because some of the major monopolies were left outside it and also because no scientific methods of managing this sector had yet been devised, nor was there adequate experience in carrying on commercial operations. In addition, the bourgeoisie did its utmost to undermine enterprise management.

The experience of the Popular Unity government revealed the need to abide by objective economic laws. The law of value and the laws of the capitalist market should have been used from the very beginning of the revolutionary process. Proficiency in economic accounting, effort to increase output, raise productivity and reduce costs, obligatory planning and integrated economic management were problems which, although we communists spelled them out to the people, were not entirely understood by all the people's parties. These tasks were countered with slogans (such as 'Increasing output is a task for the big capitalists') which virtually urged the working class to renounce its leading role in society.

Popular Unity also paid a high price for the old trend toward economism which had long dominated some sections of the working class. Many enterprises raised wages without regard to the actual possibilities. There were also egalitarianism and disregard of the distinctions between skilled and unskilled work and of the role and contribution of the technical intelligentsia.

These mistakes did not originate among the working class but among elements linked with the petty bourgeoisie. Revealingly, those who insisted on immediately moving on to the socialist revolution also demanded an excessive wage increase in the nationalized enterprises.

Success in any social revolution today hinges, in our view, on four key factors: the ability to firmly hold the power positions won; wide-

spread participation of the masses in the attainment of every objective set by the government; a policy of alliance based on respect for one's allies and unfailing fulfillment of commitments; strict adherence to the objective laws of the science of revolution discovered by Marxism-Leninism.

Key to understanding the social situation

The crisis in Italy is part of the general crisis of the capitalist countries, said *Gianni Simula, staff member of the ICP Economic Policy Research Center*. However, Italy is a country where the contradictions of the capitalist system take particularly sharp forms. What makes itself felt is, first, a historical lag which, far from being eliminated, has lately led to still greater imbalances in some respects. Secondly, the Italian working class, being strong, has prevented such a traditional solution of the crisis as putting its whole burden on the working people. Hence the gravity and contradictory nature of the situation.

On the one hand, there is a working class which has largely retained, as perhaps in no other capitalist country, the positions won and the purchasing power achieved in the 70s, even in the period following the oil price increase. On the other hand, we are in the presence of a system which has proved unable to bring about steady economic growth and at least to maintain the working people's gains and the very balance of society. The wave of terrorism which in recent months has assumed dangerous proportions is a most alarming sign.

Taking the economy to be the key to understanding current developments, which is right, we discern a contradiction the economy cannot eliminate, being unable to advance beyond a definite level, with the result that the balance in the sphere of relations with the foreign market is worsening, and when a short-lived boom is followed by a period of stabilization restoring the balance, it generally aggravates internal relations. These increasingly convulsive stops and goes must be ended to stave off economic and social degradation.

The Italian crisis, we have repeatedly stressed, is not only economic but political, moral and social as well. There are more and more indications of the people's lack of faith in the state and its institutions. Ideological and moral decay among diverse social strata is going deeper and narrow-minded corporativism is taking still more rigid forms among some groups of working people.

It is safe to say that we are witnessing the failure of the Italian bourgeoisie's 30-year rule and are passing through a period of serious change, when the inability of the ruling class to honor its commitments is evident, whereas the working-class movement has reached

the highest level in all its history and, to quote Comrade Berlinguer, 'is at the threshold of a decisive period which will also be conditioned by the exercise of power in the upper strata of the national political leadership.'

This is a crucial aspect of today's situation in Italy. How it will be dealt with depends on the nature of changes in society. The sharper and more dramatic the crisis, the harder and more complicated the effort to overcome it will be. The more serious the evils of the economic and social situation become, the more drastic the measures that must be taken against them.

To effect real changes and radically transform society, we consider that we need, first of all, large-scale action by the country's democratic forces on the basis of unity. And to pave the way for ending the crisis, it is important, in our opinion, to introduce socialist elements and the very values of the socialist concept. They must be established both in the sphere of political leadership of society's development and in the economy, specifically in its management, by programming the utilization of resources and the goals to be achieved.

In carrying on our work, we rely on our party's growing strength and its influence among large sections of the working people and all other citizens. We uphold our ideological and theoretical patrimony in operating in diverse social institutions and in society as a whole, never losing sight of the working people's real needs or the problems agitating the whole country. We are resolutely pursuing a responsible and consistent policy to initiate a process of social renewal on the principles of justice, solidarity and freedom.

We are convinced that to put this policy into effect, we need serious joint efforts and must travel a road involving many sacrifices and follow a strategy based on the principle of rigid economy and meaning, first of all, re-establishment of the balance between consumption and production accumulation, strict selection in consumption according to values differing from those imposed by a consumer approach and wastefulness, and proper programming of investments for development purposes.

It is evident that this process can be accomplished only if the working class fully performs its leading function.

Furthering détente is, we believe, a necessary condition for success in a policy of economic and social progress paving the way for advance to socialism.

Unity of program demands and their criteria

As I see it, said Bert Ramelson, staff member of the International Department, Executive Committee, CPGB, the purpose and importance of our discussions here is to examine what is new today in the

dialectical relationship between economy and politics and in the transformation process in particular; and how it expresses itself.

1. Some speakers have already mentioned the present crisis of capitalism, the deepest and sharpest phase of the general crisis of capitalism since the 1930s.

The economic aspect of the crisis expresses itself in the collapse of a stable international currency, continuous inflation, chronic rising unemployment across the boundaries of the trade cycle, stagnant or at best very low rates of growing during the upswing of the trade cycle, and the emergence of the transnational or multinational firm as a major expression of the process of integration of capital.

The social aspect of the crisis expresses itself as an abandonment — even as a desirable objective — of the achievement of relatively full employment, and the set of values which flow from adopting the objective of a welfare state with social services as a universal right and not based on need.

Politically the crisis has led to a lack of confidence in many of the institutions of a democratic character which evolved as a result of successful class struggles and were tolerated by the ruling class so long as they were confident in the system's stability. With the emergence of relative instability due to the crisis, a consequent lack of confidence is no doubt a major factor in the development of authoritarian trends and the drive to undermine the role and effectiveness of some institutions, e.g., the independence of the trade unions and particularly their right to free collective bargaining.

2. The second most important economic feature with profound political consequences is the qualitative change in the character of state-monopoly capitalism. The extent and nature of the state's intervention both as major employer and in regulating the economy — regardless of the political complexion of the government — in all advanced capitalist countries, is of such dimensions and magnitude as to profoundly affect the entire political framework in which the struggle to transform society takes place, including the sphere of ideology.

3. Colonialism has been practically eliminated. There is an active struggle against neo-colonialism with its impact on terms of trade, trade balances and reduced ability to grant concessions to the metropolitan working class and hence on the ability to meet their rising expectations.

The relative absence in the socialist world of most of the economic ills of the capitalist economy is also of great importance in assessing the relevance or effectiveness of certain economic demands on the political scene.

What conclusions can we draw from this for our strategy?

The first thing we must do is not create any illusions. We must say

quite openly that there is no solution to the security of employment or meeting the rising expectations of the working class within the framework of a capitalist society.

Having said that, we must knock on the head the opposite extreme — that there is nothing that can be done until the day after the revolution. Whether our alternative program is relevant, and can achieve our object or not, depends on whether it fulfills a certain number of criteria. What criteria? It must be the sort of program that the mass of the working people will understand. It must also be the sort of program that they see is of advantage to them today, not only tomorrow. It should not be a 'better' or 'left' version of a reformist program. It must be a program the implementation of which challenges the ruling class. The only way it can be implemented is to mobilize the people. It is in the course of that sort of challenge that the political consciousness and understanding of workers is raised so that they are prepared to take the next step. This is what the first stage of the transitional program envisaged in *The British Road to Socialism* really is.

The first plank of our strategy is therefore an expansion of the economy. There is only one way to start expanding the economy and that is by an incentive to increase output. The only way to ensure a market for the increased output is to increase the demand which is within Britain's control — home demand. That, in turn, means an end to wages and public spending cuts.

It is now also well established that chronic large-scale unemployment is due not only to inadequate growth in demand relative to growth in productivity rates and capacity utilization but also to structural factors. Replacement of labor-intensive by capital-intensive industries means that full employment will only be achieved by reduction in labor time, that is, reduction in the working week and the working year.

We propose in our strategy a series of measures to free Britain from foreign constraints, from the international capitalist economy. The planned vast extension of investment would involve control of capital export and the taking into public ownership of a number of industries and key multinational firms. In British conditions there is no way to ensure investment and the implementation of government economic policy without an expansion of the public sector to include international firms, the major banks and financial institutions. Such firms are beyond the control of the government and have in the past frustrated government economic strategies.

Then there are a number of proposals to extend industrial democracy. Crucial to this is the right to free collective bargaining.

Our alternative strategic program must be seen as a package, and

fought for as a package if its full potentialities are to be realized. It is a dynamic strategy. What do I mean by a dynamic strategy? The long-term strategy of the transitional stage is an on-going, constantly developing dynamic transitional program, winning the support of more and more masses for it. Today we are fighting for what is at first limited, but it also leads to recognizing the need of fighting for the next strategic point and so on.

Let there be no illusions. The strategy we have evolved, though far short of socialism, will be resisted to the utmost by big business and the mandarins in the state apparatus. But that resistance can be overcome by the mobilization of the mass movement, resulting in a government which will carry out this policy, and in turn will look for support from the working people.

A repetition of October in the main and fundamental aspects

The victory of the national uprising of September 9, 1944, said *Petko Petkov, D.Sc. (Econ.), Deputy Director of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of International Relations and Socialist Integration*, set in motion the socialist revolution in our country. As Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC Bulgarian Communist Party, has put it, *'The revolution of September 9, carried through with the decisive assistance of the Soviet army, was from the outset a socialist revolution, a repetition of the Great October in the main and fundamental aspects.'* A dictatorship of the proletariat was established. Power passed into the hands of the working class, which was allied with the working peasants. The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) led the country, relying on the support of the Fatherland Front. In the first years the party's representatives in the government were in the minority.

The BWP(C) devoted special attention to elaborating the state's basic economic policies, making use of the rich experience gained by the world's first socialist state — the Soviet Union. It noted the fact that the people's democratic power could be consolidated only if working-class hegemony was established in the economy, only if the basic means of production were put under socialist public ownership.

The example of the attitude taken toward private enterprise shows how the regular features in the interconnection between economics and politics were specifically expressed in our conditions and how they were taken into account in the party's activity.

The people's government inherited certain ready-made forms of regulation of production, of economic life. With a few exceptions these were made use of although their character changed. They became an instrument for regulation of the production and other

activities of enterprises by the victorious working class in the interests of the masses.

Two outwardly contradictory tendencies may be observed in the behavior of the bourgeoisie in those first years. The bourgeoisie carried on a frenzied struggle against the people's power. It financed the opposition parties, the conspiracies, the acts of sabotage and attempts to launch an armed conflict. At the same time it showed great flexibility and agreed to work in the conditions offered by the people's power, for it was well aware of the strength of political power. The BWP(C) used this feature of the bourgeoisie's behavior to achieve its goals. Let it be recalled, for instance, that there were members of the Fatherland Front on the Board of the General Union of Bulgarian Industry (organization of capitalist industrialists).³

The party applied in practice Lenin's theory of state capitalism during the transitional period and pursued a policy of subordinating the activities of the private enterprises to the interests of the mass of the working people. These enterprises were brought into the sphere of state planning. The communists paid great attention to workers' control, to the functioning of the trade union committees, which kept watch on all spheres of the activity of the enterprises — acquisition of raw materials and its processing, production technology, price-fixing, and the dispatch of finished goods. This was linked with such activities as emulation, the rationalizers' movement and so on that are not characteristic of private enterprise. The working class was engaged in a drive to increase production, raise the productivity of labor and restore the economy.

After the victory of the revolution the former ban on strikes was lifted. But the party advised the workers not to strike. Conflicts were resolved by other means and strikes were launched only when needed for political aims.

The party's slogan on 'patriots' — industrialists and merchants — also played its part. This slogan called for a differentiated approach to the various groups of the bourgeoisie, depending on the position they adopted and their attitude to the laws of the land.

The enormous amount of political work done by the BWP(C) and the Fatherland Front and at the same time the actions of the opposition itself, led to isolation of the opposition. This was one of the main prerequisites for the successful nationalization of private industrial and mining enterprises that was carried out on December 23, 1947. By this time the essential groundwork had been done for the socialist socialization of industry *in practice*, as Lenin put it (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 241).

By conducting a flexible policy in agriculture the new state gradually liquidated the private capitalist sector in this sphere too, without

resorting to nationalization of the land. Thanks to the drive and initiative of our party, the Fatherland Front and the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, which is still working with the BCP to this day, the Bulgarian countryside was reshaped on a socialist basis.

Nationalization and power: two viewpoints

Iran is becoming the scene of an increasingly sharp clash between the revolutionary and reformist ideologies, said *Hamid Safari, member of the Executive Bureau of the CC, People's Party of Iran, D.Sc. (Econ.)*. And the clash is most pronounced precisely on the question of the connection between economics and politics.

Since 1976 signs of a structural crisis have appeared in the country's economy. The intensified struggle by the working people, intellectuals and other patriotic forces for democratic rights, freedoms and progress have in their own way also sharpened the socio-economic situation. The roots of this situation lie in the fact that at the present, relatively mature stage of capitalism achieved in Iran the form of state power — absolute monarchy — contradicts the character of the production relations and also the level of the productive forces. So the demand for a change in the form of power is quite logical.

In this setting there has been a revival of reformism, which is not a unified trend, but which plays a negative role wherever it appears. Representatives of the petty-bourgeois strata and bourgeois intelligentsia, who have been trying to spread reformist ideology among the working people, seek to replace the former methods of governments by new ones more conducive to the free functioning of the system; but they want to do this without touching its socio-economic base. Exploiting the fact that many fighters for social progress are not yet aware of the realistic roads to the new life, these groups promise an easy road that does not involve class clashes and violence, that is, without any fundamental remoulding of the structure.⁴

The basic feature of their ideology is a frantic anti-communism. Claiming that the communist ideology 'is not a natural part of the national specifics of Iran,' they at the same time declare Marxism-Leninism 'outdated' and allege that it is irrelevant to social progress.

Referring to the extremely strong position of the state sector in the economy and certain proposed nationalization measures, the bourgeois and reformist ideologists declare the existing social system in Iran to be a 'new society' in which there are no class contradictions. Hence, they say, the class struggle is unnecessary.

The scientific flabbiness and reactionary utopianism of these views is obvious. The essential methodological fault of the reformist concepts lies in their formal legalistic approach to economic phenomena. The claim that the character of society is changed by partial nationali-

zation is not correct because nationalization by itself cannot change the social system. Engels, in his day, sharply criticized the vulgar approach to this question. 'Of late,' he wrote, 'since Bismarck went in for state-ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* state ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the state of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of socialism ...' (*Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, FLPH, 1959, p. 383).

Nationalization, as Lenin subsequently emphasized, serves those who control the state (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 312). In our conditions a growing together of the state sector with the local and international industrial firms is creating a base for the conversion of the Iranian economy into a dependent state-monopoly capitalism. So the slogan of nationalization without the kind of fundamental changes in the political sphere that would put the working people in power only distracts them from the struggle for this main goal.

To avoid misunderstanding, we shall note that our party does not oppose the struggle for reforms. We disagree with the above-mentioned concepts in our assessment of the nature of the changes that are needed.

The reformists assert that 'socio-economic relations cannot tolerate violence.' They attach the label of violence to the proletarian revolution and the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat in creating social property in the means of production, overthrowing the power of the capitalists, establishing the power of the working people and, if necessary, suppressing the resistance of the exploiting class. What can be said about this?

History has recorded the occurrence of essentially different kinds of social revolution. Each of them was the culmination of a class struggle. What is more, any success was out of the question without overcoming the resistance of the obsolete classes, which as a rule did not stop at the use of force. Since there is no record in history of an example of the exploiting classes voluntarily surrendering their property and power and since there are no theoretical grounds for assuming anything of the kind, the radical reorganization of society without the use of force in one form or another emerges as either an illusion or a deception. But the proletariat applies forcible means only against the exploiters who resist, and only for the sake of carrying out its creative mission — the building of a genuinely new society, socialism.

1. Abridged by the contributors — *Ed.*

2. This contribution has been abridged with due regard to what was already said in the series of articles on the 'Lessons of Chile,' published in *WMR* in 1977 and 1978.

3. In August 1945 the Board consisted of 11 persons, four of whom were members of the BWP(C).

4. This concept is reflected, for example, in the book by F. Gaem-Magami, *Marxists*, in Haschemi Goutschani's *History of Socialism — the Life and Works of Marx*, Amir Taheri's *In Search of Another Road*, and in the Report of the Committee of Iranian Scientists *Fundamentals of the New Society*, etc.

Today's global problems and the communists

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'Global problems' is a recent term. It was first used in bourgeois literature and at once carried with it an implication of sensationalism. Bourgeois writers suggested that the emergence of global problems was in itself historically unexpected, to say the least, and that they were fraught with the most dangerous consequences for the future of the whole of mankind.

By contrast, the communist concept of global problems is based on the dialectical-materialist view of society in its interaction with nature. The contest between these two approaches — the bourgeois and the communist — has some important practical and political aspects which need to be considered and analyzed.

Global problems, i.e., those of concern for humanity as a whole, above all include the need: to prevent a thermonuclear world war and to create the conditions for developing international relations in peace; to abolish the most blatant social injustices — hunger and poverty — throughout the world; to make rational and comprehensive use of natural resources; to formulate and put through an active demographic policy and a strategy for protecting the environment; to develop international cooperation in research and use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

The mere listing of these problems shows how formidable they are and suggests the influence they may have on the prospects for the future development and, indeed, very existence of human beings.

These problems have been considered in *WMR*, June 1972, November 1975, April and May, 1977, and January and February, 1978.

Contemporary calculations and forecasts show that together with such an obvious political reality as the danger of global disaster, for example, a thermonuclear world war, humanity may also be faced with fatal consequences from the depletion of the available stocks of energy and raw-material resources, and global pollution, which tends to erode some highly important processes in the natural reproduction of the conditions for the existence of humanity and the whole of animate nature.

The widening gap between the growth of material production (above all, the production of foodstuffs) and the growth of the population on a world scale may have very grave consequences.

Over the long term, there could be a sharp increase in the level of 'civilization-induced diseases' caused by the inhuman use of scientific and technical achievements (radiation, pollution of the environment, hazardous technological processes, and so on).

A great achievement of the communist movement is that it has produced an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of global problems, by putting them in the real context of the development of nature, society and the relations between them, by making use of its consistently materialist world outlook — historical materialism — and the methodological instruments of materialist dialectics. This has enabled it not only to refute the suggestions of some bourgeois scientists that humanity is inevitably doomed by the development of science and technology and the application of their discoveries but to contrast this with the real prospects of progress for mankind, which is undoubtedly capable, in the course of its social development, of overcoming the contradictions stemming from ever more intimate relations between man and nature in our day.

The communists have based their optimistic conclusions on the scientific view that the global problems of our day are a natural result of human development and of the scientific, technical and social progress of society. Taken as a whole, human history shows that there are two lines of relations which determine the whole of human activity. One is man's relation with the environment (the 'man-nature' system); and the other, the relations between human beings in society, that is, social relations (the 'man-man' system).¹ The global problems of our day have their roots within these systems of relations.

Within the framework of man's relations with nature, there arises and is developed the chief one of these — the production of material goods, which is the premise for the entire history of humanity. As the productive forces, social organization and culture develop, humanity is increasingly released from the hold of nature and simultaneously acquires power over it. But here it is important to emphasize the other aspect of the matter: while subordinating nature to their own needs,

human beings enter into numerous and intricate contradictions with it, and these ultimately engender the global problems.

At the same time, social relations between human beings are of equal importance as a root-cause of global problems. The process of production, apart from its natural aspect — the exchange of substances and energy between society and nature — also has a social aspect, namely, the social relations between human beings in production and the relations of property in the instruments and means of production, which determine the totality of social relations. That is why the potentialities for improving humanity's links with nature depend not only on the development of the material basis and the technical and economic conditions of production, but also largely on the nature of social relations.

Analysis of the succession of present-day crises shows that the social premise of the sharpening of the global problems of our day springs from the relations of private property in the instruments and means of production, which have attained their consummate form under state-monopoly capitalism, and which determine the theory and practice of the capitalist attitude to nature and man.

The private-property economy is guided by the chief incentive: the urge to maximize profits. In the past, this incentive had a great part to play in the advance of bourgeois civilization and helped to accelerate development in the most diverse fields of human activity. But once enshrined as an end in itself, the urge for profit turned out to be divorced from goals which were more meaningful from the standpoint of social progress, from truly human aspirations, from any reasonably relevant purpose and from reason itself. As a result, the society based on private property turned out to be capable of producing a rapidly developing science and sophisticated technical facilities, but incapable of controlling them. What is more, that society has converted them into a formidable threat to itself and to nature.

The global problems of our day tend further to be aggravated by the internal contradictions — the social and national antagonisms — inherent in bourgeois civilization. The fact that these problems sometimes acquire tragic dimensions also results from the development of capitalist contradictions — the contradictions between the interests of private enterprise and those of broad sections of the working people, between the development of the bourgeois economy and culture and its ever more numerous and large-scale unfavorable consequences,² and ultimately between the requirements of human development and the bourgeois society's total inhumanity and alienation of incentives and purposes. These contradictions also determine the organic militarism of bourgeois civilization, the root-cause of the arms race and the military gambles, the practice of plundering natural resources

and polluting the environment, and the growing gap between the rising level of material consumption in the developed capitalist countries and the starvation and poverty in the developing countries.

To these initial contradictions are now being added new contradictions, which are even more ominous for the future of capitalist civilization, contradictions between the emergent political, economic, scientific, technical and spiritual potentialities for doing away with many global dangers, and capitalism's incapacity to use these potentialities to their full extent. In the developed capitalist countries major efforts are now being made to tackle a number of global problems (like pollution of the environment). But these efforts fall far short of the available technical and economic potentialities. What is most important is that they are not based on any overall long-term program for socio-economic development, because capitalism is a society that has no future before it, and intrinsically cannot have any such program.

It is the fundamental patterns of capitalism that ultimately determine the choice of strategy by the ruling classes of the bourgeois society for tackling the global problems. Here, too, it is not the requirements of social progress, not the real tasks of saving humanity, but the self-seeking interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie, that are paramount.

A distorted view of nature and of the substance of the global problems, their connection with the socio-political realities of the modern world, shapes the ideological and theoretical basis of this strategy. Bourgeois theoreticians quite often identify the global with the 'supra-national,' 'supra-class' and even 'supra-social.' Because global problems have a direct bearing on the whole of humanity, they argue, the existing class and political distinctions are rendered inessential and irrelevant. And while many bourgeois theories spontaneously establish the origins of global problems as arising from some real contradictions of capitalist-type development, they all actually ignore the socio-economic nature of humanity's problems and the negative impact and role of private-property relations in this process.

Such approaches are being actively used in attempts to manipulate world opinion and to fashion it to suit the ideological and political requirements of the bourgeoisie. The idea that socialism and capitalism are converging³ is being plugged behind a screen of talk about the interdependence of all the inhabitants of the globe as they face a common danger and a need to act together. Some authors suggest that such convergence should be based on a drive against the negative trends in scientific, technical, economic and production development which, they say, modify the social structures of both social systems to the same extent.

The ideological concepts based on the bourgeois view of globality show that it is actually designed to produce a new system of arguments to back up the idea of capitalist world domination. Their assumption is, in effect, that capitalism is the summit of social progress, because they seek to establish the trends in the development of capitalism, purporting to be the universal characteristics of social progress, as trends in the development of the world as a whole.

Since a large part of the bourgeois and reformist concepts and strategies for tackling the global problems of our day has already been critically analyzed in Marxist studies,⁴ we shall confine ourselves to a short consideration of the basic concepts of globalism and consider the trends in their development.

One of the specific features of research into global problems is the fact that it gives priority to studies based on the use of exact methods and mathematical models, computer techniques and extensive statistics.

This is made necessary by the nature of the qualitatively new problems with which science now has to deal: their scale and range inevitably require the use of new and rigorously strict methods, all of which tends further to enhance the urge to make social research as precise as research in natural science. However, most bourgeois concepts and models distort this objective tendency and play down research in the humanities, philosophical, ideological and sociological.

This method also has a definite ideological and propaganda import: the 'scientific' approach, the formally strict argumentation and demonstration of the propositions advanced in the concepts and programs are designed to exert (even with the crisis of credibility in science in bourgeois society) a greater influence on the mass consciousness than 'subjective' humanitarian reflections and so carry the ideas insinuated into them farther afield.

When considering the various phases in the development of global modelling, one has to note that the global models of the various 'generations' differ from each other, on the one hand, by their greater or lesser pessimism in depicting the future of mankind, and on the other, by the way their methodological grounds and ideological premises take into account the socio-political realities of the modern world, and by their projection of the development of international economic and political relations, and also the socio-class relations in capitalist society.

The earliest projections of world development in the models of Jay Forrester and the Meadows group, which prepared the first report for The Club of Rome,⁵ suggested that the way out of the menacing situation was to limit production and material consumption to an

average statistical level taken for the globe as a whole, thereby actually seeking to perpetuate the existing inequality, for they failed to propose any measures to do away with the gap in social and cultural development levels both within the capitalist society — between its classes — and especially between the developed capitalist and the developing countries. This (together with the pronounced pessimism of the panorama they envisaged for the future of mankind and their denial of any possibility of further progress) drew sharp criticism from the most diverse ideological quarters.

The second generation global models (the second report of The Club of Rome by Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel,⁶ the third, by the Tinbergen group,⁷ that presented by a Japanese group led by Yoichi Kaya,⁸ A. Herrera's Latin American model⁹ analyzing ways of tackling global problems by the developing countries, Ervin Laslo's model urging the need for repatterning the system of goals and guidelines for social progress,¹⁰ and lastly, D. Gabor's model in his book *Outside the Age of Squander*¹¹) have all variously taken account of this criticism. They display less pessimism in assessing the potentialities for mankind's progress and do not deny the prospects for a further growth of the economy, science and culture. They also take into account the different levels of economic, political and cultural development of the various segments of modern mankind and take a differentiated approach in defining the perspectives and the tasks of their development.

However, these models also fail to reflect the fundamental distinctions of the socio-economic system in the regions they designate for their purposes. They also consider the various crisis situations — the crisis of overpopulation and the environment, the food, energy and raw materials crises, etc. — as component parts of the overall crisis of world development, without going to the socio-economic roots of such phenomena or examining their nature, and so failing to show the real socio-political potentialities and ways to eliminate them.

Problems, which are as urgent and vital as global ones, cannot be ignored by the communists in their struggle for a fair social reshaping of the world and for the future of the whole of mankind. The growing awareness of their importance and significance, and the response which they evoke among the most massive groups of working people, have all made it necessary for the international communist movement to make a scientific analyses of these problems in theoretical and practical terms. This is the basis on which the communists have gradually formulated their strategy and tactics in the effort to achieve a solution to these problems that will meet the requirements of social progress and thus the interests of the whole of mankind and the ideals of humanism.

An important initiative in elaborating a principled approach to the global problems of our day has come from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose 24th and 25th congresses laid down as one aspect of the party's ideological, theoretical and practical work the need to tackle a package of related domestic and foreign-policy tasks and stated the Soviet communists' approach to these issues. Thus, a program for eliminating the established global contradictions was proposed in the Report of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the 25th Congress and in the Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-80 adopted by the Congress. A number of problems (disarmament and détente, ecology, raw materials) were discussed at the congresses of other communist and workers' parties and were analyzed at Marxist research centers, in theoretical and ideological discussions and in the party press.

The party documents and theoretical studies elaborated some important principles of the Marxist-Leninist view of global problems, determining the communists' common approach to them and the specific tasks facing the various currents of the world revolutionary process. The elaboration of important theoretical questions arising in the consideration of these problems in the light of the tasks of the international communist and working-class movement helps to bring out the new potentialities and reserves for giving greater scope to the anti-imperialist movement, and to anticipate the fresh impulses which the theoretical, political and practical consideration of this package of problems will give the world revolutionary process.

The bourgeoisie's attempts to solve the global problems of our day to the detriment of humanity, at the expense of broad masses of working people are bound to aggravate and do further aggravate the struggle in the international arena between the forces of peace, democracy and social progress, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction, on the other, they are bound to cause a new upsurge in the class struggle in the developed capitalist countries, involving new social forces in the anti-monopoly struggle. A new line of confrontation is now emerging in the political life of the world — between the monopoly bourgeoisie, which has put forward and is conducting a self-seeking strategy for tackling the global problems, and broad international and national movements representing the most diverse social sections that want to solve these problems on a democratic basis, for the benefit of humanity as a whole. The dialogue between the communists and spokesmen for democratic movements on problems which now stir the minds of people across the globe will help the broadest segments of society to understand the social nature of these problems and also the humanistic substance of the ideals of

communism, thereby promoting the spread of these ideas among the masses.

In this context, one must recall the repeated consideration by Marx and Engels and then by Lenin of the question of the unity of the proletariat's interests and those of the human race as a whole, and of the mission of the working class to liberate the whole human race and to pave the way for creating 'for *all people* such a condition that everyone can freely develop his human nature and live in a human relationship with his neighbors' (K. Marx, F. Engels. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 263). The solution of the global problems is an important aspect of the effort to achieve this communist goal, which is at the same time of genuine concern to the whole of mankind.

The communists have the important advantage of being able to use the positive experience gained in tackling global problems under existing socialism.

The advantages of socialism in this, as in other fields, spring from the fact that its instruments and means of production are the property of the people as a whole (which makes it possible to resolve the contradiction between the purposes which the individual producer and the whole of society set themselves) and from the planned system of economic activity (which, for its part, helps to overcome the dangerously haphazard and uncontrolled economic, scientific and technical development). It is now generally recognized that any full and comprehensive solution of the global problems requires coherent and balanced action on the scale of society, and this socialism alone is capable of providing.

The advantages of socialism also spring from the goals which the new society sets itself. In seeking to provide conditions for the free and full development of the individual as history's 'end-in-itself' (Marx), it sets among the fundamental tasks the need to overcome the dangerous trends threatening humanity's very existence.

For reasons of space it is impossible to show the potentialities of socialism in tackling the whole range of global problems, which is why we shall confine ourselves to describing, as an example, the experience gained in the Soviet Union in dealing with the environmental problem, which now tends to acquire ever greater social resonance.

If the problem of the environment is to be solved the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution need to be conjugated with the advantages of the socialist economic system, so helping to build up a material and technical basis which accords with the ideals of socialism and the purposes of social production. Important tasks in this area were mapped out in the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

The USSR has enacted special legislation for protecting the environment as a whole. Relevant measures have also been provided in the fundamentals of legislation on land tenure, on water and forest resources, and on the use of the treasures of the subsoil, important principles have been recorded in the new Constitution of the USSR. Environmental protection is financed through direct and indirect investments and additional allocations are made by the state for these purposes.

Together with the improvement of the moral climate in socialist society efforts are being made to overcome the consequences of the utilitarian and irresponsible approach to nature. Concern is being shown for an ever broader range of natural resources. The scale of tasks involved in harmonizing man's links with nature are growing: at the present stage they are being tackled on the level of such mammoth regions as the basins of the Volga and Ural rivers, the Azov and Black seas, and so on.

Various other global problems are also being successfully tackled in the Soviet Union, including the development of medicine and medical facilities, new ways of combating dangerous diseases, development of the resources of the sea and the sea-bed, elaboration of the most modern and promising lines of scientific and technical progress.

Of course, while a great deal is already being done (hunger and poverty, for instance, have been abolished for good), even under socialism global problems are still a long way from being solved. Some of these will evidently lend themselves to solution only in the subsequent period, with the growth of the socialist countries' economic potentialities and of their scientific and technical potential. Other problems are such that they require not just a regional but continental or even a worldwide approach.

The experience gained by existing socialism shows that only when socialist social relations triumph on a world scale will it be possible to achieve a global, full and reliable solution to the contradictions between civilization, created by humanity, and nature, the premise and condition for its development. History, Engels emphasized, is moving toward 'the reconciliation of mankind with nature and with itself' (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 424). It will finally attain this kind of 'reconciliation' only when the whole of life is reshaped on communist principles.

However, even today, a great deal can be done on a world scale to solve the global problems and to prevent the emergence of dangerous crises, even if these solutions are partial and intermediate.

Of course, the search and discovery even of such solutions for global problems is an extremely difficult task, considering their unprecedented scale and complexity. For the first time these solutions

must be applied to the whole globe, covering every country and region. Indeed, none of these problems can be solved separately and independently of the rest: hunger and poverty, for instance, cannot be eliminated without increasing the production of material goods and foodstuffs, on the one hand, and without an active demographic policy, on the other; the solution of these problems, for its part, depends on success in the policy of détente, on disarmament which would release vast economic resources, on a change in world economic relations, and on the working of the resources of the World Ocean and outer space, which extend the natural foundations for human activity.

Qualitatively new problems defy solution by 'traditional' ways and means well honed in historical practice, and this adds a keen edge to the task of working out a qualitatively new approach which accords with the nature of these problems. With respect to the sphere of science this requires an overall approach with its methodological basis in materialist dialectics. In the field of practical politics it calls for effective and ever expanding cooperation between states and nations. It is now generally recognized that the global contradictions cannot be overcome through scattered and unconcerted action by countries (or even groups of countries), and that humanity should have one strategy to tackle them. But this strategy is being formulated for all the peoples of a world which has a varied social and class make-up, with different levels of economic, political and cultural development, and on the basis of different — and frequently opposite — ideological and spiritual tenets which express the interests and attitudes of various classes and social forces on these vital issues.

There is a sharp ideological and theoretical discussion over the formulation of common concepts of the global problems of our day and platform for joint action because of the contradictions between the socialist community and the world capitalist system, between the working class, acting in a bloc with all the progressive, anti-imperialist forces, and monopoly capital, between the developing countries and imperialism with its policy of neo-colonialist expansion.

Such a discussion is especially necessary and important on issues which carry an immediate political meaning, on the place of the global problems of our day within the system of interstate relations and the relations between different socio-economic systems, and their influence on class relations and the class struggle in the developed capitalist countries and the ideological struggle in the modern world. By adopting a clear stand on these issues that are of vital importance to the whole of mankind the communists are taking a new step forward in fulfilling their revolutionary mission of worldwide liberation.

Their first conclusion in this context is the need for international cooperation in tackling the global problems, a conclusion which is now an important argument for further developing the principles of peaceful coexistence and détente and strengthening peaceful, mutually advantageous and equal cooperation between the socialist and the capitalist countries. Leonid Brezhnev has emphasized: 'The scientific and technological revolution opens up unprecedented potentialities for the prosperity of mankind as a whole. At the same time many countries are increasingly faced with problems like those of energy and food . . . Each of these requires special attention and joint efforts by many states. But one thing is certain: lasting peace and the development and deepening of détente are an indispensable condition of success in solving all these problems.' Détente is a most necessary external political condition for any rational approach to the global problems and the hammering out of a common concept and action program that would be acceptable in the light of the current political situation in the world and the requirements of the historical perspective.

The communists are well aware of the importance of the global problems of our day for the development of positive trends in international relations and have expressed their readiness to take the most active and effective part in any global action. At the 25th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized: 'Global problems, such as primary materials and energy, the eradication of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, environmental protection, space exploration and the utilization of the resources of the world ocean, are already sufficiently important and urgent. In the future, they will exercise an increasingly perceptible influence on the life of each nation and on the entire system of international relations. The Soviet Union, like other socialist countries, cannot hold aloof from the solution of these problems which affect the interests of all mankind.'

The establishment of a system of international relations based on consolidation of détente, disarmament and mutually advantageous peaceful cooperation among states, will pave the way for a solution of mankind's future problems and for successful fulfillment of many urgent tasks of the present. As Leonid Brezhnev said at the October Revolution's 60th anniversary meeting of the CC CPSU and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR, 'In this — if one looks deeper — lies the essence of the foreign policy course that we call the course of peaceful coexistence.'

A number of important initiatives taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have already yielded some positive practical results. There is, for instance, the proposal for international treaties banning the orbiting of nuclear weapons in outer space and their

emplacement on the floor of the seas and oceans, the proposal for an agreement to ban any tampering with the natural environment and the climate for military or other hostile purposes, and proposals for a ban on the development of new weapons systems. These initial steps create the premises for further elaborating a constructive approach to the emergent global problems. The principles for solving these have been written into the Helsinki Final Act and a number of bilateral or multilateral agreements between socialist and developed capitalist countries. All of this will undoubtedly help to invigorate and develop their economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties.

Of course, such measures will not achieve a radical or comprehensive solution of global problems. Rather they will cushion their impact, and reduce their scale, so helping merely to overcome the critical stage in the development of global processes beyond which these are fraught with the danger of an uncontrolled and disastrous explosion.

'Leftist' conceptions declare any cooperation between socialist and capitalist states (even in tackling problems which are of vital importance for humanity) a betrayal of revolutionary positions and the principles of the class struggle. This is a dogmatic view, which is wrong not only for moral reasons, that is, for being inhumane, but also for political reasons, in that it leads to isolation of the communist movement from the mass international and national democratic movements now emerging as the response of broad sections of the public to the need to tackle the global problems.

It will be recalled that the communist movement has vigorously advocated broader international cooperation on global problems. The communists are in the forefront of those who are striving to deepen détente, halt the arms race and use the resources so released for peaceful purposes, including the solution of global problems. The communists are in the forefront of those who have been demanding and working to complete the peoples' national liberation, to overcome the backwardness they have inherited from colonialism, and to establish new, democratic principles for world economic and political relations. In the developed capitalist countries, the communists have been working for the adoption of effective measures to protect the environment.

This communist stand not only helps to boost the prestige of the communist movement, but — and this is especially important — provides a fresh stimulus for more vigorous action by the masses to tackle problems which are of the greatest importance for the future of mankind as a whole and which cry out for solution.

The communists' contribution to the effort to solve the global

problems — both in the socialist and in the capitalist world — is bound to grow.

Facts and figures

In the past century, humanity has increased its energy resources a thousand-fold, which has enabled it to exert an increasingly serious and far-reaching influence on nature. These magnitudes tend to grow in the course of the scientific and technological revolution. In the developed countries, the volume of goods and services double approximately every 15 years, and there is a tendency for the period to shorten. Accordingly, there is a growth in the volume of waste from economic activity which pollutes and poisons the atmosphere, water and the soil. Only about three or four per cent of the substances taken from nature is used in production, the rest being ejected into the environment in the form of pollutants and waste. In the industrialized countries, per capita extraction of substances from nature comes to about 30 tons per year, and of this no more than 1-1.5 per cent is made into consumable products, while the rest is shed as waste that frequently has a most harmful effect on nature.

Scientists have estimated that an increase in the natural background of radiation by only ten rads could lead to the birth in each new generation of six million genetically disturbed people. Data published by the U.S. National Cancer Institute on mortality from various types of cancer suggest that 60 and more per cent of cancer cases (500,000 cases a year) are caused by various carcinogenic factors in the environment.

The distinctions in the provision of conditions for human life between the developed capitalist and developing countries are extremely acute. Thus, according to official FAO reports, Western Europe alone uses 1.5 million tons of powdered milk as cattle feed, while children in developing countries suffer from acute malnutrition: according to a UNESCO estimate, 400-500 million children were suffering from hunger in 1973 (in the first half of the current decade alone, about two million people died of starvation). From 1972 to 1974, the population of 45 developing countries which were hardest hit by the economic crisis that rocked the world capitalist economy and its agrarian and raw material appendages, had about 2,000 calories per person a day, which was well below the average for the developed capitalist countries (3,400 calories).

There are now more than four billion people on the globe, and at the present annual two per cent rate of growth, UN experts believe, by

the year 2000 the population may increase to 6-6.4 billion. To feed that number of people, the globe's crop output has to be at least doubled. Meanwhile, some estimate that by 1980 the protein shortage may come to 20 million tons, and by the year 2000, to double that figure.

However, according to optimal UN demographic forecasts, population growth rate by 1985 is expected to change little: in the developing countries it could drop from the present 2.4 per cent to 2 per cent, and in the developed countries to under 0.7 per cent, or a drop for the whole world from 2 per cent to 1.7 per cent. Still, the low rate is expected only after 2075, and a stabilized population, ever later, after 2100.

The arms race started by imperialism has deprived mankind of vast amounts of energy and resources: every year expenditures on arms throughout the world come to more than \$350 billion; more than 50 million people devote their energies and talents to improving the instruments and techniques of war. This is a great obstacle to the solution of global problems. Thus, according to the Council on Environmental Quality, purification of the environment in the United States alone will cost at least \$271 billion over the next decade. Meanwhile, the arms drive has been funneling vast amounts from the U.S. national budget every year (in 1978, arms expenditures, for instance, will come to \$116.7 billion and in 1979, to \$128.4 billion). Release of these vast funds could help to normalize the economic situation in the country and would largely reduce the tensions in the world ecological situation, because the United States is the leading polluter of the world's environment.

In the Soviet Union the state's investments in environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources from 1973 to 1976 increased by 54 per cent to nearly 1.8 billion rubles, and in the four years totalled over 6 billion rubles. Direct investments in environmental protection in the current five-year period (1976-80) alone will come to 11 billion rubles.

1. Marx used this methodological principle in his analysis of labor in Chapter Five of Volume I of *Capital*.

2. This aspect of the development of capitalist culture was expressed in Marx's dictum: 'Cultivation when it progresses spontaneously and is not consciously controlled, leaves deserts behind it' (Letter to Engels, March 25, 1868).

3. See, for instance, A. Peccei, *The Chasm Ahead*. London, 1969; M. Goldman. *The Spoils of Progress: Environmental Pollution in the Soviet Union*. Cambridge (Mass.). — London, 1972; H. Rothman. *Murderous Providence: A Study of Pollution in Industrial Society*. London, 1972; J. Passmore. *Man's Responsibility for Nature. Ecological Problems and Western Traditions*. Surrey, 1974.

4. See, for instance, N. Fedorenko's article in *WMR*, May, 1977.
5. J. Forrester. *World Dynamics*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1971; D. Meadows and others. *The Limits to Growth*. New York-London, 1972.
6. M. Mesarovic, E. Pestel. *Mankind at the Turning Point*, New York, 1974.
7. *Reshaping the International Order*. Rotterdam, 1975. (The final version of this report was discussed at a Club of Rome Conference in Algiers in October 1976.)
8. Y. Kaya, Y. Suzuki. 'Global Constraints and New Vision for Development.' *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* Vol. 6, 1974, pp. 277-297.
9. *Latin American World Model*, Buenos Aires, 1974.
10. E. Laslo. *A Strategy for the Future: The System Approach to World Order*. New York, 1974; A.K. Bocast, A.J. Fedanzo, Jr. 'Goals for Global Society: Third Generation Project for the Club of Rome.' *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, Vol. 7, 1975, pp. 327-330.
11. D. Gabor, et. al. *Oltre l'eta dello spreco*. Milan, 1976.

Capitalism after the 1974-75 crisis

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Never since the Second World War has the instability and crisis-ridden development of capitalism been so pronounced as it has been in the 70s. The exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism inexorably tends to worsen the conditions in which it has to exist. It is not only the international situation that has markedly changed against capitalism. Its internal class antagonisms and contradictions have been sharply aggravated and deep-going economic and socio-political changes have taken place.

The present situation in the capitalist countries has been well described by Leonid Brezhnev, who said: 'Capitalism is ever more clearly showing that it is a society without a future. Its economy is afflicted with chronic fever. Technological progress is pushing masses of workers out of the factories on a scale that threatens to shake the entire socio-political system.'

Let us recall that the apologists of capitalism had prophesized for the 70s prosperity and extensive social reforms that would estab-

We continue the discussion of the crisis of capitalism started by W. Kashtan, in his article 'The capitalist crisis and the communists.' See, *WMR*, No. 1, 1978.

lish the superiority of the capitalist West and the 'Western' way of life for all time.

It is important to analyze the latest world economic crisis and its consequences not only because the acute contradictions of capitalism which have caused it remain, and the problem of overcoming its consequences is still an urgent one. In many respects, the 1974-1975 crisis was unusual and unique, and a study of it will help to enrich our understanding of cyclical crises and of economic cycles as a whole. Finally, without an analysis of this crisis it is impossible to draw any scientifically founded conclusions on either the immediate or the more distant prospects for the development of the economy and politics of capitalism.

It was said at the Ninth Congress of the SUPG: 'While the general crisis of capitalism is a kind of permanent accessory of capitalism at the final stage of its development and will accompany capitalism until its last days, cyclical crises come and go, as Marx discovered and history has confirmed. However, since the early 70s the specific way in which the general and the cyclical crises of capitalism are interlaced has begun to reveal itself.'

This interlacing is the reason why the crisis of 1974-1975 has turned out to be deeper, broader, more protracted and — most importantly — with more devastating consequences than any crisis over the past 40 years. It also explains why the crisis marked a sharp turn in the development of world capitalism, and why capitalist contradictions and conflicts have been tied in a Gordian knot. These antagonisms will exert a long-term effect on the development of capitalism.

New theoretical and practical problems emerge in the class struggle in accordance with the new scale of the contradictions of capitalism. These problems are due above all to the fact that in the capitalist countries the objective economic and socio-political conditions for transition to socialism have reached a high state of maturity and there is a massive and growing urge for radical change.

The specific way in which the general and the cyclical crises are interwoven is due above all to the changing *conditions in which imperialism has to exist in the mid-70s*.

These are, first, the balance of forces in the international arena which is tilting in favor of socialism as a result of the growing economic, political and military strength of the socialist community and the attractive power of socialism, which has been increasingly demonstrating its advantages, including those in the sphere of production.

Table 1
Industrial growth rate (1970=100)

	1974	1975	1976	1977 (1st qtr)
CMEA countries	140	152	164	172
Developed capitalist countries	119	112	122	126
Developing countries	135	136	147	146

Source: *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, November 1977, pp. xvi-xviii.

The changing balance of forces helps to establish in international relations the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This helps to counter the attempts by imperialism to resolve internal contradictions and crises by means of its well-tried methods, including military gambles, economic expansion, aggression against the socialist countries, and also the plunder of developing nations.

Another important factor underlying the changing conditions in which imperialism has to exist was the elimination of its colonial system, the refusal by many developing countries to adopt the capitalist way of development, and their orientation upon socialism, with the result that imperialism has been gradually losing control over the key energy and raw material resources, and is no longer able to dictate prices for many types of products on the world capitalist market. The whole mechanism of imperialist countries' state-monopoly international economic relations with developing countries is now being questioned. Under the impact of these factors the basic economic contradictions and antagonisms of the capitalist system in all the countries have been markedly sharpened.

Another specific feature of the situation is that a number of new phenomena in the capitalist economy have exerted a substantial influence on the course of the crisis and its consequences.

There are, first, the deep-going structural crises on the scale of the whole economy, including the energy and raw-material sector, the infrastructure, and key sectors of the economy like metallurgy, ship-building and construction, and the non-production sphere (education, environmental protection, public health and social security). This also includes the long-term processes of economic adaptation springing from the trend toward technological alignment and the ever sharper competition both between the centers of imperialism and between the individual countries.

Inflation has acquired a scope that is unprecedented for peace time and is becoming a constant concomitant of capitalism, operating in every phase of the cycle without exception. The crisis of over-

production, combined with the inflation that has swept across the capitalist countries, is a totally new phenomenon in the history of cyclical crises. This has especially intensified the instability of the world capitalist economy and the haphazard play of its forces. The great growth of prices has constantly disrupted the value proportions, reduced the incentives for renewing assets, and unhinged the whole credit system. The high pace of inflation has meant a rapid growth in the cost of living (COL).

Table 2

COL growth in the leading capitalist countries (per cent)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977 (1st half)
USA	6.2	11.0	9.1	5.8	6.3
Japan	11.7	22.7	11.7	9.4	9.2
FRG	7.0	7.0	6.0	4.5	3.9
France	7.4	13.7	11.7	9.6	9.4
Britain	9.2	16.0	23.1	15.8	16.7
Italy	10.8	19.1	17.1	16.5	21.1

Source: *Main Economic Indicators OECD*, Paris, for the corresponding years.

What is the effect of these non-cyclical factors when superimposed on the cyclical factors?

First, it must be remembered that the decline in industrial production was very heavy. The drop from the highest pre-crisis level to the lowest point of the crisis came to 13.1 per cent in the United States, 19.9 per cent in Japan, 10.7 per cent in the FRG, and so on. These figures reveal the heaviest paralysis of the productive forces over the past few decades. The unused production facilities, full or partial closure of enterprises, fold-up of production, destruction of goods, company bankruptcies and massive unemployment reached tremendous proportions.

Because the crisis hit the leading imperialist countries simultaneously, the capitalist countries' world trade shrank for the first time since 1945. At the lowest point of the crisis in 1975, it was down by 6 per cent, which meant a heavier drop than that of the GNP (3 per cent). Incidentally, but for the expansion of economic ties with the socialist countries, the crisis of world trade would have undoubtedly been even more devastating. The crisis and the sharpening competition between the monopolies have caused pronounced relapses into protectionism in the capitalist countries' foreign-trade policy, and this is an indication that the mechanism of the international division of labor has been deeply dislocated.

Growing unemployment has always been a concomitant of cyclical crises, and the 1974-75 crisis was no exception in this respect. In all the leading capitalist countries unemployment was rising steeply. For the first time in decades, the FRG and Japan had a period of protracted and massive unemployment and part-time employment. However, the state of the labor market was unusual because, far from petering out, unemployment spread to new contingents of working people in the recovery phase.

Table 3

Unemployment in the leading capitalist countries (1,000)

	1974	1975	1976	1977 (1st half)
United States	5,076	7,830	7,288	7,281
Japan	740	1,000	1,080	1,149
FRG	582	1,074	1,060	1,077
France	498	840	993	1,015
Britain	631	1,014	1,359	1,407
Italy	997	1,107	1,183	1,446

Sources: *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, November, 1977, pp. 17-20; *Allgemeine Statistik: Monatsbulletin*, Luxemburg-Brüssel, for the corresponding years.

A characteristic feature of the 1974-75 economic crisis was the sharp disruption of reproduction processes owing to the rapid growth in the prices of oil, raw materials and foodstuffs. The politico-economic causes of the energy, raw-material and food crises are rooted in the deep-going change in the relations between the erstwhile imperialist metropolitan countries and the developing countries.

Table 4

Growth of world export prices (1970=100)

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977 (2nd qtr)
All raw-material commodities	125	180	308	302	311	347
including:						
foodstuffs	122	175	232	219	215	250
mineral raw materials	131	173	473	494	510	552
oil	143	196	641	651	681	743

Source: *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, November, 1977, pp. 160, 162.

The crisis also brought out the uselessness of the instruments available for the state-monopoly regulation of the economy. None of the long-term, medium-term or short-term forecasts of the market outlook, none of the programming, or the 'concerted action' yielded the desired results and all were invalidated by the haphazard sway of the forces of the capitalist economy.

Another feature of the 1974-75 crisis was that the crisis phenomena spread from the economic sphere to the political sphere more rapidly and more directly. The political instability of the bourgeois society was intensified in view of the economic and social instability, the sharpening of the class struggle and the continued polarization of classes. The internal political situation continues to be unstable and the bourgeois-parliamentary system can no longer function as it once did.

All these phenomena drive home the fact that the 1974-75 crisis was not an ordinary, 'normal' cyclical crisis, but had run beyond its framework. The 'classical' function of crises is temporarily and partially to reduce the disproportions which have built up in the various units of the economy and to restore the balance between production and consumption. This the latest crisis did only partially and less decidedly than had earlier ones.

Although by 1976 most capitalist countries had already moved into the recovery phase, and industrial production in the leading capitalist countries and world capitalist trade had reached or even surpassed pre-crisis levels, the effects of the 1974-75 crisis are still being felt.

In contrast to earlier crises, this one failed to spur investment for the expansion of production, to help overcome the structural crises and the food crisis, or to eliminate the crisis in the capitalist international division of labor. Analysis shows that the knot of contradictions and conflicts is bound to exert a profound influence on the economic, social and political development of capitalism over a fairly long period, in the course of which capitalism seeks to adapt itself to the new conditions.

In the course of the 1974-75 crisis, and even more markedly after it, a number of new aspects appeared in the bourgeoisie's tactics, reflecting the long-term strategic plans of the monopoly bourgeoisie designed to preserve and further consolidate its positions and power, and to boost profits. The working class and its political organizations have to reckon with these plans.

These new aspects are connected above all with the fact that profit-making and monopolization processes have acquired a new international scale. The industrialized countries' monopolies have derived unprecedented benefits from the turnover of their capital on the basis of a rapid growth of profits, which rose to record heights

during and after the crisis. This applies primarily to the monopolies operating in automobile-making, chemicals and electrical engineering, that is, those which belong to monopoly groups that are in one way or another involved in the military-industrial complex. Even according to official data, in 1976, the profits of U.S. industrial corporations went up by an average of 29 per cent. In the FRG, the total amount of dividends paid out by joint-stock companies increased by DM3,000 million. The profits of 100 leading industrial corporations in the FRG rose from a total of DM44,700 million in 1975 to DM 54,300 million in 1976.

The monopolies largely derive their astronomical profits from state subsidies, which run to billions of marks, from their tough measures to rationalize production and management, and from their arbitrary pricing. Growing control of economic activity by the leading monopoly banks is highly important in boosting profits. From 1974 to 1976, the concentration of production and capital was sharply accelerated by the leap-frogging centralization of capital and takeovers of weaker rivals. There was a marked growth of monopolization even in sectors of the economy where small and medium enterprises made up a relatively large share. In that period, the number of mergers in the FRG came to an average of 406 a year, which was 50 per cent higher than the 1970-73 figure (259). The number of bankruptcies (an average of 8,760 a year) was nearly double, as compared with the 1970-73 period (4,682).

The intensified monopolization springs from the urge to adapt the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation on a national and international level to the new conditions. Medium-term activity was started to develop the infrastructure and conduct a structural policy. Together with the monopolies, the state framed programs designed to provide incentives for developing advanced technologies and manufacture goods for export, and effected the merger of some private-monopoly and state enterprises into mixed state-monopoly corporations. At the same time, growing importance attaches to the measures and institutions whose task is to tackle definite problems in energy, raw materials, employment, inflation, and so on.

Because the capitalist countries are in a state of close economic interdependence, the 'vital interests' of international imperialism require their bourgeoisie to act together in resisting the spontaneous development of crisis processes and the consequent social conflicts. This is an expression of the trend, which Lenin noted, toward the formation of a 'common alliance of the imperialists of all the countries, which is natural and inevitable for the defense of capital which knows no nationality,' and which 'continues to be the basic economic trend in the capitalist system' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 367).

The concentration of production and capital on an international level have assumed unprecedented proportions: 650 major industrial corporations (with assets in excess of \$1,000 million) now control 60 per cent of the capitalist world's trade (with at least one-third of the volume consisting of inter-corporate deliveries), while four mammoth international monopolies account for 10 per cent of these monopolies' total sales. In Western Europe concentration has made the greatest inroads in metallurgy, oil refining, and the manufacture of aircraft and semiconductors. The monopoly use of the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, notably in micro-electronics, also helps to step up the concentration of production and capital. As cyclical phenomena increasingly interweave with the general crisis of capitalism, there is growing unevenness in the development of the monopolies, with constant shifts in their hierarchy and emergence of new contradictions between the leading multinationals. But the sharply increased price the monopolies have to pay for taking risks under scientific and technical progress forces them to seek agreement and compromise. The bourgeoisie has tried to 'regulate' class relations, partly through its policy of 'coordinated action' or 'social contracts' (FRG, Britain, Sweden, Austria and Denmark), and partly through economic programming (France, Italy and Holland).

The trends toward more intense state-monopoly regulation on the national and international levels will produce an even greater diversity of instruments, which largely tend to undermine each other. In this way, the contradictory combination of regulation and free play of market forces, which is inherent in state-monopoly capitalism, is provided with fresh impulses and forms of movement. Regulation on an international scale, which the leading imperialist states above all seek to practise, is an attempt to adapt to the new and higher stage of private-monopoly internationalization of economic life, which is determined by the expansion of the international monopolies. But this kind of regulation will not help to overcome the dualism of this international monopolies and the related contradictions.

The current movement from the phase of crisis does not at all mean that the interlacing of the aggravated general crisis of capitalism and the cyclical development of the capitalist economy is a problem that has been left behind. There is more than a mere and relatively unprotracted coincidence in time of the general and the latest cyclical crises of their interaction. Indeed, this is a fundamentally new-scale phenomenon, whose influence tends to spread not only to the new economic cycle that has begun, but further, to the economic development of capitalism as a whole. That is why, I believe, there is every reason to consider the *present situation as a turning point*, and

to identify qualitatively new features in the economic, and consequently, the political and ideological development of capitalism.

Because of the all-pervading interlacement, the new economic cycle is taking shape with great difficulties and at a slow pace. The pull-out from the crisis is protracted and is marked by instability, and punctuated with stagnation and even substantial declines. Growing instability is perhaps the definite feature of the present situation. However, we do not in any sense underestimate the fact that in the first half of 1977 gross national product increased 5 per cent, industrial output, 6 per cent, and foreign trade, 8 per cent. Capitalism undoubtedly still has considerable economic potentialities, but the exit from the crisis is being constantly slowed down by crises in the key industries (steel, textiles, shipbuilding, construction), by the unemployment which has risen to record heights, by the unprecedented budget deficits, by the distortions of the trade and payments balances, by the continued inflation and by the chaotic state of the capitalist world's monetary system.

Of course, this is not the first time that growth and crisis trends have run simultaneously under capitalism but the characteristic thing about the present cycle is that the complex long-term crisis factors have exerted an unusually protracted effect and have even partially intensified, and this has distorted the mechanism of the cyclical crisis. That is why there is such a contradictory patch-work of measures in the leading capitalist countries designed to find a way out of the crisis. One could well agree with the view expressed by some Western politicians and bourgeois economists that the outlook for the world capitalist economy will differ from that of, say, the 50s and 60s, when there was substantial growth that made some social stability possible.

According to our estimates, the rate of economic growth, and especially of industrial growth, will most probably fall short of the *rates of the 50s and 60s*. The 1974-75 crisis fulfilled its 'classic' function only in part, without producing the stimuli for a more potent upswing. In addition, many factors which helped to step up the growth rate in those two decades have ceased to exert an effect.

While demand for the means of production has been somewhat intensified in the recent period (notably in the United States and the FRG) we expect a *much lesser revival* of private investment, especially to expand fixed assets, as compared with earlier cyclical recovery phases. Considering that the loading of production capacities has already frozen at a relatively low level, the growth of investment into the expansion of capacities, if it takes place at all, is bound to lag behind investment into improvement of production, or so-called rationalization.

During the 1974-75 crisis, and especially after it, great efforts were already being made in the industrialized capitalist countries to bring about something like leap-frogging advances in scientific and technical progress and to make utmost use of its achievements in production, so substantially modifying its structure. The technical reconstruction of whole industries, chiefly through the installation of the latest electronic and computer hardware, has consistently increased their production capacity. Thus, in 1976, 7.2 per cent more goods were turned out in the FRG with a labor force that was 2.5 per cent smaller. That year, output per man-hour in manufacturing rose as follows: United States, 5 per cent; Japan, 13 per cent; FRG, 7 per cent; France, 12 per cent; and Italy, 7 per cent. In the FRG, output per worker employed rose 17.3 per cent in chemicals, 17.7 per cent in computers, and 12.8 per cent in electrical engineering.

This is evidence of state-monopoly capitalist attempts to recoup to the utmost the losses in profits from the declining industrial output growth by making production more efficient, intensifying production processes and, above all, by intensifying the exploitation of the working people. This indicates a change in the conditions for the capital reproduction under the impact of scientific and technical progress under capitalism. Rising labor productivity, above all, in the growth industries, has naturally entailed intensified exploitation and sharpening of the socio-political crisis. The bourgeoisie intends to continue burdening the masses at home with the costs incidental to its efficiency schemes and to the crisis.

Capitalist-type rationalization means a steady reduction in the number of jobs. The new development for capitalism is that, even according to official data, unemployment in the recovery and even in the boom phase is higher than it was at the lowest point of the crisis. Chronic unemployment, resulting from the over-accumulation of capital, a fold-up of production, its 'rationalization,' structural shifts in the economy and the advancing process of monopolization,* is yet another permanent feature of capitalist development. This naturally means a drive on the rights of the working class and all the other working people, a drop in real wages and a rise in the intensity of labor.

The bourgeoisie has only one recipe, whether it is faced with a cyclical crisis or a chronic conflict, and that is to step up exploitation through rationalization, exert pressure on wages, effect massive sacking of workers and employees, attack their social gains, and make political and ideological attempts to bring about a 'final' integration of the working class within the existing system. Besides, claiming the

* In 1976, more than one million jobs were lost through bankruptcies only in the United States, FRG, Britain and Japan.

need for economic expansion and attainment of higher economic efficiency, monopoly circles have been pushing the bourgeois state into more active and effective participation in the process of capitalist reproduction, cut-backs in outlays for social needs and tax increases. The government's policy goes hand in hand with the drive by monopoly capital to change the balance between accumulation and consumption within the national income and to modify the structure of its use *at the expense* of the masses.

Meanwhile, capitalism is still faced with the grave problems of inflation and the monetary crisis. In the future, the rate of inflation may well fluctuate and even temporarily decline, but the growth of prices will remain a *constant factor* of life in capitalist society which determines its political and social atmosphere.

The state debt is a problem that is closely connected with the problem of inflation. The revenues of even the most 'solid' budgets of imperialist states have long run well below their expenditures under such well established traditional heads as subsidies to companies operating in industries which are 'unprofitable' for private capital, sizable tax privileges for the monopolies and military spending. That is why, despite the promises made by the incumbent governments and the bourgeois parties in opposition to reduce the state debts of the capitalist countries, one may well expect these to *continue to grow*. The imperialist states look to higher mass taxes and curtailment of the socio-political rights and freedoms won by the working people. State finance is increasingly becoming one of the chief spheres of social and political conflict.

The crisis of the international capitalist division of labor is bound to continue to be a factor determining the development of capitalism for some time to come, because of the persistent contradictions between world imperialism, represented by the leading imperialist powers, which refuses to be reconciled with the loss of its positions in the Third World, and the urge of most developing countries to win political and economic independence.

The mounting inter-imperialist rivalry and competition *tend to revive* the practice of state-monopoly protectionism (which appeared to be an anachronism). Clashes between the capitalist countries in the trade and monetary spheres continue to be extremely sharp, producing new knots of contradictions arising from the growing conflict between the transnational corporations and the bourgeois states, the sharpening competitive struggle between the monopoly giants, and the clash between the private-monopoly urges and the interests of capitalism's international economic system as a whole.

One of the most visible consequences of the economic instability of capitalism is the drawn-out crisis of its political domination and the

mounting contradictions between capitalist society's socio-economic policy and the interests of masses of people and the requirements of social progress. The extensive reform programs, loudly advertised some time ago by the social-democratic and social-liberal governments, which were to have 'reformed capitalism,' proved to be a fiasco. Making use of the crisis, the monopolies exerted strong pressure on the governments and got them to fold up the costly programs. The social-democratic governments' political base has been narrowed down by their unpopular measures. Some ground has been created for shifts to the right in the attitudes and stand of some sections of the population, including the working people.

Meanwhile, the working class, beating back the monopoly drive against the working people's social and democratic rights and the trade unions, has invigorated its struggle. In the 1971-75 period, an annual average of 11.8 million working people in Western Europe were involved in strikes, and in 1976, 15.8 million. Consequently, the bourgeois state's economic and social policy, as an expression of state-monopoly regulation, is increasingly becoming an arena of class conflict. An important political outcome of action by the working people is that the sizable cuts planned by the monopolies in the working people's real incomes have been frustrated. Other social gains have also been in the main preserved.

There is no doubt that the bourgeoisie continues to be an experienced and strong adversary of the proletariat and all the other working people. In its efforts to cope with the crisis, the bourgeoisie has maneuvered and constantly changed its tactics. But, of course, all its activity has been concentrated on efforts to fortify its positions and reduce the urge of the masses for socialism.

The interlacing of the deepening general crisis of capitalism with its cyclical development, now a constant factor, signifies that new conditions have arisen for the struggle of the working class, its vanguard and its allies. The content and results of the class battles fought in the recent period show that the working class increasingly reckons with the new conditions.

In the long term, the development of the crisis processes, combined with monopoly capital's anti-popular strategy could jeopardize the gains of the masses and their rights and freedoms. That is why so much importance attaches to the struggle of the masses, with the working class and its vanguard playing the leading role, for radical changes in social relations.

Existing socialism continues to be their strongest ally in this struggle. Its objective influence in political, economic and social terms is tremendous. The balance of forces, which has been tilting in favor of

peace, democracy, social progress and socialism, is actively influencing the class battle in the capitalist countries, and in some countries helping to extend the real potentialities for a drive by the working people to curb the power of monopoly capital in the economy and politics, and to find a democratic way out of the crisis.

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Brazil: mounting struggle of the masses and isolation of the dictatorship

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Important new features have emerged in the present complex and contradictory situation in Brazil. To understand them, one must consider the current events in the context of the fundamental changes in the world balance of forces, the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the concurrent advance of socialism, against the backdrop of the celebrations attending the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the massive victories won by the peoples in the struggle for liberation, and the continued spread of the process of détente.

In the case of Latin America the turning point was the victory of the Cuban revolution. Confronted by this historic event the United States was forced to revise its policy toward the Latin American countries and the direction of this policy has now become extremely variable. First there was the Kennedy 'alliance for progress' experiment. After its scandalous failure the United States switched to encouragement of, and direct participation in, reactionary military coups, which were regarded as a means of checking the Latin American revolutionary process. The 1964 putsch in Brazil, like the putsches that followed it in Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile, constitute a new phenomenon. In former times their purpose was only to replace the isolated oligarchic group currently in power, with another, similar group. But since 1964 these putsches have acquired a different, essentially counter-revolutionary character. Their aim has been to save capitalism at least for a time, to bar the road to socialism and impose on our countries 'strong regimes,' in other words, fascism.

It is in this context that the policy of the new U.S. administration should be considered. The major reverses in Asia and Africa, the repercussions caused across the world and among the American people themselves by the policy of isolating Cuba, all have put on the agenda the search for a new 'image' for the United States, particularly in its relations with Latin America.

It is not in doubt that the changes that have occurred in U.S. government policy since President Carter took office have exerted and continue to exert a certain impact on Latin America. While not abandoning the use of force, the Carter administration is acting much more flexibly. It resorts to various maneuvers and is at present banking on bilateral relations between the USA and each Latin American country. This policy certainly differs from that of Kissinger, who tried to select one country on each continent and influence the others through that country. In the policy of the new American administration there are some positive aspects. Among these should be listed the first steps in establishing relations with Cuba, and also the reluctant 'concessions' to the Panamanian people for the solution of their pressing problems. But at the same time Carter tries to make capital out of such slogans as 'defense of human rights,' quite obviously directing his maneuvers mainly against the socialist countries. These maneuvers, however, have generated some hopes in the liberal and democratic circles of Latin America. President Geisel of Brazil has made full use of Carter's posture to launch a demagogic and chauvinistic campaign designed to present himself as a defender of independence and national sovereignty, and his government, which has opened the country's doors to the imperialist monopolies and is serving them, as a defender of national sovereignty.

As a statement of the Central Committee of our party, adopted in March 1977, declared, 'the criticism of cases of violation of human rights in Latin America is nothing but a provocatory measure aimed at masking the anti-Soviet nature of the campaign launched by the Carter administration.'¹ Subsequent facts have confirmed the demagogic character of the U.S. government's policy toward Latin America and particularly Brazil. As we know, Carter was not ashamed to shake hands in the White House with the bloody tyrant Pinochet. Carter's proposed visit to Brazil will signify support for the military-fascist regime that oppresses our people. The facts are dispelling any illusions about Carter's Latin American policy.

In reality American imperialism continues to use force in defending the interests of its monopolies, which are threatened by the upswing of the national-liberation and anti-imperialist struggle on our continent. This struggle, as the Latin American communists stated at the June 1975 conference in Havana, is the crucial factor in the Latin American situation.

Ever more forcibly the ruling circles and monopolies of the United States are being made aware of the need to stem the tide of anti-imperialist struggle on the continent. This is why they do not draw the line at using such weapons as the reactionary putsch and the imposition of new fascist regimes. Such examples are to be seen in the

threats directed at Argentina, where the working people and other broad strata are stepping up the struggle against the fascization plans devised by certain reactionary groups in the service of the CIA. Peru and other countries are also under strong pressure from fascist groups encouraged by the CIA. This impells the working people and all progressive social circles to rise in defense of their democratic gains.

The new and important features in the present Brazilian situation have deep roots in a process that has been developing since the military coup 14 years ago.

The dictatorship imposed on Brazil was spearheaded against the patriotic and democratic movement, which had been forging ahead, and particularly against the working class and its vanguard. Fierce attacks were launched against the interests of the working class. The dictatorship interfered in trade union affairs and passed laws banning strikes. The trade unions were treated as corporations under the control of the government, which after 1964 created a typical police state. Wages were frozen and real incomes considerably reduced. By means of this anti-labor policy the dictatorship succeeded in reducing the rate of inflation.

The regime's repressive policy was also directed against the as yet immature trade union movement in the rural areas. The repressions in these areas led to the physical destruction of the main leaders of the agricultural workers' unions. On top of this, immediately after the putsch more than 5,000 officers and sergeants were discharged from the armed forces. All the well-known and authoritative leaders of the trade unions and political parties were deprived of political rights and any opportunity of pursuing political activity.

After 1968, with the help of foreign monopolies, big banks and American capital, a relatively high GNP growth was achieved. Such industries as metallurgy, electronics and chemicals developed at a fairly impressive rate.² But all this was brought about by brutal exploitation of the working class and intensive penetration by foreign capital. The industrial boom was dubbed the 'Brazilian economic miracle.' However, the 'miracle' proved short-lived, lasting only five years, until 1973.

By 1974 the country had entered a period of crisis. Inflation soared again and the trade deficit increased. This was due to the penetration of foreign capital and the expenditure of considerable funds on the purchase of equipment abroad. The limited internal market was too small to absorb the flow of industrial goods and the Brazilian economy became export-oriented.

Although the Brazilian 'miracle' had been achieved through exploitation of the working class and denationalization of the economy, it also had its positive side. Along with the large enterprises a new

proletariat came into being that had a more clearly defined class consciousness and had been stripped of all illusions concerning capitalism. The end of the 'miracle' and the escalation of inflation were marked by a substantial increase in resistance to the dictatorship on the part of the masses. Though deprived of its right to strike (striking is now treated as a crime), the working class took every opportunity of expressing its dissatisfaction and fighting for its rights, including the right to strike. This showed up particularly during the 1974 elections to parliament and the 1976 municipal elections.

In an attempt to curb opposition the dictatorship took a number of measures: all political parties were banned in 1965; in 1968 the so-called Institutional Act No. 5 was passed, giving the dictator unlimited powers, such as had never been enjoyed by any government, even the most reactionary, since Brazil's winning of independence in 1822. Our party has defined the existing regime as military-fascist. Of course, we understand the big differences between the neo-fascism imposed today and Hitler's nazism or the fascism of Mussolini. This is a fascism that tries to hide its essential nature under various forms of bourgeois democracy. But basically it is still the same old fascism, which was defined long ago at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, that is, the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary elements of finance capital, particularly in this case American finance capital, which dominates the major branches of the Brazilian economy.

As we have already noted, the dictatorship uses certain forms of bourgeois democracy to camouflage its essential nature. It has even gone as far as periodically replacing one dictator general with another. The present incumbent is the fourth and he will be followed by a fifth selected by a group of other generals connected with the Pentagon.

Proceeding from the basic propositions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and our own experience of 1935, when the National-Liberation Alliance was set up to combat emergent fascism, our party has defined the present regime as fascist and called on all patriots and democrats, whatever the ideological, philosophical or religious differences between them, to unite in a broad anti-fascist and patriotic front. This front is in the process of formation. It is, however, encountering great difficulties in rallying all the forces opposed to the dictatorship, mainly because of the massive blows that have been struck against our party and that impede its activities.

Having dissolved the political parties, the dictatorship set up two political groupings: the National Alliance for Renewal (ARENA), the government party, and the only permitted opposition party in the shape of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB). This opposition grouping is made up of politicians who did not or do not want to

discredit themselves by adopting a posture of open support for the dictatorship.

The communists urged the working class and all working people to use the elections held by the regime as a weapon of protest by voting against the candidates of the grouping that forms the political base of the dictatorship and creating a majority for candidates of the opposition. Since only two political groupings have the opportunity of taking part in the elections, the communists cooperated with the MDB, which advanced an essentially democratic program. We urged the people to vote for its candidates and directed the efforts of the communists toward giving real support for the opposition party in its election campaign. We realized that many MDB candidates differed little from candidates of the official ARENA party and did not deserve our trust. But the main thing was to unite the opposition forces and inflict a defeat on the dictatorship.

Our party's position proved correct.

At the 1974 elections the people, the working people and particularly the working class, turned the poll into a weapon of protest, and the defeat of the dictatorship in the big industrial centers was indisputable. This was the biggest blow to the regime since 1964. The elections revealed the opposition to the dictatorship on the part of the working class, the democratic and progressive forces of our country. In 1976 there were municipal elections at which, despite massive restrictions, the working class again showed that it was opposed to the dictatorship by voting against the government party candidates. The much publicized government victory was achieved in the most backward areas. In the industrial centers and big cities, on the other hand, the candidates that had completely associated themselves with the regime suffered defeat.

The year 1977 showed that discontent is growing among the people. The process of rallying the anti-dictatorship forces is going ahead faster than in the previous three years. Not only the working class, but also the rural workers — the poorest peasants and agricultural laborers — express their dissatisfaction and swell the struggle for the land and against the evictions by the big monopoly enterprises, which as capitalism penetrates ever deeper into the countryside grab the land that for decades has been worked by small farmers, the *posseiros*. Despite the threats of police and mercenaries in the pay of the big bourgeoisie and the monopolies, the peasants are keeping up the struggle.³

One of the results of the resistance of the workers and the broad masses to the dictatorship has been a change in the position of the Catholic Church of Brazil. Before the 1964 putsch the church was probably our worst enemy. It had actually campaigned for the putsch

under the banner of anti-communism and secured the social base for the putschists. Later, however, sensing that it was beginning to lose its influence over the masses and trying to prevent this, the church was obliged to take a stand against the dictatorship. Today it is fighting for democratic freedoms, the release of political prisoners, a general amnesty and constitutionalization of the country. The Catholic Church is also showing an interest in the fight for a better standard of living for the working people.

And it is not merely a matter of separate groupings, but of the majority of the Catholic hierarchy — bishops and cardinals. The clashes between the church and the dictatorship are becoming sharper. In 1977 the National Episcopal Conference of Brazil passed almost unanimously (210 votes out of 213) a message sharply criticizing the policy of the dictatorship and its doctrine of national security. This stand taken by the majority of the Catholic Church facilitates our struggle, particularly the struggle against arbitrary arrests, torture, kidnappings and assassination of political prisoners. Meetings of progressives are even being held in the churches.

The expansionist character of the Brazilian dictatorship in the political, economic and military spheres must be stressed. Today (acting, of course, as an intermediary of the big monopolies, primarily the American monopolies) this dictatorship is already trying to impose its influence on its neighbors — Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia. The Brazilian police interfere in their affairs and they are subject to various forms of pressure by the Brazilian dictatorship. This is quite obvious from the example of the building of the Itaipu dam and power station.

As has become known (thanks to the protests of the communists and broad sections of the public of a number of countries), the Brazilian government was able to impose its terms on Paraguay because Brazil financed the Paraguayan section of the dam's construction. This puts Paraguay in fee to Brazil for the next 50 years and makes it an object of exploitation. Moreover, the Brazilian dictatorship is simply serving as an intermediary for the big international banks. The connection between the building of the dam and increased dependence is so obvious and in such glaring contradiction to the interests of a fraternal people that the protests are mounting steadily.

One of the features of the Brazilian dictatorship's expansionism is its military expenditure, one of the largest in Latin America. Brazil already has a highly developed war industry based on up-to-date European and American technology and is buying large quantities of war materials abroad. The biggest threat to our people and the peoples of the neighboring countries is the nuclear agreement with the German Federal Republic. It provides not only for the construction of

reactors, but also for West German firms to supply Brazil with technology for uranium enrichment and the use of plutonium.

From the outset our party warned that this policy was not, as President Geisel had claimed, purely for peaceful purposes. It could ultimately make Brazil capable of producing an atomic bomb. Many technical experts and physicists did not grasp this fact at once, but today the majority of Brazil's physicists have revised their positions. At a congress organized in 1977 by the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Science they issued a protest stating that since the signing of the agreement the threat of an atomic bomb being built in Brazil had substantially increased. Despite the posture of the American government, which would appear to be opposed to Brazil's getting technology for uranium enrichment and the use of plutonium,⁴ the agreement still stands. American banks are financing this \$10,000m. project, which means a corresponding rise in Brazil's foreign debt, already one of the biggest in the world.

In 1977 the Geisel Government used Institutional Act No. 5 to suspend Congressional activity for 15 days. This move was connected with the approaching parliamentary elections and the opposition in Congress to the passing of constitutional amendments aimed against the judicial and executive power. Thanks to the suspension, the government was able to write the amendments into the constitution. This is a highly significant fact. Usually, it is the other way round. In order to amend the constitution and pass new laws, Congress assembles. In Brazil, however, it is suspended by a dictator who, wielding supreme power, dictates the law as he wishes. Previously a two-thirds majority in both chambers of Congress — the Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate — was required for any amendment to the constitution. But the amendments introduced last April have made a straight majority sufficient. So, relying on the parliamentary majority of the ARENA group, President Geisel can now do what he likes with the constitution. He can even incorporate Institutional Act No. 5 and other repressive legislation.

However, these actions of Geisel's have aggravated the situation. Popular discontent is mounting. The student movement is more vigorous than ever before. Despite Decree No. 477, which bans student activity in the universities, the whole student movement today is active in politics. Students use the slogans advanced by our party: support for the program of building an anti-fascist and patriotic front, fight for democratic freedoms, repeal of emergency laws and institutional acts, release of political prisoners, a general amnesty, better living standards for the working people, a peaceful foreign policy and development of relations with all countries. Today these slogans are gaining a response across the country.

The lawyers of San Paolo, a bourgeois section of the population, have published a document that questions the legality of the dictatorship since the present government is not supported by the people.

The Brazilian Democratic Movement, which used to represent only a group of politicians, has since the 1974 and 1976 elections become a mass party enjoying the support of the people. At its last national congress, despite disagreements and its mixed make-up, the MDB came out unanimously in favor of returning the country to constitutional standards and the calling of a constituent assembly. Many businessmen, feeling the consequences of the dictatorship's policy of playing up to the monopolies, have also advocated putting the country back on a constitutional basis and protested against the present arbitrary rule. Every day sees fresh evidence of the isolation of the dictatorship.

However, the communists cherish no illusions about the dictatorship's being on the verge of collapse. At the CC plenum, in March 1977, the communists could state only that the country is on the eve of major changes, and that these changes may act in either direction, because the dictatorship is still capable of launching a counter-attack and does so at every opportunity.

The Brazilian Communist Party is still working in very difficult conditions, although it has considerable experience of underground work. For only two of its 56 years (1945-47) has the party been able to operate legally and in those years it was the acknowledged political party of the working class. Then came another long spell underground. For a little over six years, 1958-64, the party was semi-legal.

Despite this long experience and the efforts made by our Central Committee, by the whole party to maintain vigilance and use new methods of illegal work, the truth is that these methods, adopted by various sections of the party, beginning from the CC, were not adequate to the new devices employed by the repressive agencies, backed up by numerous American advisers and experts. It should also be remembered that when Geisel came to power he unleashed a campaign directed mainly against our party and its leadership. In 1974 and 1975 heavy blows were struck against our party and its Central Committee. Half the CC members were arrested, many were tortured, nine of them disappeared without a trace. In the face of repression and violence aimed at physically destroying the party's leaders, the BCP Central Committee passed a decision that the most prominent members of the party leadership should leave the country. This enabled the Central Committee to reorganize all its activity on a new basis. Today the CC is again guiding the party, through its central organ, the newspaper *Voz operaria*, and taking all the neces-

sary measures to rebuild our party rapidly and swell its ranks with representatives of the working class.

The present situation is complicated by the fact that the President is due to be replaced in 1978 and all 'full' generals (and others besides) are now considered possible candidates for the presidency. Rivalry between them is growing. The resignation of the Minister of the Army is a symptom of the crisis brewing in the armed forces. We are well aware of the composition of the armed forces in Brazil. Officers and sergeants are usually of petty-bourgeois origin. In Brazil, owing to the annual inflation rate of 50-60 per cent, this petty bourgeoisie is experiencing the same process of appalling impoverishment as the working class. This forced the government, under pressure from the masses, to raise the minimum wage as of May 1, 1977 by 44 per cent. But the purchasing power of this increased wage amounts to barely 40 per cent of the minimum wage in 1958.

Besides replacement of the President, which is decided on by the armed forces command, it has been proposed that there should be parliamentary elections. One-third of the Senate is to be re-elected and another third will be appointed by the new dictator. Nevertheless we communists consider participation in the elections important for the working class and all the working people, who will in the course of them put forward their demands, including political demands. We see this as one of the ways of inflicting a defeat on the dictatorship and promoting the democratic process despite the measures imposed by Geisel in 1977. Obviously, in a crisis situation everything will depend on the development of subsequent events.

The fate of a dictatorship isolated from the masses and possessing such a restricted social base is causing American imperialism some concern. Its own interests are affected by the existing situation and it is no accident that a group of American and Brazilian sociologists has proposed an obviously demagogic scheme for a 'democratic way out' and 'democratic solution' for Brazil. This is symptomatic.

Confronted with the threat to its own interests and with the growing isolation of the dictatorship, American imperialism, which bears the responsibility for imposing fascism, is studying the possible maneuvers that could help Geisel to find a bourgeois solution for fascism. But such a solution is hard to come by. Because of the poverty to which the working class and people of Brazil are doomed, the bourgeoisie, the monopolies and imperialism fear the proletariat most of all. They are afraid that the slightest concession in the direction of freedom may spark off an explosion that will create an undesirable situation for them.

Hence Geisel's maneuvers toward compromises calculated to delay any genuinely democratic solution in line with the people's demands.

These demands include: restoring constitutional standards, repeal of all repressive legislation, beginning with Institutional Act No. 5, release of all political prisoners, a general amnesty, lifting of the censorship, freedom to form parties, including legalization of the Brazilian Communist Party, direct elections, including presidential elections, and the calling of a constituent assembly in an atmosphere of complete freedom. Instead of this Geisel is seeking ways to split the MDB, which is now the focus of nearly all the forces opposed to the dictatorship. Measures are being taken to set up a social-democratic party for the purpose of splitting the working class.

This is the actual situation in our country. We are confident that we shall survive this fierce and grueling battle. We are convinced that the working class, which is rallying the working people, the whole people to the struggle under the leadership of its vanguard, the Communist Party, will smash fascism.

In the struggle against fascism in Latin America we attach great importance to the role played by international solidarity. We do everything we can to show our solidarity with all the fraternal peoples, particularly the peoples of Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti and Puerto Rico. Moreover, one must not forget the role assigned by imperialism to the fascist dictatorship of Brazil in the plans for maintaining its domination of Latin America. It must be borne in mind that despite the Carter administration's new policy of achieving bilateral relations, the role U.S. imperialism has assigned to Brazil remains significant. Brazilian fascism represents a threat not only to our people's life and future, but also to the security of all neighboring peoples.

Imperialism senses that in Latin America, as never before, the actual situation is close to that described by Lenin in a well-known definition, namely that, once having begun the struggle for national freedom, the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries will go on to fight the very foundations of the exploitative system.

1. *Voz operaria*, April, 1977, Edicao Extra.

2. Large-scale enterprises employing 10, 15 or 20 thousand workers were set up. The Volkswagen plant alone currently employs 38,000.

3. According to official statistics, more than 400 clashes between the peasants and hired thugs or police have been registered in the past five years. In the course of these clashes 200 peasants and agricultural workers have been killed and more than 200 injured.

4. In November 1977 the U.S. government, which had previously opposed the sale of West German equipment for Brazilian atomic power stations and uranium enrichment plant, decided to approve deliveries of nuclear fuel to Brazil for a reactor built by the U.S. itself. The alleged justification for this decision was that it accorded with the interests of the U.S. in the sphere of 'joint defense and security' of the two countries. — *Ed.*

Right-wing forces' policy doomed to fail

Domingos Lopes

Representative of the
Portuguese CP on the journal

The fall last December of the Socialist one-party cabinet, the protracted government crisis which followed and, finally, the formation of a new government under an agreement between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Center (SDC) evoked diverse judgments, responses and comments in Portugal and abroad.

Let us recall that the previous Socialist government fell when all the parties rejected the resolution on a vote of confidence which it put before the Assembly of the Republic. To understand why this happened, one has to analyze the policy pursued by the Socialist Party, and the attitude to it taken by the working people and their party, the Portuguese Communist Party.

The policy of the Socialist Party's government, which, in effect, relied on the right-wing forces, was aimed above all to eliminate the revolutionary gains. To do this, the Socialist Party and the government sought support from the big capitalists, the owners of the great landed estates and foreign imperialism, hoping that they would provide the force that could help to make the working people bear the brunt of the results of the policy of capitalist restoration. As an ideological screen for this policy, they urged the need to ease the political atmosphere, that is, to make concessions to the right-wing forces so as to mollify them. In order to justify their dangerous steps to the right, the government and the Socialist Party frequently referred to the 'threat' of a counter-revolution.

In the new democratic Portugal this policy met with organized resistance from the working people of town and country, who, far from supporting it, resolutely rejected it entirely in all its aspects.

The policy of restoring the economic power of the capitalists, the big landowners and the imperialists failed to solve any of the national problems. On the contrary, it merely aggravated these. Application of the law on the basic principles of delimitation between the private and public sectors would have put the management of one-third of the nationalized enterprises into private hands. Besides, the law contained legal loop-holes for setting up banking establishments in the

private sector, which clashes with the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

The adoption of the law on the payment of compensation was a foul affront to the working people. The law provides for the payment of billions of escudos to the big monopolists and landowners, and puts the working people in conditions in which collective labor agreements have been blocked, the prices of the basic foodstuffs and clothing have gone up, and transport fares and rent have been increased. Last year, inflation came to 30 per cent.

The notorious Barreto Act, which is more widely known as the counter-reform law, would have, if implemented, done away with the agrarian reform as it was put through by the rural working people, and the small and middle farmers in Alentejo and Ribatejo. For the benefit of big landowners, the Socialist government passed a new law on agricultural lease-holds, under which about 200,000 tenants were forcibly expropriated and driven off the land.

The policy of regularly seeking foreign credits, succumbing to the demands of imperialism, notably, during the negotiations with the International Monetary Fund, and also the policy of restoring the economic power of the capitalists, the big landowners and the imperialists have brought Portugal to the brink of economic and financial bankruptcy. The balance of payments and trade deficits have grown disastrously. Imports have risen. The situation has been further complicated by the devaluation of the escudo.

The PCP has not confined itself to condemning this policy, which is suicidal for the Socialists as a democratic party. It has repeatedly put forward concrete proposals and indicated constitutional ways of pulling out of the crisis within the framework of democratic institutions, as it did at an economic conference in June 1977 and at its CC plenary meetings on July 31 and October 24.

Because of the need to protect the gains of the revolution, to take into account the pace of development in each of the economic sectors (state, private, cooperative and self-administered sectors), to respect the citizens' freedoms and abide by the Constitution as the fundamental basis of the country's life, the PCP has urged the working out of a democratic, patriotic and national platform by all the social and political forces as an alternative to the policy of the Socialist minority government. While urging such a platform, the PCP has also insisted on the need for an alliance of the communists and the socialists.

The facts show that the fall of the Socialist government in face of broad discontent among the masses signifies the collapse of its policy of returning property to the capitalists and, consequently, the failure of the Socialists' one-party rule formula, which is actually connected with the right-wing forces. The facts also show that any democratic

party must realize that reaction is insatiable, and that no matter how many concessions are made, it will always want more.

To this very day, the offensive mounted by the right-wing forces and the Socialist minority government has not, in effect, abolished the revolutionary gains or split and disorganized the working-class movement and, in particular, the trade union movement. The working class, the other working people, and all the progressive and democratic forces (among whom the PCP enjoys considerable influence) have pulled back in an organized manner to defensive positions along the main lines of struggle for the agrarian reform, nationalization, workers' control and democratic freedoms. In that period, the unity of the working class has grown stronger. The congress of all the trade unions was a success and evoked a broad response throughout the unitary trade union movement, which has markedly enhanced its influence. Over the past year, elections were held in 111 trade unions, with joint lists winning in 83 of these. Altogether this represented more than 80 per cent of the working people in these trade unions. In the course of the elections, followers of the Socialist Party and right-wing and ultra-left forces were replaced in the leadership of almost 30 trade unions by those who advocate the unity of the trade union movement. The general confederation of Portuguese working people — the National Intersindical — now represents the overwhelming majority of the organized working people. The Carta Aberta (Open Letter) splinter group* does not have the leadership of a single working-class trade union, and in the service sphere its influence has sharply declined. It was used in the game as a trump card and was beaten.

Despite the danger latent in the Barreto Act the working people in the collective producer units and the agricultural cooperatives have strengthened their ranks and consolidated their alliance with the small and middle farmers. During the various demonstrations, rallies and strikes in defense of the agrarian reform and for boosting output, the agricultural workers and the small and middle farmers forcefully expressed their determination to stand up for the agrarian reform, one of the most valuable gains of Portuguese democracy.

In the north and center of the country the class organizations of small and middle agricultural producers have been strengthened for the defense of their interests that are threatened by the policy of the Socialist Party's government, which is supported by the Catholic SDC and the right-wing Social-Democratic (the former People's Democratic) Party (SDP). The influence of the reactionary parties and

*This trade union group, set up in 1976 and linked with the Socialist Party, is also allied with the right-wing and ultra-left forces and seeks to split the unity of the country's trade union movement.

the local bosses is declining. The new agricultural least-holds act, which has been approved by the Socialist Party, the SDP and the SDC, infringes the interests of hundreds of thousands of tenants, who have no legal protection against the rich landowners. Here again we find a trend toward a strengthening of the democratic camp. There has been a growing number of associations of small and middle farmers, and more trade unions have been set up by agricultural workers in these areas.

The influence of the democratic forces has been strengthened throughout the country, and this applies especially to the PCP, the working people's party. Convincing evidence of this comes from the success of the 'Defend the April Gains' campaign to win new members for the party. This was a call issued by a plenary meeting of the PCP Central Committee on July 31, 1977, which set the task of winning 10,000 new members for the party by the end of 1977. The number of new members was nearly three times as large. At a meeting held to mark the end of the campaign, the PCP announced that 27,000 men and women had joined its ranks from August to the end of December.

Over the past year, the working people demonstrated a high level of political consciousness and readiness to get down to the country's genuine economic revival, which it so badly needs, by mustering efforts on a national scale. The mammoth demonstrations held on May Day across the country (over one million persons), in Lisbon on June 22 (almost 200,000), at Porto on November 18 (100,000), in Lisbon on November 19 (almost 400,000), in Braga on November 25 (25,000) and elsewhere passed judgment on the Socialist government's policy. The working people thronged the streets to demand observance of the Constitution, to defend the agrarian reform, to stand up for the demand to boost production, to say 'no' to the policy of millions in profits for the capitalists and landowners, and the policy of poverty for the working people, and to say 'no' to the efforts to restore the power of the capitalists, the big landowners and the imperialists.

The PCP stand on the vote of confidence cannot be regarded outside the context of the whole of its earlier policy and of its struggle against the right-wing forces, and for a platform that would formalize the existence of the various economic sectors, that would consolidate civil liberties and would entail observance of the Constitution.

In order to avoid a disaster, it was imperative that talks should be started among all the forces wishing to preserve the democratic system. The PCP gave a positive reply to the government's proposal for negotiations. In the course of these, it became possible not only actually to draw the standpoints closer together on many of the

problems dealt with, but also to conclude the relevant agreements. It was the government and the Socialist Party which refused to do this and came out against the signing of a clear-cut and concrete agreement, and against any real drawing together on the various issues. It was the government and the Socialist Party that broke off the talks.

The PCP showed very clearly that it would decide its attitude to a vote of confidence in the light of this principle: under no circumstances to retreat from the defense of the vital interests of the working class, the other working people and the Portuguese people as a whole. The PCP could not regard the April gains as bargaining counters. It waited until the last minute before taking its decision. Until the last minute, the Socialist Party, far from showing any desire to modify its stand, actually declared that it would continue its old policy.

The Socialists and the right-wingers did their utmost to push the PCP, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, into a position that would enable them to induce the working class and the other working people to accept the policy of capitalist restoration. The PCP has repeatedly and solemnly declared that it would not leave the Socialists to act at their discretion, and that they had the duty urgently to change the policy which was directed and supported by the SDC and the SDP (all the major measures adopted had the support of the right-wing parties in the Assembly of the Republic), and which ultimately failed. The rightists capitalized on the fact that conditions had taken shape for a drive for power, for pursuing their own policy or participating in a sharing of power and isolating the Socialist Party as a democratic party.

A PCP vote for confidence in the Socialist government would have undoubtedly implied its consent to induce the working class to adopt the idea of social partnership and the idea of capitalist restoration. That is why the PCP's vote of no confidence in the government was not an anti-socialist stand, but expressed condemnation of the Socialist Party's anti-popular and anti-democratic policy.

World imperialism and some social-democratic circles in Europe were aware that mutual understanding among the two major democratic parties could remove the Socialist Party from the sphere of their influence. It was feared in the capitals of the imperialist powers and the headquarters of internal reaction that the Socialist Party would commit the 'crime' of establishing mutual understanding with another democratic party — the Communist Party — in defense of freedom and democracy and for genuine economic revival. That is why they heaved a sigh of relief, when this did not happen.

During the negotiations with the government and the debate in the Assembly of the Republic, the PCP emphasized the need to continue

the dialogue, regardless of the results of the vote. The Communist Party left the door open for a continuation of the talks. An agreement on the basis of defense of the revolutionary gains would have been a major victory for the democratic forces. The achievement of an agreement that the Communist Party could have signed would undoubtedly have been a fact to rejoice in and not to regret at a time when reaction and imperialism were trying so hard to isolate and weaken the PCP and all the other left forces. However, the Socialist Party refused to accept the PCP's proposals and to formulate them as at least a minimum guarantee of revolutionary gains. It was ever more obvious that the Socialists intended to conclude an agreement with the Social-Democratic Center on the basic issues, and to carry on negotiations with the Communist Party in the most general terms to give its alliance with the SDC a leftist coat of paint and so to damp down the dissatisfaction within its own ranks and to confuse the working-class movement.

The new government will be unable to solve the complicated problems facing the country and to take it out of the sharp social and economic crisis. The SDC's participation in the government will intensify the most negative aspects of the former cabinet's activity, will create a danger of an even further swing by the Socialist Party to the right, and pose fresh dangers for democracy. The patent contradiction between the Socialist Party's program and its electoral commitments, on the one hand, and the SDA's line, on the other, is bound to aggravate contradictions both within the Socialist Party and within the government itself.

The communists, aware of the danger facing the Portuguese revolution, urge the masses of the working people to strengthen their unity and intensify their struggle to frustrate the plans of reaction.

February 1, 1978



Against racism, anti-communism and neo-colonialism

Henry Winston, *Class, Race and Black Liberation*. International Publishers, New York, 1977, 242 p.

In this collection of essays the National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States of America continues his attack on new ideological underpinnings of monopoly capital's system of exploiting U.S. working people and its attempts to chain them to capitalism. As in his earlier work, *Strategy for a Black Agenda*,* Henry Winston also addresses this book to the general task of enhancing the class consciousness and political awareness of the multi-racial working class.

In this work, however, Winston explores more deeply the inter-relationships of the ideologies of racism, anti-communism and class partnership. He views these ideologies as key weapons in the monopolies' arsenal for maximizing profits through the division and subjugation of the working people and the super-exploitation of nearly fifty million racially oppressed Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and Native American Indian peoples. He explains how struggles against these reactionary ideologies intertwine with and are obligatory for struggles to salvage the people's hard-won living standards from the rapacity of the monopolies, to win equality for the racially oppressed, to defeat the monopolies' growing threat to even the limited freedoms in the framework of U.S. bourgeois democracy and human rights, to extinguish the remnants of colonialism and counter the new tactics of neo-colonialism, and to stabilize and expand the turn to international détente.

Moreover, throughout his sharply polemical argumentation, Winston elaborates a strategy for the renovation and reconstruction of U.S. society through the formation and development of a 'people's alternative to monopoly domination through its two-party system. This alternative — a mass party based on the leadership of the multi-

* *World Marxist Review*, February 1974.

racial working class within the framework of a great anti-monopoly formation — is the only strategic alternative to racism, repression, poverty and war; it is the strategy for linking the fight for the “urgently required solution to the immediate problems of daily life” with the fight for the future revolutionary transition to socialism.’ (pp. 182-183).

Winston’s first polemic, ‘The Moynihan-Kissinger Doctrine,’ critically assesses the political concepts designed to lock 25 million U.S. Blacks into a form of apartheid and strengthen U.S. monopolies’ control of ‘third world’ countries. Recalling that the Johnson, Nixon and Ford Administrations pursued these policies, he singles out former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Daniel Moynihan as the main exponents of their rationale.

In the mid-1960s Moynihan attributed the deprivation and oppression of U.S. Blacks to ‘the deterioration of the Negro family’ and characterized the Black community as ‘a tangle of pathologies,’ recommending a national policy ‘directed toward the question of the family structure.’ (p. 3). This pseudo-scientific racist doctrine, says Winston, ‘placed the blame for their intensifying problems not on the oppressor but on the victims,’ ‘absolved monopoly from responsibility for Black inequality,’ (pp. 1-2) and ‘identified the results of oppression as the cause of oppression.’ (p. 3).

However, as Winston noted, these fallacious concepts influenced other apologists of U.S. imperialism, such as a bevy of contributors to the special bicentennial issue of *Fortune* magazine,* which serves as a think-tank for U.S. monopolies. More importantly, they provided U.S. governments with an alibi for refusing to carry out a program of affirmative actions to eliminate Black inequality while implementing affirmative measures to help the monopolies dictate prices, taxes, employment and military policies which are increasing Black inequality.

Similar illogic characterized Moynihan’s performance in the United Nations, where he called the alliance of socialist and developing countries opposing the imperialists’ looting of Third World countries a ‘tyranny of the UN’s new majority.’ Absolving imperialism from responsibility for the underdevelopment of these countries, the former U.S. representative to the United Nations advised them to ‘let bygones be bygones,’ and extolled the multinational corporations plundering their resources and exploiting their working people as ‘the creative alternative to totalitarianism’ (p. 25). Moynihan’s laudatory words for the multinationals reflected a main line of U.S. imperialist

* *Fortune*, April 1975.

policy, as Kissinger made clear at the Seventh Special Session of the UN. Winston summarizes Kissinger's thought as saying: 'The under-developed countries' "access" to monopoly's technology and capital would depend on their submission to "one of the most effective engines of development — the transnational enterprise".' (p. 39).

Winston rounds off this analysis with a polemic against a 'refinement' of this racist doctrine by Moynihan, co-authored with Nathan Glazer, in a Harvard University publication. In this work, ethnicity among the numerous U.S. ethnic groups is counterposed to their class differentiation as a strategy for fragmenting the working people along ethnic lines and pitting white ethnics against the racially oppressed minorities. Winston exposes the kinship between U.S. imperialism's racist aims and Maoist ideology and practice.

Today the Carter Administration has another Secretary of State and another Ambassador to the UN, and their rhetoric is designed to be more acceptable to the U.S. Black masses and the peoples of the developing countries. But the Moynihan-Kissinger doctrine still forms the substance of U.S. monopoly capital's strategy for the continued subjugation and super-exploitation of the U.S. Black masses and the working people in developing countries.

In successive chapters Winston resumes his polemic against mistaken views of U.S. Black theorists. Their views are seen by Winston as diverting the U.S. Black masses from struggle against their real oppressors, the monopolies, and as accommodations to U.S. imperialism's neo-colonialist strategy in Africa. Present-day requirements of U.S. Blacks necessitate struggles of the united multi-racial and multinational working class against the growing institutionalization of U.S. forms of apartheid. The precondition for the solidarity of the African nations in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, which is the only path to consolidating their independence, is the exercise by each African nation of its right to self-determination.

Winston explains why theories that view U.S. Blacks as an 'internal colony,' call for the development of Black capitalism in the USA, and advocate identical strategies for U.S. Blacks and the African peoples, actually serve the aims of U.S. monopoly capital against both.

Thus he shows the error of Lerone Bennett, historian and contributor to *Ebony* magazine, who propagates the primacy of skin-color over class as the unifying force for Black liberation. He shows Bennett's call for the 'unification' of the African peoples as contradicting the right of each to self-determination (see p. 72).

'Today,' Winston says, 'advances toward liberation are at an entirely new stage, because the liberation movements are linked with

the world class struggle — at the center of which is the multi-racial, multinational working class in power in the socialist community' (p. 71).

The views of another Black writer Imamu Baraka, exponent of 'Ujama — collective or cooperative economics' who has recently characterized himself as a 'revolutionary communist,' are shown to be adaptations of Maoist thought to U.S. and African conditions. Baraka's advocacy of a go-it-alone policy for U.S. Blacks places on them the main responsibility for the anti-racist struggle, whereas Marxism-Leninism stresses a special responsibility to this struggle of the white component of the multi-racial working class, the prerequisite for forging a coalition of the oppressed and exploited (p. 94).

Another exponent of erroneous views, Robert L. Allen, editor of *The Black Scholar*, denies the basis for unity of the multi-racial working class, alleging that white workers have a stake in racism. This view, says Winston, again is the primacy-of-race-over-class theme, which presupposes that there is no antagonistic contradiction between white workers and the white monopolists. It denies the class struggle and is a no-struggle approach (pp. 104-105). Only the monopolists have a material stake in racism. And monopoly's power is only as great as the divisions in the working class — the result of racism and anti-communism (p. 110).

Roy Innis, director of the Congress of Racial Equality, whom Winston calls a 'recruiting sergeant for neo-colonialism,' and others propagate the 'internal colony' theory. Winston exposes the fallacy of this concept by means of a comparison with the U.S. imperialist colony of Puerto Rico. His analysis of the distinction is alone a significant theoretical contribution.

The polemic against the ideas of Martin Kilson, professor of government at Harvard University, is a timely argument for a national policy of affirmative action in education for Blacks and other long deprived minorities. The point is that enrolment of Black students in universities is now under attack as 'reverse discrimination' and infringement of the rights of whites. Kilson serves the advocates of discrimination by demanding an end to admitting ghetto youth to 'élite' universities and attacks the 'politicization' of Black youth. Winston defends the aim of Black students to use the university for advancing Black liberation, instead of pursuing the 'individual success' solution that monopoly permits for token Blacks (p. 161).

Winston reserves his last chapters for elaborating the unifying strategy and policies required to build a mass people's party as an alternative to monopoly's two parties of racism and reaction, the Democratic and Republican parties. The thrust of his argumentation is directed at theories that deny the leading role of the working class,

and particularly that of the industrial front-rank workers, in the building of such an alternative. Such views, he shows, are basically racist, since they would exclude from leadership of a mass people's party the more than 10 per cent of the Black population who now work in the most strategic section of the national economy — steel, mining, auto, transportation, i.e. 'three million Black front-rankers' (p.232).

'Today,' Winston says in conclusion, 'with the increasing ascendancy of the world socialist system, imperialism merges anti-communism and racism ever more closely in its efforts to stave off extinction' (p. 232).

These are the targets of this book by the National Chairman of the CP USA. The reader will find in each chapter essential information, historical interpretation and closely reasoned arguments, and inspiration for the global struggle against racism, neo-colonialism and anti-communism.

John Pittman

Carriers of danger

On George Kennan's book *The Cloud of Danger*.¹

The debate on American foreign policy, or as one of the debaters, Professor Ronald Stupak² of Ohio State University, has put it, the reassessment of the conceptual bases of U.S. foreign policy, is still going on. Currently it focuses on the question of détente, the battle between its advocates and adversaries, between those who, though not welcoming socialism, realize the inevitability of coexistence of the two opposite social systems, and those who refuse to accept the prospect of living peacefully with the new social system.

Naturally enough, the dividing line between these two camps, both belonging to the same class, is not always clear, and it is often made even less clear by the process of political diffusion on both sides. But the conflict is there and, importantly, it is every bit as intense as in previous years.

Evidence of this intensity is readily available. One has only to consider the actual political struggle both in and out of Congress, the stream of comment in the press and on television, and the numerous works flooding the American book market. Among the contributions to this plethora of publications, which vary greatly in quality, there are some highly influential and interesting works. And George Kennan's *The Cloud of Danger* figures prominently among them.

The first thing about this book is that it graphically reflects the mood of the moderate liberal wing of American bourgeois political thought. Secondly, it panoramas international relations, taking in a very wide range of questions of United States policy toward many countries and regions of the world, and particularly the USSR. And finally, it tries to tell us what interests the United States has in these regions and to outline the policy that the author believes should be followed.

But first a word about the author, who deserves special mention because he himself, as an individual, is one of the reasons for the interest shown in the book. The patriarch of American bourgeois foreign-policy thinking, one of the major representatives of the school of so-called 'political realism,' George Kennan held various posts in the State Department, was ambassador to Moscow and Belgrade, and won renown as a 'Sovietologist.' He is a professor of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton and founder of the Kennan Institute in Washington for the Study of the USSR. He has authored many books that have helped to shape U.S. policy toward the socialist countries, or at least interpreted the history of these relations. As has often been the case with American statesmen and scholars, Kennan has had a startling evolution, from being one of the main inspirers and architects of the official U.S. anti-communist doctrine of 'containment' to criticism of the doctrine.

Such, then, is a brief political profile of the author of a book whose central message is that the driving force of the vast, enormously complex and, as he writes, infinitely dangerous arms race may get completely out of control and bring destruction on us all either through the proliferation of nuclear weapons or simply by accident. This is the situation that Kennan describes as a stormcloud of danger threatening the world.

How does Kennan explain the appearance of this cloud, the negative reaction of some people to détente, the rapidly and dangerously mounting spiral of weapons development in the United States, and the revival of the old hysterical cry that Americans themselves have so often ridiculed, 'the Russians are coming?'

Before summarizing Kennan's view on these questions it should be stressed that the author regards relations with the socialist countries and particularly with the Soviet Union as the central problem of U.S. foreign policy.

It is natural that in analyzing American-Soviet relations Kennan should deal with the policy of détente. Although he is somewhat sceptical about the term itself and gives a very unusual explanation of the reasons for its success, he does admit that to many people 'détente' signifies a general change in Soviet-American relations — a

basic turning of the corner, distinguishing this phrase of the relationship from all that had gone before.

Discussing the reasons for the negative attitude of some U.S. circles to the policy of détente, Kennan writes that these are mainly psychological, arising from the failure on the part of the American public to understand the true nature of détente, a kind of self-delusion or self-hypnosis. The USSR and the USA have concluded agreements in certain 'specific' and, as he puts it, 'limited' areas, but the USSR has made no promises in other areas not covered by the respective agreements. Some people in America, however, have decided that these accords mean that the USSR has undertaken not to help other countries and has even agreed to start running Soviet society on the principles obtaining in capitalist countries. Such aberrations, writes Kennan, have been happily seized upon by a 'varied but numerous and vociferous band.'

Kennan is obviously right when he says that in urging peace and détente and concluding agreements with the United States the Soviet Union has never undertaken to reduce or restrict internationalist assistance and support to the peoples fighting against imperialism and for their national and social emancipation. One can hardly agree, however, with his description of Soviet-American relations as 'limited,' particularly when discussion centers on a document like 'The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the USSR and the USA.' Similarly, even if there were psychological grounds for the atmosphere of anti-Soviet hysteria in the United States (and for this there was a solid foundation, laid by American imperialism throughout the years of the cold war), this hysteria was based on the interests of identifiable and powerful forces. And Kennan himself in other chapters of his book shows the actual political forces that are trying to block détente — the business circles craving for contracts and profits, the military and others whose long-standing dream has been to see the overthrow of the socialist system in the USSR, the people whose stock of political trade is anti-communism, and finally the bosses of unions whose workers are employed in the war industry.

At the same time, as one reads Kennan's book one is also able to identify not only the political forces but, even more importantly, the patterns of thought that threaten to reverse American foreign policy, to divert it from the realistic road and lead it up a blind alley. For decades now the American ruling class has been unable to solve at least three fundamental problems: the problem of the arms race; the correct assessment of the role and importance of the United States for the rest of the world or, to put it differently, the value of what has become known as the Pax Americana and which, in the words of William Fulbright, is based on the 'arrogance of power'; and finally

the problem of defining its attitude to socialism as a social system.

All these three problems are closely interconnected and no one is surprised to find Kennan constantly returning to them and examining them from all angles. He begins by analyzing the internal conditions which, he thinks, seriously restrict the U.S. ability to act effectively in foreign policy. The main restricting factor, Kennan writes, is the military-industrial complex with its annual budget that has long since passed the one-hundred-billion-dollar mark, with the purchases of military hardware running well over \$30 billion per annum, to which should be added some \$10 billion more for arms aid and sales to other countries. The constantly escalating arms budget has long since become what the author calls a national-economic addiction that has put down deep roots in society. The gigantic scale of this phenomenon cannot be justified.

Kennan says it is particularly unjustifiable because the so-called threat from the Soviet Union, which the supporters of the arms race use as their pretext, springs from the imagination, not reality. He states that the myth of the Soviet threat is 'one of those dreadful stereotypes, built of over-simplification and exaggerated apprehension' (p. 124). What is more, the Westerner simply cannot trust the information on Soviet military might that is dinned into his ears by the capitalist press and conservative politicians. Even if it were true, Kennan writes, that the United States was dropping behind the USSR in armaments, the reason for this would turn out to lie less in the pace and dimensions of the Soviet effort than in the wildly increasing expensiveness of America's own armaments. There is no doubt, at least among American experts, the author states categorically, that the constantly mounting arms expenditure has powerful inflationary effects.

Kennan describes the principle of 'first use' as shameful and profoundly immoral. Its champions are hypocritical as well as cruel. Those who are committed to the principle of first use of these weapons against the East European countries, he writes, seem to think as if the people there — old folk, children, women, all those for whose rights so much concern is shown in the West — are less prone to suffering or pain than their counterparts in the capitalist world.

As for Soviet aggressiveness, 'the Russians,' observes, 'have known no Vietnams in recent years,' a fact testifying to a restraint which Americans can scarcely claim for themselves. Ever since the Korean war, he continues, the Soviet Union has been faced with an American-NATO defense establishment, which has ringed the USSR with missile bases in Western Europe, Greece, Turkey, Okinawa, Korea and many other parts of the world. Kennan notes the enormous scale of the American naval presence in all oceans. He recalls that

the United States actually passed and has never repealed the so-called Captive Nations Resolution, which commits the United States to the overthrow of communist power everywhere in Russia and Eastern Europe. Concerning American arms sales to some of the countries on or near the borders of the USSR, Kennan wonders what some Congressmen would say if the USSR started selling weapons on a similar scale to, say, Mexico. And, he adds, one should never forget the revanchist forces in Western Germany. 'To understand the reactions of the Russians, we must credit them with a much longer memory than that of the Western press.'

If we go back over recent history and consider the scale of the internal and particularly the economic problems that the Soviet Union is coping with, he writes, any apprehensions of a Russian quest for 'world domination,' which has been used to justify appeals for a totally negative, hostile and militaristic attitude toward the Soviet Union, have little substance behind them. Foreign policy, Kennan says, begins at home. But this is 'a lesson which many people in our country have been slow to learn.'

In an analysis of the general approach on which U.S. foreign policy is based Kennan criticizes, somewhat obliquely, the American politicians who still dream of an 'American world,' a world patterned on the United States of America, and those who despite the criticism and disillusioning realities of recent decades are still convinced that what is good for America is good for the world.

The American journalist Louis Bromfield³ once observed that it is a typical feature of Americans to measure everything foreign by American standards, that most of them believe they do things better than anyone else, that they are richer and therefore better and stronger than the rest of the world. By popularizing this 'point of view' with its worship of individualism and brute force, capitalist propaganda has not only implanted imperialist notions in the mass consciousness; it has also quite cynically and unashamedly exploited such primitive 'truths' as might is right, played up ideas that date back to the days of the Wild West, multiplied and corrupted them, and ultimately applied them to international relations.

Kennan condemns such prejudices, elevated to the status of official policy. 'Those Americans who profess to know with such certainty what other people want . . . would do well to ask themselves whether they are not actually attempting to impose their own values, traditions, and habits of thought on peoples for whom these things have no validity and no usefulness' (p. 43). Urging acknowledgement of the fact that there are strict limits to U.S. influence on the course of world events, he advises 'the enthusiasts for American world leadership' to take a more modest approach (p. 4). The United States, he writes, can

only become a model if it first sets its own house in order by dealing with crime, inflation, unemployment, the spread of pornography, press dependence on advertisement, and so on.

To give him his due, Kennan has written about such things before and thoroughly documented the case for his point of view.⁴ The truth is no less true for being repeated and it is not surprising to find Kennan again examining U.S. policy toward different countries and regions of the world from this standpoint in his new book.

He advises that the Panama Canal should be given back to Panama, diplomatic relations with Cuba resumed, and in general that Latin America should be 'left alone.' Kennan thinks that the United States 'does not have the answers' to Africa's problems. They are not essentially American problems and Americans should therefore maintain 'a wise and impartial reserve' (p. 79). In Asia, with the exemption of Japan, which the author considers 'the cornerstone' of American policy in the Far East, the U.S. has 'no vital interests' (p. 92). But one particularly dangerous thing, Kennan writes, 'is the view that we should "tilt" our relations with China against the Soviet Union — should try, in other words, to make use of China as an instrument for the advancement of our interests, and the reduction of Soviet ones, in the Soviet-American relationship. I find it difficult to say how strongly I disapprove of any such suggestion' (p. 106).

Of course, there are people in the U.S., he writes, who still have dreams — strangely old-fashioned dreams, right out of earlier decades, but if the Americans really want to avoid catastrophe and if they seriously intend to realize what the author calls the great constructive possibilities of the Soviet-American relationship, it would be better to find other, more solid and more positive ways of improving relations with the Soviet Union than by trying to play China off against it.

Soviet-American relations are the central theme of Kennan's book. His advice is that they should be regarded as a serious political problem, which has its military aspect, although that aspect is secondary.

The United States, he explains, cannot make its goal 'the overthrow of Soviet power,' or (and this sounds like an implied polemic with the concepts of the President's National Security Adviser) 'bringing about a fundamental change in its nature' (p. 216). The United States is confronted with the rather difficult task of finding a way out of the labyrinth of its own problems and creating conditions within the country with which the Americans can profess themselves satisfied. As regards the Soviet Union, the task is not to destroy it or make it into something else, but to find means of living side by side with

it and dealing with it, which serve to diminish rather than increase the dangers that confront us all.

This statement, however interpreted, condemns the U.S. imperialist concepts of overthrowing, undermining or 'eroding' the socialist system. This is perhaps the most important, the most essential aspect, and yet, as we shall see, the least consistently argued of Kennan's points. Ambivalence, contradictions, reservations on this question are to be found on literally every page of his book.

On the one hand, Kennan favors treating the socialist countries and particularly the USSR as bona fide participants in international life. He objects sharply to discriminatory measures in U.S. trade policy toward the Soviet Union. His arguments may be summarized as follows: the idea of winning political concessions through trade is based on the supposition that the United States does not need trade for economic or financial reasons. But this, in Kennan's view, is a profound misconception. What is more, such a position would mean that in trading with the Soviet Union the United States was making a noble gesture, for which the other side should pay the going (market) price plus a political price. Kennan describes this attitude to the question as unsound and, in any case, impracticable.

He also rejects another notion cherished by high-ranking figures in the President's present administration — wide-ranging support and use of the so-called dissidents. He writes that in the United States one sometimes hears appeals to make 'the treatment of dissidents the decisive touchstone of Soviet-American relations, if necessary to the detriment of progress in other areas of the relationship' (p. 214). But for one thing, as he rightly remarks, for the Soviet Union 'this is probably not as much of a problem as the American press would have us believe' (p. 184). Secondly, many of these dissidents are 'often the merest children when it comes to the understanding of international relations' (p. 226). And thirdly, it is painful, Kennan writes, to see prominent and influential congressional figures sitting humbly at the feet of visiting dissidents who have little concern for the interests of the United States or even for the peace of the world. To sum up, he concludes, support of dissidents is an obstacle in dealing with the problem of setting up normal relations with the Soviet Union (p. 218).

When one reads these statements by Kennan one cannot help feeling that many of them go straight to the point. All the more strange, then, to find on other pages statements that directly contradict what has gone before. In discussing the dissidents, for example, Kennan declares that as long as there continue to exist the conditions 'of which we are being daily reminded by the foreign press corps in Moscow' (?!), there will be, and must be, limits beyond which Soviet-American relations cannot develop (?!).

In the same way, while condemning the arms race in principle, Kennan declares that the NATO forces deployed in Western Europe play a stabilizing role. More, he goes even further in trying to belittle the significance of détente. In contradiction to elementary logic and the facts he himself has provided, he tries to prove the peace-seeking continuity of U.S. foreign policy. He would have us believe that détente does not go beyond the long-established goals of American policy with the exception of the period of the cold war in the early 50s. At the same time he tries somewhat belatedly to deny his own role in the formation of the aggressive U.S. foreign policy by declaring that he personally was always actively opposed to such a policy.

However, anyone who is in the least familiar with the history of American-Soviet relations is well aware that the whole postwar strategy of United States foreign policy has been bound up with the threat of the use of force. To this one can only add that all the postwar foreign policy doctrines of the United States, beginning with the doctrine of 'containment' of communism and 'liberation' of the peoples of the socialist countries, through 'flexible response' and 'bridge-building' right up to the present 'human rights campaign,' have been aimed at undermining socialism, at 'eroding' the socialist system.

As for Kennan's role in shaping such policies it must be remembered that it was certainly not a Soviet diplomat or statesman who produced one of the first doctrines of the cold war, the doctrine of 'containment.' Its author was George Kennan.⁵ To justify this policy, Kennan tried to shift the blame for the unleashing of the cold war on to the Soviet Union.⁶ In so doing, as the American historian C. Lasch tells us, he set the tone of the historiography of the cold war.⁷

Subsequently Kennan was compelled to admit the failure of this unrealistic approach.⁸ In fact, he also admits this in his book, which contains plenty of instances when the new Kennan argues against the old Kennan.

And yet, as we read *The Cloud of Danger* we cannot help reflecting on the fact that for many decades now the declarations of many prominent American statesmen and public figures, including some Presidents, have either overshot or contradicted their actions.

Not many people in the U.S., today officially proclaim the idea of an 'American world.' But there are still some influential people and forces who are guided by this wild notion in their practical dealings.

Today a growing number of American businessmen and politicians reject the idea of overthrowing the socialist system by military means of subverting it by various other means. Yet even today there are still a good many influential people in the United States who think in terms of a Western refusal to recognize the equal and 'legitimate' existence

of the socialist world with its own socio-political system and way of life.

Kennan's *The Cloud of Danger* brings this out well enough. By accident or design its author reveals numerous symptoms of this old and deep-seated disease of American society. Not for nothing does one recall the words of another patriarch of American foreign-policy thinking, Professor H.J. Morgenthau: 'If one should characterize American foreign policy in a sentence, one could say that it has lived during the last decade or so on the intellectual capital which was accumulated in the famous 15 weeks of the spring of 1947 when the policy of containment, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan fashioned a new American foreign policy, and that this capital has now been nearly exhausted. . . . These policies have become obsolete, and the United States has been unable to devise new policies capable of dealing successfully with the issues of a different age.'⁹

These words were written nine years ago. Much has changed since then. Détente has come into international life, important agreements have been signed. But the attacks on the policy of détente, the numerous attempts to force a sharp change of course indicate that the thought expressed by Morgenthau has lost none of its impact today. The only alternative is to face up to the political realities, to be realists.

Michael Jurgens

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