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features

A pact for peace and a pact for aggression

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Alternate Member of the Political Bureau,
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The anniversary conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw on May 14-15, 1980 advanced a number of new initiatives to improve the international political climate, give a fresh impulse to détente, and reinvigorate the efforts to end the arms race.

At approximately the same time, May-June, sittings of NATO executive bodies in Brussels, Bodö (Norway), and Ankara passed decisions aimed at further escalating the arms race and heightening international tension, thereby increasing the threat of war.

This re-accentuates the diametrical difference between the policies, aims, and class nature of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

I

Bellicose aggressiveness has been part and parcel of NATO ever since its inception. In the Soviet Foreign Ministry statement on the North Atlantic treaty it was noted that the pact was designed for aggression, for the unleashing of another war. More than 30 years have passed since then. Many classified documents have now become public, and they fully bear out that assessment.

Let us recall what those times were like. Intoxicated by its monopoly of the atomic bomb, the Pentagon got down to planning Operation Dropshot entailing 300 nuclear strikes against the Soviet Union. The accumulation of an atomic stockpile whetted Washington's bellicose fervor. The inflamed imagination of the imperialist strategists saw a vision of an easy nuclear victory.

The NATO bloc's organizers claimed it was a regional collective self-defense pact. But what had self-defense to do with it when nobody intended to attack either the USA or the other NATO members? The invention about a 'Soviet threat' brought into circulation by Churchill's Fulton speech was designed to justify the formation of a closed imperialist alliance and its war preparations.

The NATO architects have themselves acknowledged time and again that the talk about an attack by the Soviet Union has no leg to stand on. Paul-Henri Spaak, who was NATO Secretary-General, declared in May 1957: 'God is witness to how many times I have spoken of my aversion for the communist regime and Soviet foreign policy. But I do not believe that the Soviets are systematically getting ready to fight another world war.' John Foster Dulles, father of the doctrines of 'rolling back' communism and 'balancing on the brink of war", admitted: 'Most well qualified persons are inclined to feel that there is no imminent danger of the Red Army's being marched out of Russia against Western Europe or Asia in a war of aggression.'

What then is the purpose of NATO and the policy of stockpiling armaments pursued by it from the very outset?

The answer is provided by the pronouncements of many imperialist politicians and by official documents and practical actions. What the NATO architects had in view was to gain a military advantage and use the U.S. atomic monopoly of those days to impose their will on the Soviet Union.

George F. Kennan, the well-known American diplomat and publicist, testifies that a 'concept of NATO's purpose might be called the cultivation of military strength as a background for an eventual political settlement on our own terms and without the necessity of compromise.' Military leaders were more blunt. British Air Marshall John C. Slessor wrote that the West should make it plain that it was prepared to fight if its vital interests were threatened, that in the last resort it would not stop short of striking first and thereby avoiding a bloodless defeat. The U.S. Air Force Association declared at the time that the total destruction of the Soviet system should be a national aim.

Statements of this kind, which abounded in those years, speak for themselves. In the long run, it all boiled down to the establishment of U.S. supremacy in the world. As early as December 1945 then U.S. President Harry S. Truman proclaimed in his State of the Union message that the USA was undertaking responsibility for 'world leadership.' When the NATO bloc began functioning, General Alfred M. Gruenther, commander-in-chief of NATO armed forces, said that 'the mantle of world leadership has fallen upon our shoulders. This alliance will succeed, in large measure, in the degree to which we are able to exercise that leadership.' Many politicians in Washington did not at the time feel they should hide that they regarded Western Europe as a sort of adjunct to U.S. military strength. Without mincing words, the U.S. representative in NATO and former Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter declared: 'We need the bases in NATO territory to enable our Strategic Air Force to operate.'

For reasons beyond Washington's control, the plans for a war against the Soviet Union did not materialize. The same year the North Atlantic Treaty was signed, the USA lost its nuclear monopoly, and some years later the Soviet Union developed the hydrogen bomb and intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The Western military-political leadership had to abandon the 'rolling back' and 'massive retaliation' doctrines. However, this did not make NATO any less aggressive. It was and remains an instrument of war preparations, an instrument of confrontation. In *United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1955,* a book published in the USA, it is stated that NATO strategy 'called for drawing a ring of power — political, economic, and military — around the area of Soviet control. It assumed the indefinite prolongation of some form of conflict. It ruled out any search for accommodation.'

Year after year, and decade after decade the NATO masters extended the number of military bases, upgraded the numerical strength of the armed forces, developed increasingly more powerful armaments spearheaded at the socialist-community nations, and raised the level of military spending.

In 1949 the military expenditures of all the NATO members totalled $18.4 billion, including $13.5 billion by the USA. In 1979 these expenditures reached $211.6 billion, with the USA accounting for $122.3 billion. Within the next few years, according to recently adopted programs, they are to rise to between $400 billion and $450 billion annually.

From the moment NATO was set up the military expenditures of its member nations have reached nearly $2,800 billion. Such is the enormous tribute that imperialism has squeezed out of the peoples for the sake of military objectives. The dimensions of the tasks that mankind might have fulfilled had this money been used for creative purposes defy the imagination.

Mountains of armaments have now accumulated in NATO arsenals. But for NATO's masters this does not seem to be enough. Every session and every sitting of its executive agencies results in a new escalation of armaments, in a new round of militarist tub-thumping.

The main impulses feeding 'Atlantic' aggressiveness come from Washington. The ruling circles of some West European countries are also involved in fanning war hysteria. In some cases they advocate a hardening of military confrontation with amazing or, to be more exact, criminal thoughtlessness, closing their eyes to the catastrophic consequences that a military conflict in Europe would have for their countries.

In this context, one cannot avoid mentioning Joseph Luns, the NATO Secretary-General. In his militarist zeal he is quite the equal of his U.S. mentors, frequently excelling them. He carries out every command from Washington with the promptitude of a sergeant-major, sparing none of his fellow West Europeans. Only recently, *La Libre Belgique* reports, he castigated the Belgian Prime Minister for procrastinating on agreeing to the deployment of U.S. missiles in Belgium, charging him with non-compliance with international commitments.

NATO has always combined its anti-socialist-community stance and its preparations for a war of aggression against the socialist countries with actions against the national liberation movement. The NATO record contains many acts of aggression against peoples fighting for liberation. The bloc extended France considerable support in its colonial wars against the peoples of Indochina and Algeria. It helped the Dutch colonialists in Indonesia. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies would unquestionably have won freedom much earlier had it not been for the long years of massive NATO assistance to the Salazar regime.

NATO is playing a sinister role in the Middle East. Its members have time and again committed acts of aggression against Egypt, invaded Lebanon and Jordan, and extended direct and indirect support to the Israeli aggressors.

The tendency to extend NATO's sphere of activity has markedly intensified in recent years. At the 1978 NATO Council session in Washington, U.S. President Carter proclaimed a new doctrine of NATO global actions, calling for an arbitrary expansion of the 'sphere of responsibility' far beyond the framework marked out in the NATO treaty. General Alexander Haig, then commander of the NATO forces in Europe, declared with militarist high-handedness: 'The entire globe is now NATO's concern.' Embodiments of this doctrine were the NATO aggressive actions in Zaire in 1978 and support for U.S. provocative military demonstrations and acts of aggression against Iran in 1979-1980.

The North Atlantic bloc was conceived also as an instrument against democratic forces and as an instrument of interference in the internal affairs of member nations. When the question of ratifying the North Atlantic treaty was debated in the USA then Secretary of State Dean Acheson declared that one of the bloc's aims was to prevent aggression 'by an election or a coup d'état.' In deciding the question of sending U.S. troops in Europe, he added, it was necessary to take into consideration not only the threat of direct armed invasion but also the threat of conquest through persuasion. The commander-in-chief of the NATO armed forces in Central Europe declared in 1956 that NATO had to be a shield against the 'infiltration of ideas.' In a U.S. State Department publication in 1956 it was noted that 'internal communism' could be a major threat, that NATO was in existence to safeguard the security of its member nations, and that security should be considered in all its aspects. Internal security, it said, was as important as external security. Thomas K. Finletter specified that the passage of power to the communists as a result of elections or a rising should be prevented in the country concerned 'with the help, if required, of the other NATO governments.'

The contents of some documents on these NATO

functions were leaked to the press in the 1970s. From Plan 10-G, for instance, it was learned that in the European NATO countries there were special U.S. units that in the event of an 'emergency situation' would be activated with license to resort to a wide spectrum of means, including sabotage, subversion, psychological warfare, and direct military actions.

According to another document, Plan 100-I, the USA would in 'emergency situations' arrogate to itself unlimited powers in NATO's West European member states: bring and use any weapons on their territory, utilize all information available to national intelligence services, and, most importantly, employ American troops to suppress any movement 'threatening U.S. strategic interests.'

NATO gives special attention to influencing the internal political situation in the bloc's member states where the possibility exists of left forces coming to power. As early as 1965 a NATO conference in Rome decided to extend the bloc's functions against 'subversion' in member states. In fulfillment of this decision the secret McConnell plan was devised authorizing direct military intervention in countries where widespread general resistance sprang up.

In revealing the substance of these plans the British General Walker, commander of the NATO combined mobile forces, let the cat out of the bag, saying that these forces stood ready to suppress armed anti-government actions, strikes, and other forms of unrest. In other words, NATO has undertaken the function of using force to crush class actions of the working people against the exploiting system.

NATO has time and again interfered in the internal affairs of West European nations, invariably with the purpose of striking at democratic forces and strengthening the position of the ruling class. Every conceivable means was used by the NATO forces to halt the development of the Portuguese revolution: provocative naval exercises along that nation's coast on the eve of the 1975 elections to the Constituent Assembly and at the time the government was formed in 1976; economic subversion in combination with promises of 'aid' conditioned on behavior congenial to NATO policy; slander campaigns and the provoking of political crises. All these means were used when the NATO leadership decided that Portugal was becoming politically ever more disquieting.

A flagrantly unceremonious act of NATO interference in Italy's internal affairs was the joint decision by the USA, the FRG, France, and Britain in the summer of 1976 to deny Italy financial and economic aid if representatives of the Italian Communist Party were included in the nation's government. General Haig declared at the time that he would not tolerate the presence of Marxist parties in the governments of industrialized West European nations. On January 12, 1978 the U.S. State Department issued a special statement declaring that Washington did not approve of communist participation in West European governments, specifically the Italian government. There was an undisguised threat of sanctions.

A ramified and continuously expanding bureaucratic apparatus has been set up to implement NATO's aggressive military and political measures. It includes the NATO Council and International Secretariat, the Defense Planning Committee consisting of the defense ministers and a Military Committee composed of chiefs-of-staff, the Nuclear Defense Affairs Committee, and the Nuclear Planning Group. The entire NATO mechanism is kept at a high level of combat readiness in peace-time. For this purpose it has the Allied Command Europe, theatre commands and operation control systems. The armed forces groups are manned, armed and equipped far beyond defense requirements. Logistics and theatre bases have been organized, operation plans lie in readiness, troops have been allocated specific tasks, and much has been done to improve the infrastructure. By and large, everything is in readiness for rapid offensive operations. The entire NATO mechanism is geared to speeding armament, unremitting material preparations for war, and planning of aggressive actions against the socialist nations.

Special mention must be made of NATO ideological activities. The bloc has an ideological center that molds public opinion in favor of Atlanticism and whips up the campaign of slander about a 'Soviet military threat.' This is the Committee for Information and Cultural Relations, which directs the work of five special subcommittees. These agencies coordinate the work of the Western mass media and organize subversive propaganda crusades.

For the U.S. ruling circles the NATO system is an instrument for enmeshing the other NATO members in bonds of direct dependence on Washington. The military commitments of the NATO members are so worded as to give the USA a virtually free hand to act as it sees fit. The other NATO nations are denied such freedom and can be automatically drawn into a war whenever Washington feels this is necessary. The U.S. imperialists are prepared to sacrifice their allies without thinking twice. Having brought the West European nations under their 'nuclear umbrella,' they have in fact turned them into hostages.

The true significance of the relationships in NATO was brought to light by President de Gaulle, when he stated France's motivations for withdrawing from the North Atlantic military organization. He said: 'Cumulatively this is a question of restoring normal sovereignty over everything that is indeed French, namely, the land, the sky, the sea, and the armed forces.'

In recent months U.S. impingements on the sovereignty of other NATO members have become increasingly more blatant. Every now and then information is received about Washington's unceremonious, undisguised pressure on its NATO partners to carry out U.S. adventurist designs under the guise of 'Atlantic solidarity.' Washington regards any sign of independence as seditious. NATO

leading circles are trying to secure total obedience from all members of the bloc, and they themselves get their orders from the Pentagon. The U.S. administration has used the 'Atlantic interaction' mechanism for its unseemly attempts to organize a boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow and impose economic sanctions on the USSR.

NATO has in fact become imperialism's military and political headquarters. Over a period of more than 30 years NATO activity has shown that the 'positions of strength' policy, proclaimed long ago by the Americans, underlies its organizational structure and all its military, economic, and political activity. This did not disappear even when there was an improvement of the international political climate in the 1970s. In the interpretation of the NATO strategists 'détente' signifies the immutability of the political postures and spheres of influence of the imperialist powers; for them it spells out the immutability of the basic postulates of the 'Atlantic' policy of strength and building up military capability. The specious theory that 'the stronger the NATO bloc, the more dependable détente becomes' is now being dished up.

But the record says that NATO has on no occasion come forward with a constructive initiative to strengthen peace and détente. While systematically rejecting the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, the NATO leadership, its Washington bosses, have taken steps prejudicial to détente, but now they are openly steering a course toward aggravating international tension.

In May 1978, when the UN special General Assembly on disarmament was in session in New York, a NATO Council sitting in Washington adopted a U.S. dictated 'long-term armament program' up to the year 1993. This was a brazen challenge to world opinion.

It must be noted that by imposing an annual 3 per cent increase on the war budgets of its partners, Washington is shifting more and more of the burden of militarization to the peoples of Europe. The USA's share of NATO military expenditures dropped from 74 per cent in the 1960s to 55.7 per cent at the close of the 1970s.

In December 1979 the NATO Council session in Brussels was pressured by the USA to adopt another, extremely dangerous decision, namely, to deploy in Western Europe new U.S. nuclear missiles targeted on the Soviet Union.

The story behind this decision is eloquent evidence of how the NATO mechanism operates.

While the SALT II talks were proceeding, Washington continued its attempts to upset the military balance and dramatically strengthen the 'Eurostrategic' potential spearheaded at the USSR. As early as at the June 1974 sittings of the Nuclear Planning Group in Bergen, the USA raised the question of developing 'NATO nuclear capabilities.' In 1976 the Nuclear Planning Group in principle agreed to the deployment of U.S. Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Western Europe.

Then followed a period of intensive arm twisting of the NATO European members at government level and massive ideological indoctrination of the peoples. As a result, the much-sought decision was pushed through. This militarist step, aimed at upsetting the approximate parity of military strength, is leading to another spiral of the nuclear arms race, to an increased military confrontation.

Lastly, at the above-mentioned Defense Planning Committee meeting in Brussels in May 1980 a decision was taken which placed an additional burden on the USA's NATO European allies in order to help the USA carry out its adventures in Southwest Asia.

The 30 years since the North Atlantic treaty was signed are thus a record of aggressive actions, flagrant interference in the affairs of other countries, and continued militarist preparations.

II

For some years after NATO was set up the Soviet Union and other socialist countries made every effort to secure a political settlement that would give Europe lasting peace, a settlement spelling out the creation of a system of collective security. At the 1954 Berlin conference of Soviet, U.S., British and French Foreign Ministers, the Soviet Union submitted the draft of a European treaty on collective security.

The Soviet proposal was rejected; the Western powers were, at the time, concentrating on speeding up the militarization of West Germany and on including it in the Atlantic bloc. At a Paris conference in October 1954 nine Western countries signed agreements envisaging the formation of FRG armed forces and FRG membership in NATO. The Soviet government suggested a conference of European nations with the purpose of creating a system of collective security in Europe. But the NATO countries would not hear of it.

Nonetheless, the conference did take place. It was held in Moscow on November 29-December 2, 1954 with the participation of delegations from the socialist countries. It was noted at this conference that the Paris agreements had significantly increased the threat of another war. The declaration that was adopted re-emphasized the need for a system of collective security in Europe. The conference called upon all European nations to join in considering this question.

But neither was this proposal accepted by the West. The Paris agreements came into force on May 5, 1955. Upon becoming a NATO member, the FRG, then headed by politicians committed to an openly revanchist policy, joined actively in the arms race. The clouds of war thickened over Europe and there was the direct threat of a military conflict.

In this situation there was a pressing need for the socialist countries to organize cooperation in such a way as to ensure collective actions against any aggressor. Representatives of these countries met in Warsaw. Invitations were sent to Western powers to attend the conference, but these were rejected.

The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, known as the Warsaw Treaty, was signed on May 14, 1955. In speaking of its aims,

Leonid Brezhnev stressed: 'We set up this organization chiefly to counter the threat of imperialism, of the aggressive military blocs formed by it, to defend the cause of socialism and peace by common effort.'

From the moment it was formed and throughout all the subsequent years the Warsaw Treaty Organization has been a factor for peace, a factor preventing war. Moreover, this military-political alliance of fraternal nations has become a dependable safeguard of their security capable of giving a crushing rebuff to any aggressor. When the enemies of peace and social progress build up their armaments in repeated attempts to gain military superiority, the Warsaw Treaty nations always respond by strengthening their defense capability and will continue to do so. 'The present military-strategic balance between world socialism and world capitalism,' states the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee's plenary meeting of June 23 last, 'is an achievement of fundamental, historic significance. It is a factor deterring imperialism's aggressive ambitions, this being consonant with the vital interests of all peoples. The calculations on upsetting this balance are doomed to failure.'

At the same time, the Warsaw Treaty nations, as they formally reiterated in May 1980 'have never sought and will never seek military supremacy; they invariably advocate ensuring a military balance at ever lower levels, a reduction and removal of the military confrontation in Europe. They neither have, have had, nor will have a strategic doctrine other than a defensive one; they neither have, have had, nor will have the intention to create a nuclear first-strike capability.'

Unlike NATO, the Warsaw Treaty has thus from the very beginning come forward not as an instrument of aggravating the military confrontation but as a means of ending that confrontation, relaxing international tension, and ensuring European security.

A significant point is that the very creation of the Warsaw Treaty was an element in the series of measures aimed at improving the political climate in Europe. It is symbolic that almost simultaneously with the signing of the Warsaw Treaty in 1955 the Soviet Union took a series of peace initiatives, including the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the FRG.

In contrast to NATO, the Warsaw Treaty records (in Article 2) that 'the Contracting Parties shall work for the adoption, in agreement with other states that desire to cooperate, of effective measures toward a worldwide reduction of armaments and the banning of nuclear, hydrogen, and other types of weapons of mass destruction.'

The consistent peaceableness of the Warsaw Treaty nations is shown by the fact that they have repeatedly proposed the simultaneous disbandment of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic bloc, with the disbandment of their military organizations as the first step.

The very structure of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and its entire practical activity are consonant with the principles of consistent peaceableness and friendship among nations. 'We can say with a clear conscience,' Leonid Brezhnev declared, 'that our alliance, our friendship, our cooperation constitute alliance, friendship, and cooperation among equal nations united by common aims and interests, by bonds of comradely solidarity and mutual assistance. We are moving forward together, helping each other, and combining our efforts, expertise, and resources for the speediest possible advance.'

In safeguarding their common interests, the socialist countries — members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization — adhere most firmly in their relations with each other to the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Further, it must be stressed that the socialist countries do not seek unilateral advantages. The consistently socialist character of the policy pursued by the Warsaw Treaty Organization does not signify sectarian seclusion. On the contrary, the Treaty's member states act in the interests of all the nations of the world. In order to ensure peace they seek understanding and effective cooperation with non-aligned nations that have different social systems and with realistically-minded political circles in Western countries. In other words, unlike the NATO countries, the Warsaw Treaty nations, by virtue of their peaceful aspirations, are pursuing a policy consonant with the interests of all mankind, a policy that goes beyond exclusively class interests. In this lies the profound humanitarian and democratic character of socialist foreign policy.

Since the Warsaw Treaty was signed a quarter of a century ago there have been 16 conferences of its Political Consultative Committee. The constructive proposals put forward at these conferences received prominence on the agenda of European and world politics and helped to settle many of the problems compounding East-West relations. During periods of greatest anxiety for mankind the Warsaw Treaty Organization's firm and realistic posture helped to stop the slide into military conflicts and contributed to the normalization of the international situation. For many years the Warsaw Treaty nations have persevered in their efforts to end the cold war, reduce the military confrontation level, ensure peaceful coexistence of capitalist and socialist nations, and create a system of collective security in Europe.

The world knows of the advances made in the 1970s toward international détente. An outstanding landmark was the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and its Final Act. This historic forum owes much of its productive work to the energetic and constructive stand taken by the Warsaw Treaty nations. The very idea of holding the conference was put forward by the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

The consistently peaceable and constructive role of the Warsaw Treaty is seen even more clearly today, when in the closing years of the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s the international situa-

tion seriously deteriorated through the fault of the imperialist forces, notably the USA.

The adventurism embodied in the NATO decisions is counterposed by the socialist community with a reasonable, constructive policy. In the 1980s, as in the 1970s, they stand for the consolidation and not the destruction of détente, for a reduction and not escalation of the arms race, for closer relations and understanding among nations and not artificial estrangement and hostility. As regards the CPSU, this basic guideline was explicitly reaffirmed at the June plenary meeting of the Central Committee, which instructed the Political Bureau to remain steadfastly on the course set by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU in the present situation despite the increased danger of war produced by the adventurist actions of the USA and its accomplices.

The Declaration issued by the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee outlined a wide-ranging program of concrete measures aimed at surmounting the explosive 'crisis situations' created by imperialism, and consolidating and reinforcing all the positive developments achieved in international relations in the 1970s. Of special topicality in this context is the statement on a world summit with the focus on the task of removing flashpoints of international tension and preventing war.

In their concern for the destinies of humanity, the nations represented at the Political Consultative Committee meeting stressed that 'there are no problems, global or regional, that in their view cannot be settled by political means.' They reiterated that 'there is no type of armament they are not prepared to limit or reduce on a mutual basis.'

Of great significance for the consolidation of peace are the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty nations for the convocation of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe and the holding of the Madrid meeting in a constructive spirit.

The cardinal result of the activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is that this is the fourth decade that the peoples of Europe are living in peace, that an end has been put to the tragic cycle in which peace was only a respite between world wars.

It may be said with confidence that human history knows of no other military-political alliance that has such lofty aims and has achieved such beneficial results.

III

Thus, whatever aspect of the political line, structure, and practical activities of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty we consider, we shall find profound distinctions, a fundamental difference.

This fundamental difference between the two alliances is basically a class difference. The substance, policy, and organization of the NATO bloc are determined by the nature of imperialism, by its orientation toward aggression and expansion. The NATO course embodies the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie's most aggressive circles, of the military-industrial complex, and of imperialist reaction as a whole.

The substance of the policy and structure of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is determined by socialism's peaceable nature. The political line of this alliance embodies the interests of the working class, the working people, to whom aggrandisement and aggression are alien. It embodies the interests of a society in which no elements are interested in wars, in war profits, in the exploitation of other nations.

In the light of these indisputable facts the assertion that not imperialism with its policy of aggression conducted with the support of the Peking hegemonists but the 'policy of blocs' allegedly pursued both by the USA and the Soviet Union, both by NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization comes into conflict with reality and confuses the actual state of affairs.

Nothing can be more misconceived than the lumping together of these two diametrically opposite groups under the common denominator of a 'policy of blocs.' The policy of one alliance or another is determined not by the very fact of its existence but by the socio-economic system of the nations in it, by their actual political interests and aims, by their ideology.

Today, when all people of good will, all proponents of peace and social progress have no more urgent concern than to prevent a return to the cold war, this aim cannot be attained without having a clear idea of the alignment of international forces on the problem of war and peace, of the source of the war threat, and a clear idea of who makes the greatest contribution to prevent war.

Confrontation between military groups is unquestionably a negative factor of present-day international life. But it is one thing to seek to eliminate this factor, to dismantle blocs, and quite another to fail to see the fundamental, basic distinctions in the class-social and political substance of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the difference in the role that each plays in international relations.

The Marxists have always rejected the formal, essentially anti-scientific approach to military-political blocs. When the Triple Alliance and the Entente were formed at the turn of the century, the revolutionary working-class movement, notably Lenin and the Leninists, saw no difference between them. They were imperialist blocs preparing to get at each other's throats, start an unprecedented world-wide slaughter in order to seize colonies and pillage their own and other peoples. A departure from this, the only correct, class, scientific assessment led, as everybody knows, to betrayal of the interests of the working class, of the true national interests of one's own country.

When the notorious Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, a bloc of aggressive imperialist powers, was formed to prepare the Second World War and when, already during the war, the Anti-Hitlerite Coalition was set up to counter it, the communists of all countries gave these two military-political groups a clear-cut class assessment springing from their

aims and policy. On the one hand, there was an aggressive bloc bent on enslaving humanity, on genocide, and on the nullification of the social progress achieved in the course of many centuries. On the other, there was an alliance of states that had totally different socio-political systems but which, by virtue of historical circumstances, combined their efforts for the sake of progressive aims to crush the fascist aggressors and save civilization. Only a person hopelessly entangled in dogmatism and scholasticism can think of equating these two groups of World War II times, give both a coat of 'bloc policy' paint solely on the grounds that formally both were military-political alliances.

Much less can such an equation be made between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the military-political alliances of our day representing different socio-political systems.

The central, decisive factor of the preservation of peace in Europe, twice devastated by cataclysmic world wars, is that there is a socialist community of states, that the economic and military-political potential of this community is growing, that it is vigorously pursuing a foreign policy of peace which relies on this potential. The Warsaw Treaty is a form of coordinating socialism's foreign policy necessitated by the creation of the North Atlantic alliance.

What, if we proceed not from speculative schemes and abstractions but from objective reality, is the significance, in concrete political, practical terms, of replacing an exposure and criticism of *imperialist* military blocs with a criticism of 'bloc policy' centered on the thesis of 'equal distance' from NATO and the Warsaw Treaty?

What is the significance of the calls to orient the struggle for peace against 'bloc policy' generally, a policy regarded in isolation from the class substance of military groups, from the specific content of their activities? There can only be one answer: the running of a dividing line between the peace movement and the foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries. This is precisely how the question is put by those who urge the formation of a 'new alliance of forces' capable of countering, on the one hand, Soviet policy and, on the other, U.S. policy, and adopting the stance of a sort of 'third way' in international relations.

The attempts to combine the struggle for peace with attacks on socialist foreign policy, with various forms of anti-Sovietism are not merely utopian. On the practical-political level, they tangibly benefit the forces of imperialism and aggression, which are, of course, set on splitting the peace forces, doing everything to sustain and fuel the essentially anti-Soviet undertones of this 'third' line.

In this context it would be appropriate to recall the evolution of the Chinese leadership: as it tried, for some time, to combine anti-Sovietism with anti-imperialist declarations it ultimately slid into an open support for imperialism. The present aggravation of the international situation is now directly linked to the hegemonistic and militarist line of the Chinese leadership, whose union with imperialism was expressed in Deng Xiaoping's cynical words about China becoming NATO's 16th member.

Also significant is that the attempts to place an 'equal' responsibility on the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO for the negative developments in international life lead to a watering down of the criticism of the latter and to an embellishment of its policy.

Incontrovertible facts indicate that it is absolutely wrong to say that NATO is a 'defensive alliance.' This is the kind of assessment that breeds, to put it mildly, the naive reasoning that it is possible to use it as an instrument to strengthen 'international stability' and even as a sort of 'defensive shield' (it is not said against whom) in the event the democratic forces of one or another West European country are victorious.

But how can one speak in the name of the democratic and working-class movement and yet lose sight of the fact that the core of NATO policy is to fight revolutionary and democratic forces everywhere? NATO is indeed protecting 'stability,' but it is a stability desired by U.S. and international imperialism and which is tantamount to a social status quo, to preventing progressive social reforms aimed against domination by a monopoly elite.

Let us sum up. The attempts to place NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in one and the same category camouflaged with talk about working out a strategy 'based on the realities of the modern world' spells out not only a departure from these realities but also serious damage to the cause of peace and the struggle for the working people's interests in the capitalist countries.

It signifies:

— negating the role socialism has played in preserving peace in Europe, in preventing a world thermonuclear war throughout three and a half decades;

— smearing existing socialism and confusing the working people, the peace-loving democratic forces generally, relative to the true aims of socialist foreign policy and thereby drastically weakening the potential of the mass peace movement;

— sowing illusions about NATO, looking for a justification of its actions, and blunting the vigilance of the masses against its intrigues aimed at strengthening the rule of big capital and sustaining the U.S. imperialist diktat even in the internal affairs of the nations concerned;

— confusing people about the actual sources of the threat of war and the arms race, conniving at imperialist propaganda which is trying to project an image of a peace-loving West, and thereby contributing to the 'Soviet threat' slander campaign;

— eroding the struggle of the working people against the socio-economic effects of the arms race (growth of military budgets and taxes, spiralling inflation, cuts in spending on social requirements, and rising unemployment);

— taking the edge off the struggle of the masses against the slide into another cold war, depriving them of the confidence that in this struggle for

peace and détente they can dependably rely on such a powerful socio-political force as the socialist countries.

All this acquires special significance today when there is an acute need for joint action by the peace forces to halt the turn toward a cold war.

The hard fact is that the Warsaw Treaty Organization is doing all in its power to stop the arms race and put an end to the threat of war. Its activity serves the cause of peace and fosters the fulfillment of socialism's historic mission of delivering humanity from another world war.

For détente and world security

Representatives of communist parties of capitalist countries speak of the experience of mobilizing the people for the peace struggle

Representatives of a number of communist parties — members of the *WMR* Editorial Council — exchanged views on the methods and forms of struggle for peace and détente today, and on the role, strategy, and tactics of communists in this struggle.

They agreed that they would deal with three basic questions:

— the main orientations of the struggle for peace receiving the closest attention of the communist parties;

— the forms of work among the people; the mass actions over the recent period; the effort to mobilize public opinion;

— joint actions with other parties, with other progressive forces, and also within the framework of international solidarity.

'NEW MISSILES — NO!'

George Kwiatowski
German Communist Party

At the heart of our peace campaign — following the adoption of the NATO decision in December 1979 — is the demand that no new nuclear missiles be deployed in our country and in Europe as a whole. This demand is combined with an appeal to the governments of the FRG and other NATO nations to halt the implementation of that decision, if not to annul it at once, and begin immediate talks with the Soviet Union and take the first steps toward disarmament.

In the struggle for peace, against the deployment of new missiles, the accent is on the demand that national interests should not be sacrificed for the interests of U.S. imperialism and the FRG military concerns. This was not so manifest before.

As in the past, the *peace movement is closely linked with the struggle for social advances.* The slogan is 'No new billions for armaments!' These billions are vital for the settlement of pressing social problems. Every mark, as the trade unions likewise stress, is spendable only once.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the continuation of the arms race and every aggravation of the international situation encourage the forces of reaction, the attacks of big capital on democratic rights. Hence the ever closer *interlocking of the demands for peace, détente, and the safeguarding of democratic rights.*

In connection with the 35th anniversary of liberation from fascism there has been a strengthening in our country of the *link of the peace movement with the struggle against fascism.* The speeches at the mass demonstrations, in which people with different political and religious views have taken part, underline in particular that neofascism, the tilt to the right, signifies a growth of the threat of war, that more than ever the lessons of World War II accentuate the need to campaign for peace, against the NATO decision.

It is also important to note that Chileans, Greeks, and Turks residing in the FRG were active in these demonstrations, which were, thus, to some extent international. Also a point to be noted is that employees of large enterprises bore banners articulating their interests and demands. For instance, the placards carried by workers of a factory manufacturing the Leopard Tank read: 'Locomotives instead of tanks.' In other words, the slogans were specific and indicated how military production could be switched to civilian

In many towns there have been Easter Marches for peace, disarmament, and continued détente involving tens of thousands of people, chiefly young people and, in many cases, entire families. The route of many of these marches passed through regions where missiles have been deployed or are likely to be deployed in the near future. At this year's numerous May Day demonstrations, organized by the trade unions, the people showed their concern for peace more than ever. The idea that everybody should contribute to the preservation of peace is spreading in the trade unions (this was not always the case before).

There is a gathering momentum for *joint actions with the peace forces of neighboring countries against the NATO decisions.* I'll give two examples. At the close of April many hundreds of young people of the FRG and Denmark conducted a joint peace march in the border region. The march passed a former nazi concentration camp, and the slogan against the deployment of new nuclear missiles naturally combined with anti-fascist slogans. An analogous action was the frontier meeting in Aachen of peace forces from Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic. The motivation for this meeting, sponsored by the German Peace

League, was the date linked to recent history — the 40th anniversary of the nazi invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands.

Democratic opinion is mobilized for joint action also by the West German Committee for Peace, Cooperation and Disarmament, which is composed of people from many organizations and groups professing different political and religious views. In many towns throughout the FRG there have been rallies and other actions in response to the committee's call for resistance to the implementation of NATO's Brussels decision, for moves to preserve détente.

A few words about other forms of struggle that have lately begun to be practiced in our country. This year the traditional GCP Week was held with opposition to the NATO decision as one of its keynotes. During that Week the party *organized information stands:* in busy streets, central squares, and in front of department stores our comrades set up collapsible desks with displays of literature and conducted discussions, explaining the consequences of the deployment of missiles in Europe and drawing attention to the alternative proposed by the communists.

We also practice such forms of activity as *letters to neighbors.* The Communists write to people residing in their neighborhood or street and state local problems and current political developments, draw attention to the danger of missiles and the need to protest against the NATO decision, urge participation in the relevant actions, appealing to them to talk about this to their friends and, if possible, go to MPs and government officials with the message to continue détente in the interests of peace and security instead of jeopardizing the process. This form of work, which party groups organize, is extremely effective. It also helps to dispel anti-communist prejudices.

VIGOROUS ACTION BY PEACE FORCES

Paul Courtieu
French Communist Party

The struggle for peace and disarmament is the principal policy orientation of the French Communist Party. The French communists hold that imperialism's aggressiveness has to be met with vigilance and the most powerful resistance by the peoples.

The fact that imperialism is going to all ends to inhibit the upsurge of the popular forces does not obscure the main thing, namely, that in the 1980s imperialism is no longer able to act in the world as it likes; it has to defend itself; its positions have weakened; it encounters stiff resistance. This is borne out by the failure of Carter's piratical operation against Iran, his helplessness to prevent the Olympic Games from being held in Moscow, and the contradictions arising between the Atlantic allies. Imperialism is facing a deep and protracted crisis of its system. It encounters the spreading struggle of the peoples for social progress and peace in capitalist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement, and the determination and unremitting efforts of the USSR and other socialist countries that are coming forward with one initiative after another to defend peace, preserve détente, and achieve disarmament.

The balance of strength in the world has in recent years changed more than ever in favor of the forces of national and social liberation. Today, more than ever before, the peace fighters are in a position to curb imperialism and compel it to beat a further retreat.

The French communists are determined to widen the scope of the struggle for peace and disarmament also because of the ongoing campaign to win public approval for the decision to manufacture the neutron bomb and because the powers that be continue to measure up to the FRG and are steering toward subordination to the USA. The President of the Republic has abandoned the strategy mapped out by General de Gaulle and is letting his party demand the neutron bomb for France and the French army's participation with NATO in an armed conflict outside national frontiers and regard the USSR and other socialist countries as the enemy.

As for the Socialist Party, it is joining forces with the right, agreeing to the neutron bomb and, in its turn, calling the Soviet Union the enemy and depicting it as a state pursuing an 'expansionist policy.'

Along with other peace forces, the communists are doing everything in their power to make the government give France the possibility of playing a role conforming to the interests of détente and international cooperation, and putting forward concrete proposals helping to settle existing conflicts and facilitating progress in disarmament and international cooperation. The communists are naming concrete proposals and initiatives that France could put forward in order to contribute to détente and put an end to the arms race. Our organizations are conducting extensive explanatory work throughout the nation and undertaking actions on their own.

The communists are acting with other French peace forces on a growing scale on the basis of mutual respect and equality, on the basis of aims defined in common.

Last December, on the initiative of the FRG, 14 national organizations — despite the refusal of the Socialist Party, which justifies the NATO decision — called for a mass demonstration in Paris to protest against the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe and demand immediate negotiations on a reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments. This was the biggest peace demonstration in our country in recent years.

The communists are contributing to the long campaign of the peace movement, which has the support of prominent civic personalities of different political persuasions. They are taking action against the deployment of U.S. missiles: they demand an end to the nuclear escalation and the holding of urgent talks between states that signed the Helsinki Final Act. Signatures are being collected at

many factories, in cities, and at secondary schools and institutions of higher learning.

In June, acting on a recommendation of the FCP, some organizations came forward with a new initiative aimed at starting a campaign with slogans reading: 'No, to new U.S. missiles in Europe!,' 'Yes, to talks on all medium-range missiles!' and 'No, to the neutron bomb!' This would clear the way for the success of the Madrid meeting scheduled for this autumn. Another expression of coordinated actions was that we simultaneously sent delegations to the French government and to the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

The French communists are thus not stinting efforts today and will not spare them tomorrow in order to unite all peace forces and stir them to action. In developing wide-ranging, many-sided activities and taking or participating in initiatives aimed at achieving disarmament, they are guided by the spirit of last spring's important meeting of European communist and workers parties. They feel that by acting in this manner they are fulfilling their international commitments, their duty to the destiny of their own people and to the destiny of all mankind.

EXPLODING THE 'SOVIET THREAT' MYTH

James West
Communist Party of the USA

Organizing and struggling in the country where imperialism is the mainspring of the war danger, the U.S. communists see as their key task the fight for peace and the exposure of the militarist aims and policies of the ruling circles. This is the central issue in the current communist election campaign.

The main ideological problem in the fight for peace in our country is to overcome anti-Sovietism, the myth of a 'Soviet threat' in the first place. While the communists are in the forefront of this struggle, we are by no means alone. In the USA there are many diverse groups and organizations working for peace. Many of them also repudiate and expose this myth. They demand reduction of military appropriations which grow at a pace much faster than all other parts of the federal budget. While supporting all the forces of this broad movement, the communists recognize the need for strengthening the Left within it. We believe that this is essential for the consistent, unflagging struggle, for a winning class approach. Especially important are the activities of the U.S. Peace Council, affiliated with the World Peace Council, the various Friendship organizations, such as the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, several vigorous committees of solidarity with the peoples of Chile, South Africa, El Salvador, Nicaragua and support actions for Palestinian liberation.

The progressive forces in our country are acting in many directions. Among the youth, the fight against the draft and for jobs has been spreading rapidly. The Young Workers Liberation League plays a foremost part in this struggle, which also involves students and growing numbers of school and university teachers who fight against sacrificing educational needs on the altar of militarization.

The struggle to switch war industry to civilian production is gaining increasing support at the grass roots level with a number of the largest unions leading this fight. Virtually the entire trade union movement demands ratification of SALT II, as do all peace organizations.

The communists, however, by no means limit themselves to supporting or waiting on initiatives coming from others. They regard their party's independent activity to, among other things, bring home to the people its own attitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to make widely known their peace initiatives, etc., as vital to clarity and direction in the fight for peace. This is clearly evident in the need to expose the militarist-hegemonistic policies of the Peking leadership in its growing ties with U.S. militarist-imperialism about which confusion and illusions still exist in sections of the peace movement.

The independent activity of the CPUSA for peace cannot be separated from the fact that, on the whole, the U.S. peace movements today operate on a much higher level than in the past. Today, the struggle for peace is well beyond the point at which the fight against the war in Vietnam began. We act in a situation of runaway inflation, high levels of unemployment, the closure of factories in basic industries, mass dismissals, a deep-going economic downturn. This makes it more obvious to the employed and unemployed, especially among the Black people and other oppressed minorities, that there is a direct connection between the burgeoning armaments and military budgets on the one hand, and the rapid deterioration of everyday life, on the other. It is no accident that the Black Congressmen are in the forefront of the fight in Congress for peace and jobs, or that they have been singled out for reprisals and attacks by the military-industrial establishment.

The bourgeois press does not reflect or give an accurate idea of the real mood in the country. This, too, makes the independent role of the communists, expressed in the election campaign, in our press and publications, all the more indispensable.

FROM DIALOGUE TO THE SETTLEMENT OF PRESSING ISSUES

Luciano Antonetti
Italian Communist Party

The communists and other Italian peace forces stepped up their work as soon as questions linked to the deployment of nuclear missiles received prominence in the European countries where such deployment is planned. Mass demonstrations have been held in various parts of Italy. The struggle for détente and peace was one of the keynotes of the recent election campaign. Concrete demands were put forward, for instance, a halt to the deployment

of nuclear missiles in Europe; resumption of talks (particularly in Vienna and Geneva) on a reduction of all types of armaments; support for the coming meeting in Madrid and for the Polish proposal for a European conference on disarmament.

One of the most important actions was the rally in Florence at which 150,000 people were addressed by the General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Enrico Berlinguer. A Peace Week was held in May in different parts of Italy.

Catholic organizations and peace defense groups were active in all the political demonstrations. It must be noted that we regularly conduct actions of a unifying character. These were started as far back as the 1950s, when Palmiro Togliatti called upon all the democratic forces, including the Catholics, to act jointly to save civilization, to avert the threat of another war, which in view of the means of mass destruction would bring irreparable calamity to all humankind.

In recent months some organizations, whose membership includes persons of various political persuasions, have been extremely active in campaigning against the deployment of nuclear missiles. Among these are:

— the *Committee for Disarmament*, which is headed by Senator Anderlini of the Left Independent parliamentary group. On April 20 this committee organized one of its traditional peace marches; 50,000 people — men, women, and young people — marched from Perugia to Assisi, where peace demonstrations with nation-wide repercussions were held; these ended with a concert by musical groups totalling 1,500 persons who played music specially written for the occasion by the well-known composer Lucian Berio. The same committee conducted a mission of good will: In May members of this mission — Senator Anderlini and representatives of the Christian-Democratic, Socialist, and Communist Parties, and the Vatican — visited Washington and Moscow, where they met with representatives of the two governments and discussed the questions of détente and disarmament:

— the *Italian Forum for Security and European Cooperation*, composed of representatives of different political parties, including the Communist Party. It conducted many bilateral meetings with organizations campaigning for peace and détente in the USSR, Poland, Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Yugoslavia, and other countries. Further, it made preparations for a multilateral meeting on problems of security in the Mediterranean.

The struggle of the Italian communists for détente and peace includes actions calling for international solidarity and actions aimed at settling conflicts and relaxing tension in tinder-box areas throughout the world, beginning with the Middle East. In May the committee set up for this purpose sent a ship with supplies for the peoples of Southern Africa. A similar committee organized the sending of equipment for schools and hospitals in Nicaragua. Both these solidarity actions involved government representatives as well.

The Italian communists are heading a campaign whose aim is to go beyond the Camp David accords and secure the official recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people. We are raising this question in the Italian Parliament and the European Parliament by means of various mass actions. These demands have the support of 23 influential deputies from the Christian-Democratic Party and many Socialist MPs.

In raising one problem or another, the Italian communists press for autonomous actions by Western Europe, for actions that would clear the way not only for a resumption of dialogue and, consequently, détente, but also for the settlement of the most urgent problems that would avert the threat of world conflicts.

AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS CALL FOR VIGILANCE

Clement Rohee
People's Progressive Párty of Guyana

While British colonialism was still supreme the People's Progressive Party was instrumental in creating the Guyana Peace Movement. Today, working in close cooperation with the Council, the communists place great emphasis on the need to rid Latin America and the Caribbean of all military bases. To be sure, there are other national issues, which demand attention and vigilance: to prevent foreign powers from building military bases on Guyana's soil; to strengthen amicable relations with our neighbors — Venezuela, Brazil, and Surinam; to work with the progressive forces in Surinam and Venezuela for a peaceful solution of border issues.

In order to mobilize public opinion, the party regularly raises topical questions of the struggle for peace and international security. It regularly organizes outdoor solidarity rallies and indoor public meetings, as well as signature campaigns on a country-wide basis. It arranges photo and poster exhibits and the showing of films. This sort of activity is carried on in the towns and villages. Only recently, for instance, mass solidarity activities were organized to commemorate the first anniversary of the Grenada revolution as a protest against the threat of military invasion. On May 17, 1980 a Day of Demonstrations was held on the party's initiative to express the Guyanese people's condemnation of the U.S. naval exercises in the Caribbean.

In order to organize the broadest public opinion we make maximum use of our publication, the weekly newspaper *Mirror* and the quarterly theoretical journal *Thunder*. Pamphlets and posters are also used as a means of enlightening our people on specific and topical issues related to the struggle for world peace.

These activities are yielding results: more and more people in our country, including prominent personalities, are joining in the struggle for peace.

We have had tremendous success in winning the cooperation of trade unions and religious and other mass organizations in promoting solidarity cam-

paigns. In many cases this has resulted in the creation of permanent committees, in which joint work is conducted in connection with issues in Southern Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe, and the Middle East.

The PPP has no illusions as to who are the real opponents of world peace and who are the real builders and defenders of peace. Life itself has taught us to make that differentiation. For these reasons we fully support the Peace Program of the socialist-community nations. We see it as our sacred duty to join hands with all freedom and peace-loving forces fighting for a world free of wars, for a world in which every man, woman and child would live happily.

'SOCIAL WELFARE, NOT WARFARE'

Bert Ramelson
Communist Party of Great Britain

In Great Britain there has been over the past few years a degree of complacency arising from an illusion that détente was stable and would develop naturally, and the peace movement was therefore losing its urgency. It must be noted self-critically that there was such thinking in our party, as well. However, world developments, particularly the decision to deploy a new generation of missiles in Europe brought people around to the sudden realization that détente was in jeopardy. As a result, there is now a resurgence of the peace movement generally, and communists have begun to give this question much more attention, treating peace campaigns as a matter of paramount importance.

A few words about the policy directions of the party's work. We are demanding a reduction of military spending, a cut in armaments, and especially taking a stand against nuclear rearmament. We are trying to build up pressure in order to make the government channel money earmarked for military purpose into social needs, and our slogan here is: 'Social welfare, not warfare.' We urge the resumption of talks, the discussion of difficult problems at a government-to-government level, believing that this would help to achieve better understanding between countries and reassert the spirit of détente. It is in this respect that the ratification of SALT II is important. The communists are doing all they can to expose the specious argument that the Soviet Union is an enemy bent on aggression. We are trying to make it clear that by claiming the threat of aggression, the British government is acting as a U.S. agent, deliberately whipping up hysteria and creating a tense situation. The communists appreciate the importance of this work, knowing that if they do it well they will not fail to win millions of people and thereby compel the government to change its policies.

I'll give some idea of the forms of struggle.

Mass demonstrations are being held on the initiative of communists and other forces of the left. These protest against the deployment of Cruise missiles on British soil, and are held mainly in places where, according to Mrs. Thatcher, they are likely to be deployed.

Various aspects of the peace struggle are viewed at *conferences* held with the active participation of communists. For example, in connection with the peace forum held in February 1979, a conference was convened at which we had the opportunity to present our proposals, particularly on the switch of the military industry to civilian production. We give high priority to this question, because the belief that the military industry ensures employment and the fear of losing employment are a serious inhibiting factor in the struggle against the arms race.

A conference held last February on the initiative of some trade unions, the Communist Party, and other organizations, set up the Peace Assembly, a new body one of whose objects is to establish and maintain contact with international peace organizations. An important conference, attended by about 3,000 persons representing various sections of the population, and political, cultural, and religious circles was held last April at Central Hall in London. This was the most significant event in the British peace movement over the past twenty years. At the conference the communists laid special emphasis on the fact that the Communist Party was using the entire weight of its influence, including the labor movement, to make the point that we need a government pursuing a different policy, a policy aimed at developing détente.

Last May we held a special conference, which discussed how best to mobilize the entire party for the struggle, how to make the most effective use of the energies of party members themselves in this struggle.

I should like to show the extent communists are cooperating with other progressive forces. In Britain we have quite a large number of organizations committed to the struggle for peace. We hold that communists should vigorously back every peace initiative, any established or emergent movement, and that they should act jointly with this huge diversity of forces on both the local and the national level.

In our struggle we lay great stress on the importance of the trade unions. The British organized working-class movement is now supporting a policy close to that of our party, and we should together bring pressure to bear on the government to compel it to implement this progressive policy. Let me give one example. In a single day, May 14, three million people responded to a call from the trade unions and took part in a campaign of action to demonstrate that the working people are opposed not to any single aspect of government policy — for instance, in the question of wages and employment — but to Conservative policy as a whole, including the rapid growth of the military budget. This was the first call of its kind in the British trade-union movement.

However, we are for the time being cooperating with trade unionists and members of the Labour

Party not on an official level but on an individual-to-individual basis. Communists are represented in various national organizations where they come forward with initiatives. But we have still not reached a level placing the CPGB in a position where its Executive could contact the Labour Party directly to propose the organization, say, of a joint demonstration. However, members of our Executive as individuals and members of the trade unions and the Labour Party leadership as individuals participate in joint actions. In our conditions this is a noteworthy advance compared with what we were able to do 10 or 12 years ago.

SOLIDARITY WITH REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES

Milton R. Paredes
Communist Party of Honduras

For the communists the struggle for peace is indivisibly linked to other tasks of the revolutionary process. The central issue today is to prevent intervention against El Salvador and Nicaragua. It is common knowledge that imperialism wants to use armed force to obstruct the victory of the revolution in El Salvador. Repressions against democrats are being intensified with each passing day. This makes it urgent to conduct a vigorous campaign of solidarity with the people of that country in order to resist the offensive of the reactionaries. If that is not done, if the progressives of other Central American countries remain passive in the face of the drama in El Salvador, the oligarchy and U.S. imperialism will not abandon their criminal objectives.

While taking part in this widening and profoundly selfless campaign, we have to take some specific elements into account. The various anti-reaction political forces of El Salvador are in the process of unification. It is important to stimulate this process, to prevent friction between the different organizations. The Honduran communists urge relegating group interests to the background and renouncing attempts to use solidarity actions to gain unilateral benefits or advantages. Our slogan therefore calls for solidarity of the Honduran people with the people of El Salvador and not with one or another organization.

At the same time, we are active in supporting the revolution in Nicaragua. After Somoza was deposed more than 5,000 of that family's guardsmen found asylum in Honduras, and there are now 30 camps in the country training counter-revolutionaries for an invasion of Nicaragua. The frontier with our neighbor is constantly violated with the aim of creating difficulties and destabilizing the Sandinista revolution. In this situation the democratic, progressive forces of Honduras are mobilizing in protest against the government's interference in Nicaragua's internal affairs. Innumerable demonstrations, rallies, conferences and other forums are held at which political, public and religious organizations declare their solidarity with the fraternal people of Nicaragua. This solidarity is also expressed in material terms: collection of money, goods, and clothes. Honduran volunteers stand ready to defend the Nicaraguan revolution.

Also, we do not lose sight of the urgency of peace actions for the settlement of our specific problem — the border issue between Honduras and El Salvador. In 1969 this dispute led to war with casualties on both sides. The problem remains and it further compounds the situation in Central America and may precipitate war throughout the region.

I'll give you an idea of the actions we are taking. In addition to demonstrations, rallies, and meetings, widespread forms of struggle are the take-over of state institutions, churches, and land, hunger strikes, and so forth. Protests are combined with economic and political demands. Last May Day, for example, the demonstation involved 100,000 people carrying slogans calling for solidarity, for peace on the Central American isthmus, and economic and political reforms.

A major role in organizing mass actions is played by the Patriotic Front of Honduras, which consists of over 60 political, public, religious, students', and other organizations. The Committee for Solidarity with the Struggle for the Central American Peoples was set up recently. By acting in these organizations and also in the Peace Council of Honduras, and using the press, radio, placards, and leaflets, the communists are mobilizing public opinion in support of the struggle for peace.

We send representatives to the international conferences convened by the Central American Peace Council. The communist parties of our region frequently hold joint meetings to discuss common problems and coordinate their actions. Last February, for example, we had a conference of communist parties of Central America, Panama, and Mexico with the struggle for peace and support for revolutionary forces as priority issues on the agenda. The communist parties of Central America recently signed a declaration in support of the struggle in El Salvador.

THE WORKING CLASS IS THE MAIN FORCE

Peter Boychuk
Communist Party of Canada

The main direction of the peace struggle of the Communist Party of Canada is to rally the masses to compel the Canadian government to adopt a foreign policy independent of the USA's war policy, for genuine Canadian independence based on détente and for peaceful relations with all countries, including socialist.

In spite of the anti-Soviet hysteria whipped up by political leaders and the mass media, large numbers of Canadians come out for détente and disarmament. One indication is the recent convention of the Canadian Labor Congress, Canada's main trade-union center, which took a position that brings it much closer to the position of the peace forces as a whole. The large protest demonstrations

against the U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean were another indication.

Because many nationalities inhabit our country, it is important to know which forces can take one or another initiative most effectively, and to support them. In the case of the U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean, during May, mass demonstrations of protest were held in front of the U.S. consulates in Toronto and Montreal; these were organized jointly by the peace committees and the various organizations of the people of the Caribbean area. When China invaded Vietnam, the campaign of protest was launched by a massive demonstration before the national parliament; it was organized jointly by the Vietnamese community and the Peace Congress.

Opposition to the government's pro-Washington policy is seen in other areas. Curtailment of grain sales to the Soviet Union were denounced by Canadian farmers. It affected their economic position directly. Canadian longshoremen on both the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards refused to join the U.S. longshoremen in boycotting the loading of grain bound for the Soviet Union. These disparate reasons for opposing anti-détente policies, at the present time, constitute the mass democratic base-in-the-making for an effective peace movement.

Communists are active in all peace organizations, among which the most prominent and influential is the Canadian Peace Congress. However, in order to bring the most decisive peace force, the working class, into an active struggle for peace, the Communist Party makes a special effort to involve the trade-union movement at all levels — local, provincial, and national. This is done, where possible, by united actions with the New Democratic Party members in the trade unions, especially with the growing left wing in the NDP. By convention decisions, the NDP is for Canada pulling out of NATO and NORAD. The right-wing leaders are advocating the opposite.

Resolutions adopted at rallies and demonstrations, organized jointly by communists, NDPers, and trade unionists called on Prime Minister Trudeau to immediately dissociate Canada from the U.S. Pentagon's policies in the Persian Gulf, in the interests of world peace and détente.

CIVILIAN INSTEAD OF MILITARY PRODUCTION

Rodny Öhman
Left Party — Communists of Sweden

In Sweden the peace movement, in which the communists have always been active, has strong traditions. Let me outline the issues to which the party is currently giving priority.

In the preparations for and conduct of mass demonstrations and in its explanatory materials the party press accentuates problems of peace, disarmament, and solidarity, and this paramount task is tied in point by point with Sweden's specific national tasks.

In parliament we press for the dismantling of military blocs. The communists back the idea of remolding the present army, whose technical equipment absorbs colossal funds, into a system of national defense. We have worked out the program for such a transformation and we propagate it among the people, insisting on its realization, for this will make it possible to end the production of increasingly more powerful and devastating weapons. This issue, as has been already noted, is linked directly to the problem of employment, for the people naturally associate the closure of weapons factories with the threat of unemployment. That is why we emphasize the need for charting and implementing an economic policy aimed at reorienting production in Sweden.

In speaking of the practical actions taken by the communists, I should like to cite an advertisement or, to be more exact, an appeal in the newspaper *Aftonbladet*. Actually it is a condensed program of concrete actions worked out by our party on the eve of the May Day demonstrations and circulated mainly by the trade-union press, and by ours. It lists the questions to which the communists draw attention; among them the struggle for peace and the problem of international solidarity are given priority. Further, there is a list of communists who speak on given issues in given localities in connection with the demonstrations. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that among those listed there are many women. This is indicative of the times. In Sweden women are very active in the struggle for peace. The party attaches considerable significance to work among women, supporting them and developing their initiatives and activities, for in the peace movement the word of women carries great weight. We have conducted many Women in the Peace Struggle campaigns and there have been big demonstrations. We intend to make wider use of this form of work.

Statistics from research centers are important to the party in formulating one question or another and in preparing publications. For example, in our examination of the question of switching the military industry to the output of civilian goods we relied on data from the Stockholm International Peace Studies Institute, whose materials are used widely in Sweden.

DEMOCRATIC FRONT VERSUS FASCISM

Hugo Fazio
Communist Party of Chile

While concentrating on bringing the Chilean people to contribute to the preservation of world peace, the communists of Chile, naturally, link this effort to the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle.

The most vigorous center of the Latin American revolution is now in Central America and the Caribbean. Imperialist provocations in that region acquire diverse forms and show that there is a growing danger of undisguised imperialist intervention, especially in view of the developments in

El Salvador. In this situation the party accentuates — for those who live in Chile and the many thousands of Chileans living in exile — the need for exposing the escalation of aggressive actions against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Central American states. The party has appealed to the people to take stronger actions to contain imperialist aggression.

We take into account that today there is a new balance of strength in the world. In Latin America, particularly, this is seen in the resistance encountered by the U.S. imperialists, a resistance that aborted their plans for an invasion of Nicaragua. As Fidel Castro noted, the decisive factor here was the broad democratic front of struggle for independence, against intervention, set up through the efforts of the peoples and many governments of the continent. This shows that we have immense potentialities, although it is apparent that the conditions for using these potentialities are not always similar.

The existence of fascist dictatorships championing the interests of the most reactionary and chauvinistic groups of finance capital is in itself a factor aimed against peace and détente. It is indicative that the press supporting Pinochet exhorts the USA to intervene in the affairs of El Salvador and Central America. Our party uses various channels to expose what lies behind these exhortations — the underground press, radio broadcasts from outside Chile, and especially explanatory work in mass organizations.

Imperialism and the most reactionary local groups are fomenting conflicts between Latin American states in order to drive a wedge between the peoples of Bolivia and Chile, Peru and Ecuador, Paraguay and Argentina, and so on. In particular, on account of the dispute over the Beagle Channel there recently was a serious danger of war between Argentina and Chile. The dispute has not been settled and its cause, as was pointed out by the communist parties of countries of the southern cone of Latin America, is the striving of imperialism, chiefly of U.S. imperialism, to assert its supremacy over this part of the continent and, in the long run, seize its oil and mineral wealth and have at its command the sea resources and strategic enclaves extending to the Antarctic. As regards the local reactionary forces, they are trying, by acting in this way, to divert the struggle of our peoples for the solution of their problems, bring them into collision with each other, and give every encouragement to chauvinism. These plans are opposed by the working people of Argentina and Chile. This has been expressed by the joint statements of the communist parties and episcopal conferences of the two countries.

Our party is taking strong action against the growth of spending on armaments and the allocation of huge sums to finance the dictatorship's repressive apparatus. A reduction of these expenditures would release enormous resources for satisfying the vital needs of the people and developing the national economy. Actions of this kind, the communists stress, erode the foundations of the fascist regime and they can be implemented only as a result of an active struggle against the dictatorship.

Lastly, I should like to draw attention to a point which we feel is extremely important. The wide-ranging campaign of international solidarity with the Chilean people, a campaign involving communists, social democrats, national liberation forces, Christian Democrats and liberals, international trade unions and innumerable mass organizations, large sections of religious people, and others — this world-wide denunciation of the Pinochet dictatorship and its isolation — constitutes a profoundly democratic international action of our times. Chilean communists are making every effort to sustain the scale of this international solidarity in order to keep the cause of the Chilean people in the focus of the broadest possible sections of progressive, democratic opinion. This will lend powerful support for our struggle against fascism and, at the same time, because the basic global problems of our epoch are interrelated, contribute to the struggle for peace, disarmament, and détente, for the creation of a new international economic order and, in the final analysis, for the victory of all progressive forces.

BENEFICIAL ROLE OF SOCIALISM

Polichronis Vais
Communist Party of Greece

In the struggle for peace our party focuses on showing the beneficial role of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and on exposing imperialism's policy of aggression. The strengthening of détente, security, and peace is interlocked with the settlement of economic and social problems and the promotion of democracy. To achieve these objectives it is vital to mobilize and unite all the peace and anti-imperialist forces and this, as we see it, devolves a special responsibility on the communist and workers' parties.

I shall dwell in some detail on this May's *Peace Decade** in Greece because the activities during those ten days in many ways reflected the orientations and forms of our struggle.

The Decade was held on the initiative of the Greek Committee for International détente and Peace in protest against the deterioration of the international situation. Meetings, rallies and various mass actions were conducted throughout the nation. The participants were workers, peasants, scientists, artists, students, teachers, priests, trade unionists, and housewives. Local peace committees were formed where they previously were nonexistent. Topical issues of the peace struggle were debated at mass conferences representative of a wide spectrum of political forces. For example, 50 district and branch meetings sent representatives to the Athens City Conference.

During the Decade there was a successful extraordinary national conference on détente and

*Throughout this article the term 'Decade' refers to a period of ten days. — *Ed.*

disarmament. It was attended by 600 representatives from 115 meetings and local conferences, and also members of parliament and activists of democratic opposition parties. The conference considered questions such as the arms race and its economic and social consequences; education in the spirit of peace and disarmament; culture, environment, and the arms race. Women, young people, mayors and MPs, trade unionists, athletes and sports commentators and, during the preparatory period, priests discussed their own specific problems at round-table talks. These defined the tasks and demands of the Greek movement for peace and disarmament.

During the Decade our press published the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty nations.

The Decade ended with a peace concert at the Karayskakis Stadium, where well-known composers, singers, and musicians performed for an audience of tens of thousands.

It is indicative that the conference in North Greece was attended by delegations from the peace movements of Turkey and Cyprus. Turkish singers performed at the peace concert. It is our invariable practice to discuss and try to resolve problems of the peace struggle jointly with the progressive forces of neighboring countries. For instance, the National Committee for the Dismantling of Foreign Military Bases and the Greek Committee for International détente and Peace sponsored an international conference on Crete to protest against the presence of foreign military bases in the Mediterranean. This conference was attended by representatives of peace forces of 23 countries.

I think that this brief survey will give an idea of the scale of the peace struggle in Greece and how the communists act. The Communist Party has always been in the forefront of this movement. We have had peace marathons and collected signatures under appeals. The Greek Committee for International Détente and Peace was set up 25 years ago on communist initiative. Its program envisages uniting the nation's peace forces, irrespective of their political affiliation, in the efforts to promote cooperation with all nations, with our neighbors in the first place. We remain true to that tradition. The party is doing its utmost to rally the nation's political, public, and religious forces to defend détente and peace.

At a recent plenary meeting the CPG Central Committee highly appraised and pledged its backing for the Appeal of Communists to the European Peoples for Peace and Disarmament adopted at the Paris meeting of communist and workers' parties, and also the Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee. The plenary meeting directed party organizations, members, and supporters and the communist youth of Greece to launch a nation-wide campaign to arrest the NATO decision on the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe and demand a policy of détente, an immediate agreement on a limitation on armaments, a campaign for the success of the scheduled meeting in Madrid, and the convocation of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. The communists are calling for a campaign for Greece's total withdrawal from NATO, the dismantling of U.S. and NATO bases on Greek territory, and a ban on use of Greek territory by the imperialists for aggression against Iran and the Arab peoples. The communists are taking action to achieve these aims.

This exchange of views between representatives of fraternal parties of capitalist countries has thus shown:

— the communists see the struggle for world peace and security, for the strengthening of détente, and for disarmament as one of the paramount tasks in the present difficult situation in which there is the danger of a slide into another cold war;

— in this struggle the communists are making every effort to unite all people of good will, people of different political and religious persuasions, all progressive, democratic forces, the innumerable organizations and groups opposed to imperialism's aggressive intentions, to the growing threat of war;

— for this purpose the fraternal parties are drawing upon the entire wealth of their accumulated experience, the entire arsenal of forms and methods of work among the people, to mobilize public opinion in defense of peace.

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Solidarity, independence, progress

Nouri Abdel Razzak
Acting Secretary General,
Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization

Successor to Bandung

The Afro-Asian solidarity movement arose in the mid-1950s, during a powerful upturn in the national liberation struggle involving many millions of people in the colonial possessions of European powers and in the newly-free countries. The rise and character of the movement were largely predetermined by the historic Bandung summit of 29 Asian and African countries (April 1955).[1] Bandung went a long way toward promoting the unity and cohesion of the new states that had won political independence, of the national liberation forces of both continents.

Before closing the Bandung meeting the delegates declared there would be another conference of Afro-Asian nations. But no further conference has been convened. Even so, Bandung initiated two unprecedented movements on our continents, expressive of two levels of cooperation among the national liberation forces: cooperation between states and cooperation between non-governmental organizations. They are the non-aligned movement and the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, each of which holds a place of its own, in spite of a certain kinship between them and the similarity of their tasks, and plays an important and independent role in the socio-political life of our planet.

AAPSO was brought into being at the first, or founding, conference (Cairo, December 26, 1957 — January 1, 1958). The spokesmen of newly-free nations and of peoples still fighting for independence were well aware of the inseparable connection between their struggles. They were convinced that freedom was indivisible and that the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces could defeat their common enemy only if they were united, if they achieved solidarity. They had no illusions as to who was their friend and who their enemy.

AAPSO has from the first regarded itself as the natural continuator of and successor to Bandung. By embodying the lofty ideals of Bandung in its own objectives and policies, our organization has been carrying forward the historic decisions of that meeting, for life and the dynamics of the liberation struggle continuously pose new problems that must be solved.

Indeed, deep-going changes occurred in the world, including Asia and Africa, shortly after AAPSO had been founded. By the mid-1960s, the overwhelming majority of one-time colonies and dependencies were politically independent. But this is not to say that the battle with imperialism was over or could be slackened. Compelled by the gains of the liberation movement to abandon 'traditional' colonial methods, the imperialists went over to neo-colonialist exploitation of the developing nations. It was their aim to create an integrated military, political and economic machinery to suppress the world national liberation movement.

Neo-colonialism is flexible and skilled in adjusting to the conditions in the independent new states. With support from some sections of the fast-growing local bourgeoisie in several developing countries, especially from its parasitical, bureaucratic segments, as well as from the military and feudal upper stratum, neo-colonialism is trying to turn these countries into its stronghold in the given region. The reactionary nature of the alliance between the neo-colonialists and the ruling elite was strikingly seen in Iran, long described by imperialist propaganda as an instance of successful neo-colonial 'modernization.' However, the downfall of the shah's regime brought into focus extremely sharp social antagonisms that were largely a product of this policy. The people's revolution in Iran is explicitly anti-colonial and anti-imperialist.

At the earliest stages of its activity, our organization recognized the threat of neo-colonialism and called the attention of the Afro-Asian peoples to it.[2] The April 1961 AAPSO Council meeting in Bandung defined neo-colonialism as the totality of new, more sophisticated and more cleverly disguised means of maintaining imperialist domination and as the main danger threatening the peoples who had won freedom or were at the threshold of liberation.

Considering the struggle for political liberation and the struggle for economic liberation to be inseparable, AAPSO has always stressed that the winning of national independence by new states is not the end but the beginning of a further and harder battle, the battle for economic independence. Firm resistance to neo-colonialist expansion, a powerful offensive against the imperialist system of exploiting developing nations, primarily by multinationals, meant that the peoples of newly-free states had begun their second battle for independence.

The work of our organization, too, entered a new stage. While the principal task of the solidarity movement at the first stage was to support and help oppressed peoples fighting for liberation from colonial tyranny, the second stage saw the emphasis shift to the socio-economic sphere (which does not imply that political issues are no longer relevant).

New content

At the new stage, economic development problems are a major arena of struggle between the forces of liberation, democracy, and progress and those of imperialism, neo-colonialism, and reaction, a key sphere of confrontation between newly-free nations and industrial capitalist countries. This objectively carries the peoples' anti-imperialist liberation struggle deeper and gives it a new social content. Realizing that this process is irreversible, AAPSO concluded that in many countries, 'the struggle for national liberation has actually become a struggle against feudalist and capitalist relations of exploitation.'[3]

The experience of the peoples that have freed themselves from colonial bondage has confirmed that successful development depends first and foremost on the orientation one or another country has opted for, on the breadth and scale of the social and economic changes in these countries benefiting the masses.

AAPSO stresses that to attain these goals the developing countries, chiefly the non-aligned nations, must strengthen their unity and cooperation. We consider that the Arusha Declaration[4] facilitates the promotion of such cooperation and consolidates the position of the developing nations in the face of pressure from industrial capitalist countries and multinational corporations. Also, broader economic ties and trade with socialist countries are making it easier for the developing countries to achieve economic independence. AAPSO is concerned, therefore, about the fact that the enormous oil profits are invested in the industrialized world instead of being used to help the developing countries raise their economic rate.

The struggle for a new international economic order is going on, as the Havana summit of the non-aligned movement recognized, within the framework of the general struggle of peoples for political, economic, cultural and social liberation, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, including apartheid and Zionism, and all other forms of foreign domination and oppression.

AAPSO emphasizes the need for far-reaching structural changes in the developing countries themselves, thus going back to a cardinal issue that was first raised and formulated in substance by the Bandung Conference 25 years ago. What I mean is the exercise of full and effective sovereignty over natural resources, raw materials, and so on to eliminate non-equivalent exchange, as well as the exercise of control over the activity of foreign capital and transnational corporations. Industrial powers must recognize these principles, which are of decisive importance for the developing world.

Fundamental changes in socio-economic structures are the only way for the developing countries to transform their economies, now vulnerable, into a creative force and achieve real progress instead of mere 'statistical' growth. This is something for which the masses are willing to make the requisite sacrifices, being the main supporter of this solution.

In the effort to restructure international economic relations, equal emphasis must be put on cooperation among the new, independent states. A guarantee of success in this struggle is still closer relations between them and the countries of the socialist community on a mutually complementary basis, on the principles of mutual interests, solidarity and assistance. It is important, furthermore, for the developing nations to proceed from the principle of collective self-reliance with a view to accelerating their development, promoting their unity and strengthening their positions in negotiations with the big capitalist powers. Hence the need to continue resisting with the greatest resolve and vigor all attempts to divide the non-aligned and other developing countries.

More and more new states of Asia and Africa reject the capitalist road, the road which prevents them from ending their age-long backwardness and, indeed, aggravates their plight, as they have learned by experience. The AAPSO report to the International Conference on New International Development Strategies (Geneva, October 22-23, 1979) said that 'developing countries which tried to imitate the Western (i.e., capitalist. — *N.R.*) type of development adopted strategies that ultimately led to dependence on developed capitalist countries.'[5]

The non-capitalist road chosen by new states rejecting this outcome is a stage at which the social, economic, material, and technical conditions are created for beginning socialist construction. As for the corresponding revolutionary democratic regime, it is a form of government, which in present-day conditions, has better prospects of meeting the economic and social needs of most of the Afro-Asian countries that have taken this road. I think factors such as a consistently progressive policy by the revolutionary democrats leaning on the masses at home and the socialist community abroad provide a solid basis on which to begin socialist organization. The working class is the leading force qualified by its class nature and in the present objective situation is to play an outstanding role in this revolutionary process.

The emergence of socialist-oriented countries on the world scene lent AAPSO work new substance and meaning. Their economic, social, and cultural achievements have set an example for other newly-free nations. Their constructive effort is spurring the progressive patriotic forces even where power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie bent on developing and perpetuating capitalist relations. 'We believe,' said the General Declaration of the Fifth AAPSO Conference, 'that the countries which have taken the path of non-capitalist development constitute the vanguard of the movement for national liberation for Asian, African and Latin American peoples.'[6]

A most important orientation of AAPSO's socio-economic activity is, logically enough, to study and publicize the experience of socialist-oriented states. Our organization has never divorced its fight for the people's independence and sovereignty, against every manifestation of neo-colonialism, from active

support for these states. These tasks are closely interlocked and this is a reflection of the oneness of the contemporary revolutionary process.

The goals of our unity

Life has proved that there is no winning and maintaining political independence, eliminating the legacy of colonialism in a historically short time, repulsing imperialist and neo-colonialist attacks, and assuring economic and social progress without uniting the progressive patriotic forces in the country concerned, and second, without promoting the interaction of national liberation fighters with other contingents of the world democratic and revolutionary movement.

The Afro-Asian solidarity movement has invariably made a notable contribution to the fulfillment of both these tasks, which are of fundamental significance to it. AAPSO activity helps join together the efforts of various contingents of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa; it helps them formulate and specify the principles of their strategy and tactics — through discussion, through broad exchanges of opinion and experience. The national solidarity committees of many countries include members of revolutionary democratic parties and organizations, communists, left-wing socialists, patriotic religious leaders, and trade unionists. Our movement is, in effect, a form of anti-imperialist unity of a wide range of political and social forces, many of which differ ideologically but all of which have a common desire for national independence and social progress.

However, AAPSO is not an exclusive regional alignment. Its rules state that it is 'part of the world anti-imperialist front and carries on its activity in militant unity with all the progressive forces of the world.' It is significant that the democratic progressive character of the solidarity movement comes out in boldest relief only when close relations are maintained with these forces.

A matter of special importance for new Asian and African states fighting for liberation is to extend and strengthen relations with their natural and loyal allies in the international arena, the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. The rise and consolidation of the world socialist system, and its growing political, economic, and military strength curb imperialism and add to the revolutionary potentialities of the national liberation movement. Furthermore, the deliverance of peoples from colonial tyranny and their independent course of development also meet the class interests of the socialist countries, for they narrow the sphere of colonial or neo-colonial political and economic domination. This is a major condition for the anti-imperialist unity of developing and socialist countries on the basis of common fundamental goals and tasks.

Our imperialist and neo-colonialist enemies are well aware that durable relations and close political, economic, and cultural cooperation between newly-free and socialist countries help strengthen the world anti-imperialist front. They therefore do their best to disrupt these relations.

The old colonial powers and their imperialist and neo-colonialist successors pose as defenders of Muslim countries. In reality the imperialists and their allies encroach on these countries' independence, plunder their resources, violate their rights, and treat their cultural and religious heritage with contempt.

While we believe in the value of the positive aspects of the legacy of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and other religious doctrines and feel that they can and should be put in the service of the anti-imperialist struggle of the progressive patriotic forces, we are convinced that the imperialist forces distort and exploit this age-old legacy to the detriment of the Afro-Asian peoples' true interests. The U.S. imperialists, for instance, have always backed and abetted Israel's policy of aggression and virtually given away Jerusalem to the Zionists. Thus they, too, stand convicted of flouting the sentiments and violating the interests of millions for whom it is a holy city.

AAPSO, which steadfastly supports the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples, regardless of their religious creeds or convictions, against imperialist diktat and neo-colonial exploitation, for national sovereignty and independence, calls for resolute, uncompromising exposure of the intrigues of the imperialist forces, whose chief aim is to regain or strengthen their positions in these countries.

Our organization's effort contributes greatly to forging closer bonds between national liberation fighters and the peoples of the socialist community. The solidarity movement is, in substance, a form of cooperation and interaction between various streams of the world revolutionary process: the national democratic movement, the democratic forces and organizations of the working people of developed capitalist countries, and the socialist world system.

Our movement has close relations also with the non-aligned movement. Both spring from one and the same source, the historic Bandung Conference, as I have said earlier. They hold identical or almost identical views on many international problems. The progressive patriotic forces in the solidarity movement help strengthen the anti-imperialist orientation of the foreign policy of non-aligned states. They emphatically reject the proposition that non-alignment means an 'equidistance' from the imperialist powers and the socialist countries.

AAPSO has observer status in the non-aligned movement and attends all its meetings. It took part in the Havana summit. A statement released by AAPSO at the close of the Havana forum spoke highly of the political results of the meeting, which, it said, had set tasks common to all the participants in the movement and finalized the policy of collective resistance to imperialism's militarist and neo-colonialist activities.

Nevertheless, there are still essential distinctions between the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and

the non-aligned movement. This is due to their respective natures. The non-aligned movement is very heterogeneous socially and from the class point of view. It comprises states with different social, economic, and political systems. This means that in resisting imperialism and neo-colonialism, it cannot but confine itself to general democratic objectives and tasks acceptable to them all.

The positive, constructive aspect is more pronounced in the solidarity movement. AAPSO activity is characterized by a deeper and richer social content, particularly at this stage. Directed, in the final analysis, against all forms of exploitation of man, it is, in effect, an instrument leading the masses through struggle for national liberation to struggle for a fundamental reshaping of the system of social relations, for a socialist future.

Cooperating with all peace forces

The success of national liberation movements, and hence of our organization, hinges in large measure on the international situation, particularly détente. The struggle for world peace and security is a major task of AAPSO.

This is why the progressive patriotic forces in the Afro-Asian solidarity movement are seriously concerned about the deterioration of international relations provoked lately by the more aggressive circles of imperialism. AAPSO is following with anxiety the escalation of U.S. war preparations: the decision to deploy new types of nuclear missiles in Western Europe adopted under the pressure of the Pentagon, the expanding U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, Washington's decision to put off the ratification of SALT II indefinitely, the signing of a new agreement with Turkey on military bases, the expansion and modernization of U.S. naval facilities on the Diego Garcia and Masira islands, and Washington's resumption of military ties with former members of the defunct CENTO bloc.

U.S. imperialism has not renounced its old policies in spite of a series of devastating setbacks in various parts of the planet. It has now seized on the events in Afghanistan to revive war hysteria. Yet these events can under no circumstances serve as a justification for pushing the world toward a nuclear catastrophe threatening to destroy all that mankind has achieved and to undermine the principles of peaceful coexistence and détente, for whose triumph the nations of the world have fought unrelentingly for so long.

While reaffirming its support of the Afghan people's April Revolution, AAPSO hopes for an early removal of the tension created by the dangerous actions of U.S. imperialism and reactionary circles.

New Afghanistan is fighting against a vast conspiracy of imperialist and reactionary forces. Having created a further flashpoint, these forces want to re-enmesh the region in a network of military bases and pacts and to divert public attention from their acts of aggression in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. The myth of a 'Soviet military threat' is used as a smokescreen to galvanize the idea of setting up a military political bloc in the Persian Gulf, an idea rejected earlier by most countries of the region.

The continuous threats against the revolutionary movements in Iran and Afghanistan, the provocative sabre-rattling, and the mounting anti-Soviet hysteria are designed to enable imperialism, Zionism and reaction to carry out their sinister plans of 'solving' the Middle East problems under cover of this hue and cry. This is the chief purpose of the Camp David deal flouting the legitimate rights and interests of Arab peoples, primarily the people of Palestine.

We consider that every effort must be made to support the Arab national liberation movement and to help bring about a comprehensive Middle East settlement. This settlement can only be based on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the areas seized by them as a result of the 1967 aggression and on the restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination, to return to their homeland, and to establish an independent state. AAPSO must rally public opinion to resist Israel's unremitting acts of aggression against neighboring countries, its attempts to destroy the Palestinian resistance, and its policy of colonizing the occupied Arab territories. Our organization supports the patriots and people of Arab countries who reject attempts to impose an imperialist-inspired settlement, that is, to restore and consolidate neo-colonial imperialist domination in the Arab world.

AAPSO is deeply concerned about the strengthening of the dangerous alliance between the Israeli Zionists and the South African racists. The threat this poses to peace was underscored by recent reports that Israel and South Africa are jointly designing nuclear weapons and have possibly tested them already.

The struggle for the complete extirpation of all forms of colonialism and racism and for an end to the disgraceful apartheid system remains a key task of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement laid down in the AAPSO rules. Our organization plans to continue mobilizing world progressive world opinion against South Africa's racist colonial regime, which brutally oppresses the majority of the population of its own country and occupied Namibia and, moreover, gravely endangers world peace. Participants in the solidarity movement will unrelentingly expose the links between South African racists and the Western imperialists and give unstinting moral and material support to the freedom fighters of Southern Africa.

AAPSO hails the great victory of the patriots of Zimbabwe, achieved not as a result of aid and support from imperialist countries but in spite of their efforts to continue dominating that country, its natural resources and severely tried people, through their agents and puppets if not directly. However, our organization warns against the danger of imperialist and racist intrigues designed to rob the Zimbabwe people of the fruits of their hard-won victory.

China's new, unseemly role in Asia and on the international scene became apparent after it launched aggression against socialist Vietnam and gave its support to the fascist Pol Pot regime, which perpetrated a horrid massacre, slaying three million Cambodians. China backs the U.S. and Pakistan, which is now being massively armed by the imperialists against the Afghan revolution. Hence the importance for the peoples of Asia and the world to be on guard against the U.S.-Chinese-Japanese axis aimed at creating and escalating tensions and at destabilizing the situation in Asia.

Détente is experiencing difficulties. But there is no reasonable alternative to it. The peace forces of the world, those of Asia and Africa included, are equal to stopping all military adventurers who try to intimidate the peoples and prevent their independent, free progress.

Our organization is active in the struggle to avert any resurgence of the cold war. Its recent record includes the International Conference Against Imperialist Bases, for Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean, held in Malta; a statement by its Permanent Secretariat expressing readiness to contribute to the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan; and the International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of Afro-Asian Peoples for Independence, Security and Socio-Economic Progress (Colombo). The solidarity movement is determined to go on doing all in its power to sustain and carry forward détente and to enable the peoples of the planet to live, work, and build their future in peace.

AAPSO supports the UN resolutions on disarmament, on curbing the arms race, and abolishing military bases and pacts. Special mention should be made of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted by the Sixth UN Special Session. It stresses the urgency of providing a vast economic potential to improve the living standards of the nations concerned, particularly as technological progress is made in every economic field. This cannot be done with out eliminating all vestiges of foreign occupation, racial discrimination, and neo-colonialism in any form, which are still the main obstacles to the complete liberation and progress of the developing countries and peoples.

Accordingly, AAPSO stresses the need to consolidate the non-aligned movement and promote solidarity with its struggle against military pacts and bases jeopardizing the independence and security of the peoples of the world. The non-aligned movement has considerable leverage in international politics and plays an effective role in curbing the arms race and upholding cooperation and peaceful coexistence as the only alternative.

The efforts and growing presence of the socialist community have created a much needed international balance, which can and should foster and encourage appreciation of the need for cooperation, fair solutions, and fair treatment of the developing countries through give-and-take relations. This is the only way to bring about an international situation free of tension and leading to peace in the true sense of the word.

The history of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, of its manifold activities in the service of peace, national and social liberation, and man's freedom and dignity, is evidence that AAPSO has always been prompted by lofty goals, has made common cause with the forces of progress and democracy, and championed the interests of the actual makers of the future of Asia and Africa. It will persevere in its unremitting effort to strengthen the world anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist front and to uphold the ideals of freedom and social progress.

1. See Sarada Mitra, 'Bandung and Present-day Realities,' *WMR*, May 1980.
2. See *Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Movement (Principles — Structure — Friendly Organizations)*, Cairo, 1961, pp. 19-29.
3. *20 Years of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization. Analysis and Documents*, Part I, 1977, p. 310.
4. Program of restructuring international economic relations put forward at the 1979 meeting of the Group of 77 in Arusha, Tanzania. — *Ed.*
5. *Development and Socio-Economic Progress*. 4/1979, p. 17.
6. *20 Years of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization*, Part I, p. 310.

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New points in the CPA program

Franz Muhri
Chairman, Communist Party of Austria

Austria's communists are preparing for their 24th Congress, to be held on December 6-8, 1980. As well as hearing the Central Committee report, defining the policy line for the period ahead and electing the leading party bodies, the congress will adopt new rules. The drafting of a new program is nearing completion. However, the draft will not be discussed in detail in December; there will first be a discussion in party organizations and then the draft plus suggested amendments will be submitted to an extraordinary congress.

Preparations for the December congress are in full swing. Party organizations are democratically discussing all the basic party problems and documents, as well as the question of cadre. The congress is expected to deliberate in a critical and self-critical atmosphere with the view to improving our political, ideological, and organizational work and making our struggle for the interests of labor more effective.

The domestic political situation is influenced by the coming tenth anniversary of the country's first social-democratic government. Ever since 1971, this government has had the absolute majority on the National Council, the country's highest legislative assembly. For the communists and our working-class movement a correct assessment of the rule of a social-democratic regime that has been in power for so long is of fundamental importance.

There is no denying that some useful reforms have been enacted in the past decade. However, they were limited in scope because none of them went beyond the bounds of 'social partnership,' the typically Austrian form of state-monopoly capitalism. They were all drafted by exceedingly narrow bodies made up of government officials, spokesmen of business, and trade union bosses. The ultimate goal of the Socialist Party of Austria was to avert large-scale united class actions by the working people and divert them from struggle to change the social system.

This is not to say that the reforms were a gift from the government. Many were put into effect under pressure from below, as a result of militant action by the working people in the enterprises, residential neighborhoods, and various public spheres. The communists, who vigorously defend the interests of labor, made a tangible contribution to the struggle for reforms.

There was, for instance, a successful signature campaign demanding a reduction of the income tax paid by wage workers. The government had to take important steps to level up the rights of blue- and white-collar workers. Abortion was legalized after years of campaigning. A reform of the family law brought women legal equality with men on many issues.

Developments have shown the CPA concepts and alternatives aimed at preserving jobs and creating new ones to be constructive and sound. Many people outside our party now recognize the need to expand nationalized industries, and indeed, some measures have already been adopted to that end. The development of economic relations with socialist countries, on which the communists always insist, has helped to preserve jobs. The result is that in spite of the economic crisis and unlike other developed capitalist countries, Austria has avoided mass unemployment.

The government is now campaigning to give credit for all this to the social democrats. It is also promoting the idea that if the SPA lost its absolute majority and a bourgeois bloc government came to power full employment and other democratic and socio-political gains would be jeopardized. This ploy has largely helped the social-democrats to consolidate their position in parliament from election to election. This also explains why the CPA, which was quite successful in the elections of the first half of the 1970s, lost support in 1975, when our country was hit by an economic crisis. The fact is that a section of our traditional electorate wants to head off the advent of a bourgeois government and so votes socialist even though it continues to approve of communist policy.

Generally speaking, the SPA leaders' promise to work out a 'great alternative' to the policy of the government led by the bourgeois Austrian People's Party (APP) has proved to be a soap bubble. Today, as we enter the 1980s, the nation's fundamental problems remain unresolved.

Instead of the national income being distributed in the working people's favor there is a vast redistribution of wealth in favor of capital. This is done by manipulating the budget and taxes and through price and wages policies. Taxes imposed on the population have more than tripled since 1970. Income inequality has never been as great as today. The propertied classes' privileges are intact. The promise to call off the curbs put on tenants' rights by the APP government is still unfulfilled and so is the commitment to build 100,000 inexpensive flats annually.

The treaty signed with the EEC in 1972 has given foreign capital a tighter hold (it already controls one-third of Austria's largest factories). The foreign trade deficit has gone up sharply. The share of national industry in the home market is steadily

diminishing, while the share of the output of Common Market monopolies shows an equally steady increase. This is one of the principal reasons why the number of industrial jobs is gradually diminishing.

The 1975 crisis phenomena in the economy dispelled the illusion that the nature of capitalism had changed since the war. Social insecurity has become a permanent aspect of the nation's life. Although 1979 saw a 5 per cent rise of the GNP, forecasts for 1980 speak of a mere 2 or 2.5 per cent increase. The monopolies and the state unscrupulously exploit fear of joblessness to put pressure on the working people, whom they want to saddle with the burden of the crisis.

Civil rights and freedoms are curtailed under the guise of 'social partnership.' The legislatively declared equality of women has hardly altered their virtual inequality. Women's wages fall short of men's by an average of one-third. The propertied classes retain their educational privileges, students from working-class families making up a meagre 13 per cent. While the attitude to neo-fascism and right-wing extremism is tolerant and neo-fascists carry on their propaganda unhampered, anti-fascist material is confiscated — all this after ten years of social-democratic rule. The manipulation of public opinion through the media in the interests of the ruling class has assumed unprecedented proportions. This applies above all to radio and television, in which conservatives and reactionaries hold leading positions. The background to this is a trend toward concentrating economic power.

The root cause of the failure of the 'great alternative' promised by the social-democratic leaders is that they never intended to bear down on the principles of the capitalist system. The government is still committed to its policy of 'social partnership,' which helps strengthen the positions of capital. SPA leaders in leading economic or government positions gradually become bourgeoisified.

It is only fair to note that the social-democrats' current foreign policy has some merits. In the past decade, the Kreisky government's stance on some foreign policy issues has changed for the better. His government favors the maintenance and extension of détente. It has taken further steps to improve relations with the socialist countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Formerly the SPA leadership backed Israel's policy of aggression, but it now declares itself for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict and urges recognition of the Palestinian people's right to have their own state.

To be sure, the social-democrats are often inconsistent in this respect. Their one-sided orientation on the EEC tends to undermine Austria's sovereignty and the permanent neutrality declared by it. While favoring disarmament, the government makes no protest against the NATO decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. It takes no steps against the misuse of the media in the interests of imperialist propaganda centers. It does not stop the slander campaign against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in particular the lies that there is a 'Soviet threat.' In an international situation aggravated by U.S. imperialism, the extent to which Austria's bourgeois media are involved in psychological preparations for war is all the more striking. Nor is this surprising, for the social-democratic leaders of Austria are on the right flank of the Socialist International's anti-communist front.

A characteristic of the political situation in Austria is the permanent crisis affecting both conservative parties, the APP, and the still more rightist Austrian Freedom Party. The crisis springs from a fundamental contradiction between both parties' members and supporters among the working people, on the one hand, and the policy of the party leaders, who frankly defend the profit-motivated system, on the other.

The difficulties besetting the APP and AFP stem in no small measure from their having lost, so to speak, their function as spokesmen of capitalist interests. As for the SPA, it is willing to meet every wish or demand of the monopolies and can, moreover, appeal to the masses for support, since it is more agreeable to reform than the conservative parties.

The experience of our country shows that as far as the working class is concerned, a social-democratic government is unquestionably preferable to a conservative bourgeois government. But in a sense it is also more profitable to the capitalists, for the social democrats can effect measures sought by monopoly more easily, having the support of the trade unions, which they control and which are firmly integrated into the 'social partnership' system. The result is that the unions accept unpopular measures adopted by a social-democratic government although they would have taken a stand against such measures had they been proposed by a conservative bourgeois government.

To the CPA, working-class unity of action pivoted on socialist-communist cooperation, as well as on an alliance of all democratic and anti-monopoly forces, is not a tactical matter but a fundamental concept determining the party's strategic orientation. The CPA considers that the main contradiction in the country is not the contradiction between the socialists and communists, as right-wing social-democratic leaders allege, but the confrontation between labor and capital.

We are convinced that as the room for reformist maneuver has shrunk, the 1980s will reveal that the fundamental problems facing Austria's working people cannot be resolved under capitalism. Evidently, the instability of state-monopoly capitalism and its vulnerability to crisis will grow both in the economy and in other spheres. This state of affairs objectively gives rise to an increasing need for an anti-monopoly policy that can only be implemented with a changed alignment of political forces. The road to this is a swing to the left; joint struggle by the socialists, communists, and APP members from among the working people; the transformation of the trade unions from an instrument of class collaboration into a militant contin-

gent of the working class; and, last but not least, a stronger Communist Party.

In view of the situation and the outlook for its evolution, the communists help carry out joint initiatives, actions and movements to win specific pressing demands in the enterprises, the municipal sphere and other public fields. We combine this effort with increasingly emphatic and deep-going criticism of capitalism, support for anti-monopoly alternatives, and the fostering of socialist consciousness. We concentrate on three interlinked key tasks.

First, preserving jobs and creating new ones, preventing youth unemployment by pursuing an anti-monopoly economic policy, and defending and extending the working people's social and political gains. We have succeeded, for example, in organizing at the nationalized Judenburg steel plant united action against the planned shutdown of important shops, for the preservation of jobs and the manufacture of new products. We demand that the state allocate more funds for the purpose. Signatures were collected on our initiative in support of the proposal to lower the retirement age from 60 to 55 in the case of people on physically exacting jobs, night or shift work, or jobs hazardous to health. This action was widely acclaimed by the working people. In enterprises employing female labor, we insist on equality in pay while making it clear that real equality can only be guaranteed by changing the social system. Our campaign for a social and democratic reform of housing legislation is proceeding under the slogan 'Housing should be no source of profit for the minority.'

The *second* highly important field of activity of the CPA is defense and extension of the working people's democratic rights. The fight for democracy in the production sphere is gaining in militancy. We demand freedom of political and trade union activity at the enterprises and greater democracy in the unions. An example of this is united action against the dismissal of the Semperit company's employees who refused to take non-paid work, as well as against the transfer of several production council members to another enterprise to prevent them from articulating employees' interests. A very important demand is for nationalized enterprises and banks to be transformed from bastions of state-monopoly capital into an instrument of anti-monopoly struggle by, for example, removing agents of Austrian and foreign big capital from the boards and ensuring real participation in management by the employees. The CPA supports the student movement for a democratic reform of education and seeks a reduction of hostel rent and lower prices in students' dining-halls. A large measure of unity of action has been achieved on these demands and the Union of Communist Students plays a noticeable part in the campaign. Joint actions by communists, socialists, and anti-fascist Catholics for the prohibition of neo-fascist organizations and their propaganda are very valuable. Our experience suggests that the trend toward curbing democratic rights is typical of the capitalist system. It also indicates that only through joint united action against monopoly capitalist power can the working people defend and extend democracy.

The *third* task is to sustain a dynamic nationwide campaign for Austria to abide by an active policy of neutrality and in this way contribute to détente and the worldwide struggle for disarmament and peace. We consider that differences of opinion should be no obstacle to joint action for peace and security. The Austrian peace movement encompasses forces representing a very wide political and ideological spectrum. We want the Federal government, National Council and Federal President to press vigorously for a deferment of the implementation of the NATO decision to deploy in Western Europe American medium-range missiles, for the ratification of SALT II, the Madrid meeting of participants in the CSCE and a conference on military détente and disarmament.

The CPA has lately been making a special effort to strengthen its ranks politically, ideologically, and organizationally and to intensify its work among the masses. We believe that in spite of objective difficulties emphasis must be put on critical and self-critical internal discussion of the party's activity and tasks and on steps to rid our work of subjective shortcomings.

We have every reason to consider the policy line defined by the 23rd Party Congress to be correct. Even so, we cannot ignore shortcomings in its application, which depends largely on the degree of organization, the use of better working methods by party bodies from the CC downwards, systematic guidance of the work of all echelons, and regular verification of fulfillment of decisions.

The new rules are intended to help improve organizational work. The point is to lay greater emphasis in them on the Leninist standards of party life, collective leadership and personal responsibility, members' rights and duties and, first of all, democratic centralism as the main principle of a communist organization.

'The decisive aspect of organizational work in the period ahead,' says a resolution adopted by the CPA Central Committee in June 1979, 'should be a sustained and methodical cadre policy aimed at bringing young people, particularly young workers, into the party, making young communists functionaries and activists of our party, and renewing and reinforcing leading bodies in this connection.'

The numerical strength of our party has lately grown to some extent. Two-thirds of the new members are below 40. But only a few are active in party work. Experience has made it clear that where we draw young comrades into party work it shows a notable uptrend and the party's political appeal to the masses becomes stronger.

We see a major task in strengthening factory party groups and heightening their militancy. To accomplish this task, we must draw more on the assistance of blue- and white-collar workers who have so far done party work only at their places of residence. Party branches in residential neighborhoods will have to give more attention to problems of

municipal policy, keeping in mind the growing importance of environmental protection.

It is vital to perfect the party's educational work in the context of the intensifying ideological and class struggle at the national and international level. We have taken early steps to improve the content and form of agitation among the masses. We have improved the content and raised the journalistic standard of the national daily of the CPA Central Committee, *Volksstimme*. The paper has become one of our most effective ideological weapons. It is not only a collective propagandist and agitator but a collective organizer of our struggle.

However, there are still serious weak points and shortcomings in our work. We must remove them and we have every opportunity to do it.

We think highly of the effort of the party's veteran cadres. They are still our mainstay in work and struggle, for they embody political, ideological, and organizational continuity. Their experience is of unique value to young communists. At the same time, a key task is to draw working youth, particularly young members of the working class, into the party, preserving and strengthening unity between young and old cadres in the process.

As regards the new program, three basic ideas are borne in mind in drafting it.

First, 'Political and Ideological Principles of the Struggle of the CPA,' a program document approved by the 22nd Congress in 1974, is still valid as a whole. But as it is brief and chiefly theoretical, it cannot replace the Party Program, although it must be the starting point in drafting the program. Besides, the development of the international working-class and national liberation movement and the changes in Austrian state-monopoly capitalism since 1974 call for a creative, Marxist-Leninist analysis and the appropriate conclusions.

Second, the program is a long-term basis for party activity and so should not include details that are relevant today but may become obsolete later.

Third, the program should combine a scientific approach and a deep ideological content with simplicity and clarity of language. It can become an effective weapon in everyday ideological struggles, a document on strategy and tactics easily understood by all, provided it also appeals to young people.

As space does not permit giving a full account of the various sections of the draft program, I will confine myself to some points relating to our national conditions and our experience.

The pivot of the new program is the question of democracy and freedom. We accentuate it not only because fundamental to every variety of anti-communism is the allegation that the communists are against democracy and freedom. The important thing is that these questions play a growing role in concrete class struggles at international and national levels alike. More than ever, monopoly capitalism and imperialism tend to limit civil freedoms. U.S. imperialism, whole posing as a 'defender of human rights,' backs the most reactionary regimes, every undisguised or disguised fascist dictatorship. It is by no means accidental that the deterioration of the international situation caused by the U.S. government is accompanied by intensifying anti-democratic trends.

As for Austria, a whittling down of democratic freedoms is in evidence in almost every sphere. This is realized by both bourgeois parties and the social democrats, and they now try to present themselves to public opinion as the 'true' champions of democracy.

We believe the chief content of our party's activity should be struggle to preserve and extend democracy for the working people. This struggle is intimately linked with a democratic way out of the crisis, the movement for détente, disarmament and peace, and defense of the independence of our country.

Thus, the program will formulate a number of alternatives for which we are fighting at this stage and which can form the basis for unity of action by the working class and democratic forces for anti-monopoly democracy paving the way for socialism. It will also answer the question of how we visualize the development of democracy and freedom in the course of transition to socialism in our country with due regard to its national characteristics.

By saying that there is no model of socialism valid for all countries and that neither the Soviet, nor the 'Euro-Communist' version can be such a model, we do not at all deny the universally valid laws of socialism. But we proceed from the conviction that in Austria, as everywhere else, it takes particular forms entirely in accordance with the country's national conditions and peculiarities, meaning a country with highly developed industry and agriculture, a strong state-capitalist sector and deep-rooted traditions of bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

To advance to socialism is not to abolish democracy, as our opponents affirm, but to go on to a qualitatively new and higher historical level of its development, to democracy for the working class and other working people. It can only be brought about by stripping the exploiting classes of power, socializing the key means of production, and ending the exploitation of man by man.

Building socialism is a cause of the Austrian working class, of the overwhelming majority of our people. The exploiters will never renounce their power or privileges of their own free will. The only way to strip them of power is class struggle and democratic mass movements under revolutionary leadership. In this sense, democracy and socialism are inseparable to Austria's communists.

The question of democracy and freedom is also one of the main subjects of the ongoing controversy over existing socialism. We think it is necessary to show the situation in socialist countries as it really is and to proceed from the fact that these countries are still passing through a development process that is not free of contradictions and shortcomings.

Our statements and publications devoted to these countries should avoid oversimplification and attempts at embellishing reality.

This approach would help us show more effectively the fundamental superiority of socialism in all decisive areas — the economy, the exercising of the right to work, social security, qualitatively new democratic and civil freedoms, and a socialist foreign policy of peace. It would enable us to speak with greater conviction of the immense significance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the international working-class and national liberation movement. To strengthen internationalist relations with countries of existing socialism is to serve Austria's national interests.

The Communist Party of Austria is an autonomous party of our working class championing the national interests of our people. This in no way contradicts the principles of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity, which are among the finest traditions of the Austrian working-class and communist movement and are the motive power of our party's struggle for social progress and socialism.

Preparations for the 26th Congress of the CPSU

The Soviet communists have started preparations for the regular, 26th Congress of the CPSU, which is to open on February 23, 1981, and which is to determine the strategy and tactics of the struggle at the next stage of communist construction.

On April 1 of this year, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had 17,193,376 members. Each delegate of the 26th Congress is to represent 3,350 party members, slightly more than at the 25th Congress, in view of the party's numerical growth.

The mass reporting and election campaign is the most important stage in the preparations for the next CPSU congress, a special and highly responsible period in the party's life. The reporting and election campaign is to start in September of this year with meetings in grass-roots party organizations, and is to end in January or early February of 1981 with congresses of the communist parties of the Union Republics. The meetings and conferences will consider every aspect of party work: political, organizational and ideological. While displaying care for the accumulated valuable experience of communist construction, party members will make a critical analysis of the omissions and shortcomings in the practice of economic management and party activity.

Various aspects of Soviet society's economic and social development are to be central to the pre-congress discussion. The party's economic strategy is pivoted on the effort to turn the country's whole economy toward intensive development, enhancement of the efficiency of production and the quality of workmanship. In the course of preparations for the congress special attention is to be given to ways of accelerating scientific and technical progress and bringing about a further growth in labor productivity.

During the reporting and election campaign, the party's international activity will also be examined. The Soviet people fully approve the principled and peaceable policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The communists are deeply concerned to have détente, which has struck deep roots in present-day international life, maintained as the dominant trend. The Soviet people are fully resolved to secure a swing to disarmament, and to support every nation's right to free and independent development; they are unanimous in their will to safeguard and strengthen peace.

At the June 1980 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev said: 'Our policy has been shaped and its correctness has been tested in practice. It has yielded positive results both in home and foreign policy. At the same time, life puts before us new problems, solutions to which we are to determine at the Congress.'

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Understanding and winning professional workers

Joan Bellamy
Communist Party of Great Britain
Senior Lecturer, the Open University

The British Road to Socialism, program of the Communist Party of Great Britain, presents the perspective of an advance to socialism without recourse to protracted armed struggle, and based on the winning of a socialist-communist majority in parliament, powerfully supported by massive popular struggle outside parliament. Central to its strategy is the building of a broad democratic alliance of all sections of the people who engage in struggle for varied and wide-ranging aims, but which, objectively, bring them all into confrontation with the monopolies and those governments serving monopoly interests.

As millions of our people are beginning to rise to defend themselves from the effects of the policy pursued by the most reactionary government Britain has had for decades, the prospects for the building of a broad democratic alliance are opening up. With these prospects in view, the communists are developing ways of working among professional workers to win them for active participation in a strong trade union movement and for united, democratic struggle against the Tories and for a socialist Britain.

Communist work among professional workers has its particular problems. While the super-profits from imperialism provided the material basis for the reformism which has dominated the British working-class movement it also made possible the existence of a strong 'middle class.' This stratum traditionally acted as a powerful reserve for the ruling class and has been an important ideological influence in ensuring the voluntary acceptance of the status quo. Up to the present professional workers, seen as members of the 'middle class,' have enjoyed high living standards and high social prestige. In the main, they perform satisfying intellectual work and they do not experience the same acute alienation felt by most industrial workers, who are tied to the dehumanizing, inexorable demands of capitalist large-scale production. They do regard themselves, in general, as different from the working class and do not appreciate that they, too, are exploited through the sale of their labor power, albeit in less obvious ways.

It is important to see how the professional contingents took shape and grew, how their role in society increased, and also the factors determining their socio-political attitudes, their views.

The period after the end of the Second World War, with the relative stabilization of the capitalist economy and the pressure of a stronger working class for important social reforms, saw an increase in the demand for professional labor. Partly as a response to democratic pressures for better educational opportunities and partly to meet the growing need for highly skilled professional workers, education expanded enormously. In the 1950s and 1960s new universities were established, and technical colleges were promoted into polytechnics offering degrees. Teacher-training expanded and the aim was adopted of a completely post-secondary-educated profession in the schools. Important social legislation introduced the National Health Service, improved care for children and for the growing numbers of old people in our society, as well as for the disabled. This meant that more workers were needed in medicine, the social services, in social research, and in administration.

There was, too, an expansion of state intervention in economic life. The nationalization of certain basic industries and government support for economically backward regions of the country led to growing numbers of scientists, technologists, and administrators entering the public employment sector. The massive expenditure on arms and military research with the growing importance of sophisticated weapons intensified this trend. Town planning and housing programs involved the employment of planners, architects, and engineers in local as well as in national government service.

The same period, too, has seen an enormous growth in the influence of the mass media. This includes big-business newspapers, radio, and television, as well as state-owned radio and TV. There is a massive onslaught on the minds of the mass of the people, anti-socialist and anti-working class, generating an ideology which is against their actual class interests. Workers in the media are an important section of professional workers functioning in the highly sensitive area of news and information. They are a significant part of those sections, including teachers, which help to form ideology and opinion.

The following statistics indicate the expansion of the numbers of professional workers and their more recent increase in the public social sector. In 1967-1968 a total of 184,887 students came into the labor market from the universities; in 1971-1972 the number was 215,329, while the figure in 1976-1977 reached 238,103. The number of all full-time students rose between 1963 and 1973 by 250,000. Cor-

respondingly, the number of teachers in the three main sectors of education rose.

There has been a marked growth of the medical profession as well. There are at present approximately 92,000 doctors and dentists working in hospitals and in family practice in the United Kingdom. In 1951 there were 62,000. Professional and scientific workers total approximately 3,654,000 out of an aggregate workforce of 23 million.

But the situation is changing visibly. In the present economic crisis, which is exacerbated by present government policies, the demand for professional labor has slowed down. The Labour government, defeated in the recent general election, had already begun a series of cuts in social and educational services, which seriously affected the employment of teachers and social workers. Posts vacated by natural wastage went unfilled, leaving young graduates unable to find jobs for which they were trained. Those in employment face heavier workloads with diminished resources for doing their work satisfactorily. This bears particularly hard on teachers, social service workers, and workers in the Health Service. Tory government policies are now leading to firings of teachers along with social service workers, while the pressure is on to divert medical resources into private fee paying channels.

It is reported that the government is discussing how to reduce the Civil Service. If even the minimum cuts being proposed are actually made, no fewer than 73,000 government workers will lose their jobs.

Professional workers in national and local government are particularly susceptible to the effects of government policies, which seek to freeze wages. The government finds some problems in imposing a wage freeze on the private sector of the economy, but it can and does control the wages and salaries of its own employees. Professional workers' living standards have, therefore, declined, while their ability to carry out their jobs of social importance is impeded by economies. The Association of University Teachers has recently declared that in recent years its members have suffered a 20 per cent decline in their living standards.

Resistance to these is growing. One of the signs of this increased willingness to struggle has been the marked growth of trade-union membership among professional workers in the past ten years. Traditionally they have stood aside from trade-union methods of organization and industrial actions. The new trend is in some measure shown by the following: in 1958 total membership of the Trades Union Congress, to which individual unions are affiliated, stood at 8,337,325, in 1968 at 8,725,604, but in 1977 at 11,515,920. Much of this increase is due to growth among what is termed the 'white-collars.' Two major public service unions — the National Union of Public Employees and the National Association of Local Government Officers — which include professional workers such as administrators, scientists, social services workers, have doubled their memberships since 1968 and took the decision to affiliate to the Trades Union Congress at the end of the 1960s. The major teaching unions affiliated in the early 1970s. In the decade from 1968 to 1977 the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs has raised its membership from 87,000 to 396,000; the union of teachers in technical colleges and polytechnics from 26,064 to 59,750. This is an important stage in the development of the alliance of industrial and manual workers with professional sections, and one for which communists have been working for many years.

This is not to claim that professional workers are uniformly seeing themselves today as militant members of the wider trade union movement, committed to vigorous action on their own behalf or in solidarity with other sections of workers. There are still difficult problems. Among these is the reluctance of professional workers to take strike action even for their own demands. In part this is due to inexperience as well as to feelings of isolation, which arise when people work in relatively small groups. It also reflects real concern that their actions might harm pupils, or students, or patients. This conscientious objection is not always easy to overcome. Communists argue that the greater damage is caused to education and social services if those working in them accept government cuts without a struggle. The true defense of pupils, students, the sick, and needy lies in the determination of their teachers and medical workers and social service workers to take action to defend services and their own living standards. This argument is being increasingly accepted.

There is also a lack of self-confidence. It is argued by some people that professional workers' actions can have no effect, that they lack political 'muscle,' because they are not the ones who stop the wheels of industry turning or affect the bosses' profits. But here there is an underestimation of the sensitivity of any government about workers who administer its business, or who form the minds and outlook of the younger generation, to their becoming disaffected, no longer the reliable reserve of social stability. Professional workers are by no means without power, and the communists and the left are always seeking to develop that confidence and unity among their colleagues which will strengthen their role in a broad democratic alliance.

A vital area of strength, still relatively untapped, is that which can come from developing united links in campaigns and activity with other workers. Government attacks on social services mean an important reduction in all workers' social wages and there is a growing realization of the need to unite around the right to resist cuts, to save jobs and to save social services, too. The vigorous appeal at the recent Trades Union Congress to fight cuts in education and a declaration that the Congress is firmly behind all teachers in their struggle are an indication of the opportunities for lifting the struggle to new heights, mobilizing in one movement indus-

trial and professional workers and all other sections adversely affected by the cuts.

The links between professional and manual workers, which communists work to establish, operate at local as well as at national levels. Most industrial unions are affiliated at local level to Trades Councils, where delegates from branches meet together regularly and cooperate in carrying through Trades Union Congress policy and in influencing local public affairs. Few professional union branches are yet operating effectively at this level or yet recognize the need to be involved. There is relatively too little understanding among some professional trade-union members of the need for strong union discipline and plenty of opposition to the idea of the closed shop, that is, the insistence that all workers in an enterprise must be members of a trade union. The need for this sort of discipline and cohesion, learned long ago by industrial workers, will become increasingly felt as the levels of struggle rise.

One of the reasons for reluctance to extend links with other unions is the fear of being involved in 'politics,' in issues which do not relate very directly to the narrowest confines of salaries and conditions. Unions such as the powerful National Union of Teachers will allow only the discussion of policy which relates closely to members' conditions and to education. This means that problems such as the rise of racism can be discussed only as they affect members, or as they have a bearing on education. This cuts such unions off from influencing more general social and political events and is done in the name of being 'non-political.' For the same reason most of the professional unions remain affiliated to the Labour Party.

It is very necessary to try to break down this political isolation and yet, at the same time, avoid the trap of adventurist, ultra-left slogans of a small but vocal minority, who advocate policies and forms of action which are regarded by the bulk of the membership as quite irrelevant and do positive harm to the campaign to politicize the unions.

The actions which professional workers have launched in defense of their jobs, status, and living standards have included day strikes, mass lobbies and demonstrations, petitions, and mass meetings. Teachers in schools have refused to take on extra duties when colleagues are away from work or not replaced when they leave. University teachers following on their extremely successful mass lobby of parliament threatened not to mark examination papers and produced a very quick response to their pay claim.

Civil servants have recently staged a series of strikes and at the beginning of September jointly launched an important pamphlet for mass distribution, outlining their case against cuts and seeking public support in their campaign to resist firing. A recent day strike by the Institution of Professional Civil Servants even saw finger-print experts from Scotland Yard (London Police Headquarters) on the picket line with their colleagues. There have been important actions by journalists, especially on provincial papers, defending working conditions and their trade-union rights. There has been a long strike of workers in commercial television and of social service workers. In insurance and banking management there are continuous actions for recognition of trade-union negotiating rights.

What has emerged clearly in the past decade is that more and more professional workers see the trade-union movement as relevant to their economic needs; more and more are learning the need for strong action and unity. The old 'gentlemanly' image of professional workers' associations is gone, and while the majority of members still cling to their 'non-political' stance they increasingly elect communists and labor left wingers to positions of leadership; it is from the left that effective leadership is seen to come.

The growth of links between professional and industrial workers is not a one-sided bargain. It benefits both sides. The industrial working class is fighting its battles in increasingly complex circumstances. It needs to formulate and fight for long-term policies, which take account of scientific and technological changes, and meet the attacks on democratic rights, the need to resist the growth of racism, the need for improved educational opportunity and progressive content in education, for equal rights for women, among other questions. For this reason the varied, specialist skills of professional workers need to be drawn on at all levels, local and national, much more than at present. Communist intellectual workers have always played an important part in trying to develop this aspect of our work to serve the working-class movement in this way and have always worked to involve progressive non-communist colleagues in doing the same. Communist and progressive lawyers, for example, have a long tradition of service to the working class and progressive movement in the struggle for democratic rights for the trade unions and for their individual members; more recently, in the struggles against racism and sex discrimination. Under outstanding communist and left leadership, teachers were mobilized to defeat reactionary intelligence testing in schools and to demand non-selective, comprehensive education for all children. Leading scientists have made a vital contribution to the campaigns of the peace movement and placed their knowledge, as have communist doctors, at the service of industrial workers to impose health and safety regulations on employers. Communist medical workers, with progressive colleagues, have given a lead in establishing forms of family medical practice, for example, in health centers, and in trying to win their conservative profession for whole-hearted participation in the National Health Service.

The influence of the growth of professional unions on the trade-union movement as a whole carries its problems as well as advantages. One of the more obvious is the danger of the dilution of strong, militant working-class consciousness from sections who are less experienced in class struggle than industrial sections. This 'import' of petty-

bourgeois ideas and attitudes would tend to reinforce the right wing of the movement, which has always adhered to reformist and class collaborationist policies but which is at present in retreat. The explanation of communist policies and the right to disseminate Marxist ideas becomes even more urgent, though it has always been a vital part of communist work in the working-class movement and one of the more problematic tasks.

Since the early 1960s our situation in fighting for Marxist ideas has become more complicated. Instead of the blanket of silence punctuated by occasional viciously hostile offensives against Marxism, we have had hostility from the right, on the one hand, plus a massive flood, on the other, of academic and ultra-left versions. 'Academic' Marxism treats the philosophy as if it were any other philosophy, without reference to its fundamental purpose of assisting the working class and its allies to change the world; 'ultra-left' Marxism, not so far removed from 'academic' Marxism as may at first appear, combines sectarian and revisionist trends but essentially directs its attack against communist parties and the socialist countries. This represents a very complex and difficult challenge to communist intellectual and professional workers. They must maintain the development of Marxism in a more complicated situation for the science. As well as keeping abreast of developments in bourgeois theory, they must maintain their ability to enrich party policy by the application of their work both in Marxist science and their participation in day-to-day political activity.

This work, which needs to be developed by collectives of comrades as well as by individual party members working alone, undoubtedly attracts professional workers to join the party, and must grow. Our 36th Congress noted the need and potentialities for an upward curve of the party's membership. Central to this objective must be the recruitment of increasing numbers of industrial workers as party members and the setting up of more industrial branches as the key to winning changes in the working-class movement and to the maintenance of our party based on strong working-class principles of organization and discipline. Stress on this aspect of our work will not, however, impede us in continuing to press ahead with our work among professional workers, bringing them increasingly into the trade union and labor movement, working to win them for a working class outlook, for Marxism and for membership in the Communist Party. It is a complicated task but vital for the building of the broad democratic alliance, which our party's policy projects as crucial for the advance to socialism in our country.

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exchange of views

The Latin American proletariat and its allies in the anti-imperialist struggle

This completes our publication of the proceedings of an international theoretical conference on 'The Class Structure of Latin American and Caribbean Countries' held in Havana (see *WMR*, No. 7). The following survey was prepared by *Raul Valdes Vivo*, CC member, CP Cuba, and the party's representative on *WMR*.

We think that the conference was of great theoretical and practical importance. First, its topic is a central one in the study of problems in our region, and second, it coincided with a highly important moment in the Latin American revolutionary process. The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean have now moved to the front line of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the most dangerous enemy of peace and mankind. That ours is a volcanic continent is even truer today than it was in the past, because the class struggle has assumed unprecedented proportions and the revolution has already won in three countries, instead of one.

The representatives of 33 communist, workers', socialist and other left-wing parties and movements who took part in the Havana Conference, were unanimous in assessing the relations which have taken shape between U.S. imperialism and the majority of Latin American countries. They gave concrete examples to show that it is impossible to advance to radical social change — a historical imperative — without abolishing foreign imperialist oppression.

At the conference, no one had any doubt whether such changes were at all possible. The October Revolution, speakers emphasized, has already provided a positive answer to that question. Under its immediate impact, revolutionary proletarian parties emerged on this continent. Confident in their ultimate victory, they did not assume — up until the

revolution in Cuba — that liberation could be won in such a short historical period. The Cuban revolution showed the broad masses (and also their enemies) that the epoch of national liberation and social emancipation has also arrived for the Latin American countries. That is the main conclusion of the Havana Meeting of Communist Parties of the region held in June 1975, a few months before the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. That was the starting point for the participants in the Havana forum, which met on the eve of the Second Congress of the CP Cuba.

Of course, our present conference cannot be compared with the 1975 Meeting. This has been a meeting of researchers and political workers to consider the position of the individual classes and strata of the population within the social structure of the Latin American society. Its task was to analyze the struggle between the two main forces on the continent: imperialism and the local oligarchy, seeking to preserve the old, reactionary, historically doomed social system, on the one hand, and the rising revolutionary class, the proletariat, seeking to destroy it, and also its allies, on whom the outcome of this struggle largely depends, on the other. The presence at the conference of delegations from Nicaragua and Grenada (and not just of Cuba, as it was at the 1975 meeting), which have won national liberation and which have taken the road of building a new society shows better than any theoretical reasoning that the future belongs to the revolution, and that its way runs through the anti-imperialist stage.

Arch-enemy of the peoples

For a long time world progressive public opinion has been focussed on the question of Latin America's dependence on the main imperialist powers. There are two approaches to this question. Some scientists and politicians believe that many key processes on the continent, both economic and political, are mainly determined by internal factors, and others by external factors, above all the influence of imperialism. On this point, the participants in the Havana Meeting were unanimous in their assessments, declaring that internal factors were undoubtedly crucial. But they also stressed that U.S. imperialism has ceased to be a mere external factor of development in Latin America, and has become an internal element of its social structure. This became especially evident after the Second World War, when the United States managed to oust its chief imperialist rivals from the region. Evidence of this comes from the emergence and then the growing role of transnational corporations (U.S. corporations in the first place) in Latin America's economic and political life, and the appearance of a phenomenon on the continent like dependent capitalism.

Some Latin American scientists oppose the term itself, saying that the countries of the region have political sovereignty. Indeed, that is generally true. But they have a dependent position within international economic relations, within the world-wide system of the capitalist division of labor. And this applies both to relatively developed and to economically backward countries.

In the past few decades, Argentina has ceased to be an agrarian country and has become an agrarian-industrial country. But, *Diego Sanchez*, representative of the CP Argentina, declared, it continues to be dependent on imperialism, and an economically backward country with an unevenly developed economy. Its main industries are still under the control of imperialist monopolies, the land-holding oligarchy and big compradore capital. Forty per cent of the Gross Domestic Product, one-third of it in industry, is controlled by foreign capital.

Jose Soares, CC member, Brazilian CP, said that imperialist capital is also engaged in a full-scale invasion of Brazil, the biggest country in the region, whose industrial growth rate until recently was among the world's highest. Foreign monopolies first penetrated into Brazil in the 1930s, when an attempt was made to meet the growing demands of the domestic market. In the 1950s, especially since the reactionary military coup of 1964, imperialism has further bolstered its positions, mainly through take-overs of national firms by transnationals, the purchase of a controlling interest in or merger with local private and state capital, and more intense exploitation of the masses.

One could have assumed that countries with rich natural resources would be able to escape from neo-colonial dependence. But that did not happen. In the 1950s and 1960s, the United States received two-thirds of the oil it needed from Venezuela, but its real suppliers were not the national enterprises, but the monopolies controlled by Rockefeller. The nationalization of oil in 1976 merely altered the form of dependence. *Pedro Ortega Diaz*, CC Political Bureau member, CP Venezuela, said: 'The oil industry, the main sector of the country's economy, has been nationalized, but we continue to be tied to the same old trusts which retain their control of technology and the marketing of crude oil. In 1979, Exxon and other imperialist oil trusts had their highest profits ever.

The case of Ecuador shows beyond any doubt that the start of the 'oil boom' in 1972 enabled it for a short time to rise from its place well down at the bottom of the continental economic league. From 1973 to 1977, its GDP grew at an average of 11 per cent. Ecuador has become Latin America's biggest oil supplier after Venezuela. But who has benefited from all this? *Efrain Alvarez Fiallo*, CC Executive member, CP Ecuador, emphasized that 'because the relations of production have remained virtually unchanged, the economic growth merely helped to strengthen dependent capitalism and further to consolidate the imperialist positions, on the one hand, and the local ruling classes, the financial, industrial and commercial bourgeoisie above all, on the other.'

We find the same situation in Colombia, which has Latin America's fourth biggest GDP, and which comes close to the countries that have attained the middle level of capitalist development. *Jaime*

Caicedo, CC Executive member, CP Colombia, made it clear that the rapid development of the past decades is connected with a switch in the main direction of foreign investments: they now go mainly into industry, notably, chemical and petrochemical enterprises, paper production, coal mining and engineering. The imperialists seek to intensify the country's dependence not only by establishing control over the dynamic new industries, but also by strengthening their ties with the big landowners, notably the growers of coffee, who use the land and the labor-power to set up modern capitalist enterprises working for export. He added: 'In this way the imperialist monopolies have penetrated into the very heart of the industrialization in Colombia and, operating from inside, are trying to secure control of the whole Andean Pact.'[1]

At the same time, in countries with fascist regimes dependence has come as an invariable element of the whole economic system. There, the ruling classes either put up very little resistance or none at all. There are not only political but also social reasons for this.

Julieta Campusano, delegate of the CP Chile, recalled in this context the assessment which Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP Chile, gave to the alliance that has taken shape between the big bourgeoisie of the Latin American countries and imperialist capital: 'A section of the local bourgeoisie, chiefly the financial bourgeoisie, has become an element of the system of imperialist exploitation, while imperialism is increasingly becoming an "internal" factor in many countries of the continent. Thus, a new class basis for fascism has emerged in Latin America, namely, an alignment of imperialist monopoly capital and internal clans.'

Chile, which is ruled by a fascist junta, shows better than any other country what such an alignment is. The speaker said that the gates which the Allende government sought to close are now again flung wide open to imperialism. Investments of imperialist capital go mainly into the key sectors of the economy, in particular, the copper industry; the country is being exploited largely through its growing financial dependence. In the seven years of the fascist regime, Chile's external debt more than doubled, to $8.5 billion. The 'new' economy has been distorted to the utmost, and its goals clash with the national interest.

The situation which has taken shape in Uruguay differs little from that in Chile. A model of dependent fascism has also been established in Uruguay. *Luis Fernandez,* delegate of the CP Uruguay, reached this conclusion: 'Imperialism is no longer an external factor, but is a component part of the country's internal structure, and an organic element of our internal contradictions.'

The social structure of Mexico deserves special analysis. *Carlos Schaffer,* CC member, Mexican CP, explained that in the foreign-policy sphere, the last governments have pursued a line independent of the United States and aimed to maintain relations with socialist Cuba, and have supported liberation movements in Central America, but in domestic politics they have tried to implement a reformist, 'national-revolutionary' or social democratic project (on Mexican lines).' Since the Second World War, there has been intensive centralization of capital and the rise and consolidation of the local bourgeoisie in the country, which has laid the foundation for its association in the 1970s with the international monopoly bourgeoisie and with the state for the purpose of increasing investments in industry. Industrialization, having exerted a tremendous influence on economic relations and accelerated monopolization, eventually resulted in a new technological and financial dependence on imperialism. This kind of industrialization, Schaffer emphasized, was made possible by the sharp increase in external and internal indebtedness, a growing deficit of the state budget and the trade balance, a high rate of inflation and the country's conversion from an exporter to an importer of food.'

Even the countries that have attained a relatively high level of development and advanced in their industrialization have been unable to escape from or, at least, to reduce their dependence on imperialism, economically backward countries without rich reserves of strategic raw materials are in a truly critical situation. There, the land continues to be the basic means of production.

That does not mean, of course, that capitalism has retreated in face of surviving semi-feudal elements. The capitalist mode of production has been established on the continent, and its development — distorted but steady — is the dominant trend, despite the fact that latifundism, survivals of feudalism, and small-scale commodity production exert a strong influence on the system of social relations.

Having become an internal element of the structure, imperialism tends to step up its intervention in Latin America's political life. When the struggle for independence goes beyond the line that bourgeois apologists regard as acceptable, imperialism resorts to external economic coercion. The activity of the CIA and the transnationals coalesce and is increasingly coordinated. The tragedy of Guatemela is evidence of this, said *Antonio Castro,* CC member, Guatemalan Party of Labor. 'Over the past 20 years, 30,000 persons have fallen victim to the fascist-minded regime installed by the United States with the aid of mercenaries. The Guatemalan people have been subjected to savage reprisals, even though the 1944-1954 revolution was only designed to put through bourgeois-democratic transformations.'

Imperialism does not seek to do away with the land-owning oligarchy, but prefers to bourgeoisify it and to involve it in mixed capitalist enterprises, so as to turn it into an internal social basis. Entering into an association with the local bourgeoisie, it leaves under its control secondary industries and sectors of the economy. In agriculture and industry it has to be the junior partner.

Within the framework of dependent industrialization in Central America and the Caribbean countries, only those goods can be produced which for various reasons the imperialist monopolies do not

wish to produce because they are intent on developing new industries connected with the scientific and technological revolution. As a result, the industrialization goes only half-way, but the dependence factor is most pronounced.

In El Salvador, *Jorge Martinez*, a member of the leadership of the Popular Liberation Forces named after Farabundo Marti, said that development along this road has led to the emergence of a local bourgeoisie, an unquestioning partner of imperialism. It does not have even a minimum capacity for conducting an independent national policy. 'There are two groups within it: the bourgeois-land-owner oligarchy (14 families control 60 per cent of the land area and have investments in all sectors of the economy: agriculture, trade, industry, industry, the banks and finance) and the non-oligarchic circles (whose influence is confined to one or two industries).' It is not surprising, therefore, that for a half-century now the country has been saddled with a reactionary pro-imperialist regime. The military, Christian Democratic junta, which seized power in October of last year, has precisely the task of saving the regime, alternating between reformism and repression, which has assumed the proportions of genocide against the people.

We find the same picture in the Dominican Republic. *Carlos Dore*, CC Political Bureau member, Dominican CP, said 'Dependent capitalist development and a low level of agricultural production have determined the emergence of the dominant social bloc consisting of the foreign or imperialist bourgeoisie, the local big bourgeoisie (industrial, commercial, financial and agrarian), landowners, the senior administrative and technical personnel, and the ecclesiastical and military hierarchy. This bloc is dominated by imperialist capital, which directly or indirectly, expresses the interests of the international financial oligarchy, notably the largest U.S. corporations.

There was a peculiarity about imperialist domination in Nicaragua, Grenada and Surinam.

Orlando Nunez (Sandinista National Liberation Front) said that the regime overthrown by the Sandinistas was pro-imperialist: 'in countries like Nicaragua, capitalist development imposes forms of production and reproduction which are not necessarily connected with the accumulation of national capital. If bourgeois-democratic transformations have not been put through for some reason, the contradictions between labor and capital have an effect on more than just relations between workers and employers.'

In this context, it is important to stress that while the Latin American and Caribbean countries have a number of common and even largely similar features, the concrete historical, social, political and geographical distinctions do exist. It could be said that one and the same type of dependent capitalist society has been established everywhere, but at different levels of development. Brazil or Argentina having reached the monopoly stage, they could, of course, theoretically become imperialist powers, but this their senior imperialist partners will hardly allow. At the same time, a country like Guatemala, has no prerequisites for this. There, alongside the capitalist order, which has undoubtedly become the dominant one, diverse archaic forms of economic activity tend to exist side by side. This small state does not have a large domestic market, its natural and manpower resources are limited, while its socio-economic development is rigidly controlled by the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy and U.S. imperialism.

The 1975 meeting of communist parties emphasized the dialectical connection between national liberation and social emancipation, and noted: 'Workers, peasants and all the other working people in Latin America will not find solutions for the problems of unemployment, poverty, low wages, illiteracy, lack of land and social inequality merely by doing away with the foreign exploitation of their country. Ultimate solutions for these problems will gradually be found only when exploitation by latifundists and bourgeoisie is eliminated.'

At the Havana conference, this proposition was reaffirmed and it was shown that dependent capitalism is in a deep crisis.

Development in the conditions of dependence has merely led to a strengthening of the industries which are not the leading ones (and which are, besides, controlled by foreign or mixed capital), and to the provision of cheap raw materials for the industrialized capitalist countries, the United States in the first place. In addition, Latin American countries have to buy the means of production and the goods they require at high prices and to sell theirs at low prices. All of this leads to a growth of the external debt, which in 1979 came to $100 billion. Foreign monopolies continue to be the chief investors in the region, making fabulous profits.

Within the framework of dependent capitalism, it is impossible to ensure full national independence. The region's production potential could be used only to the full extent if it is released from the neo-colonial division of labor, and if its countries take the road of social justice, equality in international affairs, and balanced and rational economic development.

That dependent capitalism is historically unviable becomes totally clear in the light of the following data presented by UN experts: one-third of Latin Americans live in 'extreme poverty,' huddled huts or slums, and are doomed to privation, ignorance and disease.

The backwardness of Latin American countries does not depend either on the size of territory or population. This is confirmed by Brazil, whose people are still awaiting the 'miracle' which bourgeois propaganda has advertised for so many years. The policy of stepped up concentration of profits in the hands of the monopolies, especially foreign monopolies, the Brazilian delegate said, has doomed tens of millions of working people to dire poverty and has produced areas of absolute poverty. Nearly 40 million people roam the country in search of land, work or better conditions.

Hopes for a change were also entertained in Peru,

after the take-over by the military in 1968. But these were dashed when the process of revolutionary transformations was reversed. *Pedro Mayta*, CC Political Commission member, Peruvian CP, said that 'U.S. imperialism, the oligarchy and the government are conducting an economic policy which is designed to shift the hardships of the crisis onto the working people, and which increases the cost of living, unemployment and partial employment, that affect 54 per cent of the economically active population.'

The participants in the Havana Conference noted that dependence does not rule out development, but it does extremely hamper and even, as a rule, makes impossible the effort to overcome the 'barrier of backwardness,' which tends to grow in view of the growth of the productive forces under the scientific and technological revolution. Dependence produces dependence. To be more precise, it is being reproduced at the new twist of the spiral of the evolution of capitalism as a world system. The forms of subordination change, but not its substance, because the basis of backwardness, namely, the vast gap in the level of growth of the productive forces in the economically underdeveloped imperialist countries is objectively still there.

The main thing is to put an end to the domination, Jose Marti wrote, 'of the brutal and insatiable North which despises us.' Latin America must become the 'homeland of free men,' for which many generations of revolutionaries have fought and given their lives.

Leading social force

The participants in the conference showed that the evolution of Latin American countries along the capitalist road leads to the development of the working class. It has grown in numbers, and its class self-consciousness and militancy have increased. Ever more frequently, its demands have a political tenor. In other words, there is a struggle for power. On the whole, at the present stage this struggle tends to be on an upgrade, although it is especially complex and abounds in ups and downs. The three victorious revolutions — in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada — have steadfastly beaten back all the moves by U.S. imperialism and reactionary forces. Washington's strategists are alarmed at the prospect of Latin America slipping from their hands. And this is confirmed by events in El Salvador and other countries. The new balance of forces in the international arena in favor of peace (despite the desperate effort of the United States and China to return mankind to the cold war period and to push it to the brink of a nuclear conflict), in favor of the world revolutionary process, the whole socialist community, the national-liberation and the international working-class movement helps the peoples in their struggle, enabling them not only to win but also to defend their victory.

A special situation has been taking shape in Latin America which differs markedly from Asia and Africa. We have a much larger proletariat, with a greater concentration and higher level of political consciousness. Our region has more than 50 million wage-workers, or over 55 per cent of the economically active population.

The actual strength and potentialities of the proletariat can be brought out only by analyzing its concrete condition, as speakers, in fact, suggested. In 1920, Brazil had only 294,000 workers concentrated in a few states, in a total population of 30 million; by 1967, the number of workers was ten times greater: 3 million across the whole territory. Meanwhile, the total population had only trebled. Add to this figure the 5 million workers engaged in agriculture.

Argentina also has 8 million wage workers. A quarter of the proletariat is concentrated in manufacturing, and nearly 700,000 are agricultural workers. There are 85,000 enterprises employing nearly 60 per cent of all industrial workers in Greater Buenos Aires, the federal capital.

In the mid-1970s, in Colombia, where the economically active population totals 7 million, there were 3 million workers in town and country, the industrial proletariat numbered 900,000, and its industrial core — 500,000.

The development of capitalism in Chile also leads to a growth of the working class, and its share in society has been steadily increasing.

There is also a marked growth of the proletariat in Ecuador. In five years alone — 1972-1977, the number of workers in industry went up by 22.8 per cent, to over 330,000, with the economically active population totalling 2,190,000.

In Uruguay, there is also an accelerated growth in the numerical strength of the working class. In Montevideo alone, 25,700 businesses employ 362,000 wage workers, i.e., 68.7 per cent of the economically active population.

The revolutionary transformations effected by Velasco Alvarado's military government in Peru have virtually undermined the positions of the landowner oligarchy and strengthened those of the two main hostile social groups: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Let us note that the latter now has a more conscious and organized ally in the peasantry.

A growth of the class struggle and further social differentiation are also in evidence in countries with a relatively low level of capitalist development. Thus, in Guatemala, the events of the 1944-54 revolutionary decade, followed by the development of capitalism after the victory of the counter-revolution have led to a growth of the working class in quantitative and qualitative terms. In 1964, there were some 31,000 factory workers, and in 1976 — 65,000. On the other hand, former farmhands have become agricultural workers.

Similar processes are under way in other countries. This was described by *Arturo Valdes Palacio*, member of the leadership of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Peru; *Enrique Albaranga*, CC Political Commission member and Secretary, CP Honduras; *Don Rabothan*, Political Bureau

member, Workers' Party of Jamaica, *Rogelio Gonzalez*, of the Paraguayan CP, and others.

The little island of Guadeloupe appears to be the only exception. The reason, *Serge Pierrejustin*, CC Political Commission member, Guadeloupe CP, said, lies in the French colonial yoke; the factories are no longer receiving any investments to renew their production assets, and this tends to increase the emigration workers, especially skilled workers. In the past few years, the number of proletarians has sharply dropped, and now come to 6 per cent of the population (317,000 in 1977), or 20 per cent of the economically active population.

Speakers at the conference made it clear that the Latin American proletariat tends increasingly to set itself tasks which go beyond the framework of narrow class and economic demands, and are oriented upon deep-going social transformations. While the struggle, including economic struggle, deepens, the working class is brought to the fore as the force capable of leading the movement for radical changes in society, and creates the conditions for rallying around it broad sections of the population. Of course, historical potentialities cannot in themselves raise the proletariat to the role of leading force in a broad anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic coalition. Much here depends on the concrete conditions, on the balance of forces in society, but mainly on the revolutionaries' capability and skill in making the utmost use of favorable opportunities for converting the proletariat into the leading class, for releasing it from the still strong influence of bourgeois ideology. This becomes especially important now that an acute contest is mounting in the region between the revolutionary and the counterrevolutionary forces, between the forces of democracy and the fascist-minded reactions. The tragic experience of Chile and a number of other countries shows that reaction inflicts its most savage blows at the working class. Simultaneously, the ideologists of the counter-revolution have mounted an extensive propaganda campaign in an effort to smear the proletariat's class struggle and present it as a dark and destructive element. The participants in the Havana meeting said: 'There is need not only to rebuff these moves and to draw for convincing arguments on the historical experience of the working-class struggle to refute the bourgeois ideologists' slanderous attacks, but also to assert one's revolutionary ideology.'

External and internal allies

The proletariat is not alone in its difficult struggle for emancipation: it has its natural external and internal allies. Its external allies, as the 1975 Meeting emphasized, are the socialist-community countries, the national-liberation movement and the international working class. Participants in the Havana conference started precisely from this proposition.

This is a natural approach. After all, many communist parties, and not only they, have realized from their own experience that these three revolutionary forces of our epoch — the socialist community, the international working class and the national-liberation movement — are, to paraphrase Archimedes' well-known saying, the firm point by means of which the old world can be moved. The Cuban revolution provides the best evidence of this. To the growing alarm of the imperialists, Maoists and reactionaries of every stripe, this truth is now being understood by communists and other revolutionary forces of Latin America fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. On the question of external allies, the representatives of socialist parties and guerrilla organizations in the region voiced the same view as the communists.

But who are the internal allies? Speakers at the conference said that no detailed or comprehensive answer could be given to this question by any international forum, for that is the business of every national contingent of the proletariat. And not only because of the question of 'sovereignty.' The main thing is the correct understanding of the problem, ruling out dogmatism.

All speakers concentrated on Lenin's idea that at the stage of imperialism, when the bourgeoisie becomes a reactionary class, the proletariat has to play the role of leading force not only in the struggle for socialism, but also in bourgeois-democratic, national-liberation and anti-imperialist movements. The shaping alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, and all the other working people is not a propaganda slogan but an imperative. The all-embracing system of capitalist exploitation leads to a situation in which apart from the peasantry, other strata of the population, numerous groups of small-holders, officials, intellectuals, and students move closer to the working class.

German Sanchez, a member of the Cuban delegation, said in this connection: 'The worsening living conditions of he working people, together with the spread of wage-labor among strata not directly involved in the creation of value but promoting the reproduction of capital bring out the proletariat among all the classes and groups and enlarge the possibilities for its material interests coinciding with the interests of other sections of the people, especially with those of the impoverished middle strata, the radicalized petty bourgeoisie, the peasant population and the marginal strata.

These diverse classes and sections, which have similar living conditions and are subjected to exploitation, constitute a majority of the people, and this majority objectively acts as historical subject of the proletarian revolution. For the Marxist-Leninist parties, the concept of *people* acquires its true significance precisely in just such a context. In his famous speech, 'History Will Absolve Me,' Fidel Castro said: 'By people we mean, when speaking of struggle, the vast and deprived mass which is promised everything and which is deceived and betrayed by everyone, but which yearns for a better, fairer and more fitting homeland. We have in mind those who have striven for justice for ages, and have suffered from injustice and insults from generation to generation. We have in mind those who want

deep and well-considered transformations in every sphere, those who are prepared to give their all, to the last drop of blood, if they have faith in something or someone, in themselves above all.'[2]

The only exception is a small group of the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy and its servants in the bureaucratic state apparatus, and this provides the objective basis for a broad policy of working-class alliances. This idea was reaffirmed at the conference. It was noted, in particular, that the attainment and consistent consolidation of economic independence — the basis of full national sovereignty — is one of the important goals of the working-class struggle for its own emancipation, and so of the whole people. This does not mean that the door is closed to members of other classes and sections of the population who, while pursuing their own interests, are moved by patriotic feelings and protest against oppression by imperialism and the oligarchy.

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, CC Political Bureau member, CP Cuba, called on the conferees to devote special attention to some new questions. What, for instance, is the impact on the social structure and the activity of classes in Latin America of the fact that highly concrete forms of monopoly capital have already taken shape in some countries? By its very nature, monopoly capital is known to be reactionary. However, when formulating a program of struggle against imperialism, there is a need to establish to what extent — alongside the subordination of our economies to foreign monopolies and activity of the transnationals — it is possible to use the contradictions (however short-term) and win allies (however temporary).

'The presence of monopoly capital,' the speaker said, 'has impelled some members of revolutionary organizations to suggest that its emergence is a sign that the class structure is sufficiently well developed, that the period of the national-liberation revolution has passed, and that the proletariat must go over directly and finally to a socialist revolution, discarding all intermediate stages of revolutionary struggle. In this context, we must ask ourselves: Is this an inevitable conclusion? On the correct solution of this problem depends the adoption of a correct or incorrect strategy, which is why the answer to it is not a speculative one, but a vital necessity of the revolutionary struggle.'

The participants in the Havana meeting emphasized that the truly revolutionary strategy requires unity of the Latin American peoples in the fight against imperialism and the transnational corporations, even within the framework of the existing differences. Whereas the cohesion of the communists and other revolutionaries in Europe in the struggle for peace is as necessary (and it is developing) as it is difficult (because the required degree of unity has yet to be achieved), in the Latin American and Caribbean countries the alliance of communists, socialists and young contingents of left-wing forces is being forged step by step on a higher revolutionary basis. It is a prime task of all revolutionaries to clear the way for it.

Creation of the political army of revolution

How is one to win over allies?

Analyzing the class struggle in France in the mid-19th century, Marx emphasized that it was not only a matter of the proletariat's understanding of who its allies are, but also of the latter likewise realizing that the proletariat can be their vanguard. And that comes only from practice, the great teacher of the masses. Marx wrote: 'The French workers could not take a step forward, could not touch a hair of the bourgeois order, until the course of the revolution had aroused the mass of the nation, the peasants and petty bourgeois, standing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, against this order, against the rule of capital, and had forced them to attach themselves to the proletarians as their protagonists.'[3]

While there was no doubt about the role of the proletariat and the peasantry in the revolutionary process, there were different approaches in analyzing the place of the so-called middle strata and the national bourgeoisie.

Alberto Munos, Deputy General Secretary of the CP Salvador CC, expressed his view as follows: the bulk of the working class of Salvador (or the industrial proletariat) has taken shape recently; it mainly consists of former peasants; the level of its class consciousness has grown, but it is still inadequate. On the other hand, apart from the existing traditional middle strata, new middle sections have arisen. They are involved in industry, trade, the services and state administration.

The country's development within the framework of dependence has led to a rapid proletarization of masses of peasants and a growth of marginal groups. Despite the crisis, the higher education system continued to expand, which led to the appearance of a large number of students, specialists and members of the liberal professions, without any prospect of getting a job under the existing system. All these sections are not satisfied with their condition. Their protest has been growing from day to day, accelerating their involvement in the struggle together with the proletariat. Munos further emphasized that unity in the joint struggle against dependence on imperialism, and for freedom, justice and social progress could be attained only if revolutionaries belonging to different political organizations understand that that is precisely the social basis on which the new left movement has emerged and exists in Latin America. 'We believe,' he said, 'that the reason for the fairly widespread phenomenon, when communist parties in backward, dependent countries do not rise to the role of revolutionary vanguard, will be found not only in the fact that the social basis in these countries favors the emergence of 'new left' forces, but also in the fact that it promotes the growth of populist and bourgeois-reformist trends which now and again strike deep root.' The events in Latin America, notably Nicaragua, have made it most obvious that the analysis of political processes in Latin America tends to lag behind the realities, as, for

instance, on such an important matter as the 'left movement' concept. There has now been a long discussion about who is to be and not to be included in its ranks, and who is to be designated as genuine leftists and who as pseudo-revolutionaries. The time has apparently come for a natural return to this question, as Munos urged, and to examine the social basis and the circumstances in which this or that fighting organization or group arises. This will help to draw a distinction between the real heroes 'storming the heavens,' and the demagogues, like the Trotskyites and Maoists, who speculate on revolutionary catchwords and who carry on dirty anti-communist campaigns while claiming to represent the left-wing forces.

The same point was made by representatives of the Costa Rica revolutionaries, who presented a common paper on behalf of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica (Communists), the Costa Rican Socialist Party and the People's Revolutionary Movement. As for the middle strata, the paper says: 'Some assume that the middle strata have always — in the action in Latin America over the past 20 years at any rate — followed in the wake of the bourgeoisie, and that their revolutionary potential virtually equals zero. The advocates of this thesis refer to the experience of the revolutionary movement in the course of which the working class, because of its weakness, was unable to secure the leadership, and it passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie, which carried along with it the middle strata as well, because of their "two-fold" social nature.'

The problem is most acute in Costa Rica, where the middle strata are very large, for it is largely due to their struggle that the country has developed democratic traditions and social gains. The working class and its organizations must, as they did in the past, take this into account, maintaining constant contacts with the middle strata and preventing them from being manipulated by the ruling classes.

Cheddi Jagan, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, declared, for his part, that Guyana's experience 'confirms the two-fold feature of the petty bourgeoisie as a class. At some stage it accepts the leadership of the working class and has a progressive role, acting from anti-imperialist positions and standing up for an independent national economy. But the other trend comes to prevail at the following stage. The state, controlled and directed by the petty bourgeoisie, becomes not only an instrument for the accumulation of capital for the benefit of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, but also an instrument for oppressing and putting down the masses of the working people.'

The Panama delegation made a contribution to the discussion of this question. *Cleto Manuel Souza*, CC Political Bureau member, People's Party of Panama, said: 'At the present stage of the revolutionary process in Panama, which is anti-imperialist, a sizable section of the national bourgeoisie has acted together with popular forces: workers, peasants, representatives of the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie. If the working class fails — at the culmination period of the national crisis — to spread its ideology extensively enough, to assert its policy of alliance with the peasantry, this, on the one hand, has an effect on the revolutionary acts of the military, i.e., a 'revolution from above,' which is carried out in isolation from the masses, and on the other, induces some sections of the national bourgeoisie to join with the bloc of forces taking shape at the given moment. But its influence is expressed so strongly that the process is given a bourgeois content, although the military, who come from the people, continue to play the role of leader.

Workers, peasants, students and all the other working people take an active part in the revolutionary process, although they are not its chief motive force. At the same time, the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie, vacillating between the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, have a sense of uncertainty, indecision and fear of any deepening of the transformations.'

On this question, the Argentinian communists' stand was expressed as follows. The problem of alliances is of vital importance for the working class, and so its vanguard must pursue the right strategy and choose the correct tactics in the light of each concrete moment. The CP Argentina has worked out a clear-cut strategy envisaging the attainment of the broadest unity, including both the working class and the bulk of the national bourgeoisie, a unity whose central core is a worker-peasant alliance, in which the proletariat acts as the leading force.

Attainment of the desired goal — a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution developing along the road to socialism, the Argentinian delegate said, requires the infliction of a final defeat on the fascist circles, a broad public dialogue without any conditions, unification of civilian and military forces round a joint minimum program, and the creation of a military-civilian coalition government seeking to renew democracy.

The question of the anti-fascist front was raised at the conference by Julieta Campusano. She said, in particular, that today there are objective conditions for establishing an alliance of classes and strata of the population whose interests are being infringed by the dictatorship. Of primary importance here is the unity of the working class — both in trade-union and political terms — and also a strengthening of ties between the proletariat and the peasantry and the middle strata, whose numbers and political role tend to grow. The implantation of state-monopoly capitalism cuts across the interests of the greater part of the bourgeoisie and even of some small groups of the financial oligarchy. This objectively helps to weaken the dictatorial power, a fact which should not be ignored by the proletariat. The Chilean representative emphasized this idea of Corvalan's as expressed in the document *Our Democratic Project*: the alternative is not to create a socialist or a bourgeois state in place of the fascist state, but to replace it by a

new, democratic popular system that would make possible changes dictated by the objective necessity of social development. The main thing is to bring about, following the overthrow of fascism, a general revival of the economy, as this will make it possible to provide jobs for proletarians, employees, specialists and members of the liberal professions, and also for millions of Chileans in exile. This is in the interests of the working class, the unemployed, the employees, the semi-proletarians, the artisans, the vast majority of the rural population, the traders, the owners of transport facilities, members of the liberal professions, and broad strata of the national bourgeoisie. That is undoubtedly one of the key issues in the establishment of an anti-fascist alliance.

However, some speakers cast doubt on the possibility of the national bourgeoisie taking part in an anti-imperialist front. Those who held this view, notably, a representative of the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), came out in favor of a purely anti-capitalist program in the fight against imperialism.

It was also noted at the conference that the Indian population, which is fighting for its right to have communities and land and to safeguard its cultural values, could also be involved in the struggle against reactionary, racist and pro-imperialist oligarchies. This was suggested by representatives of left-wing bodies from Chile, Guatemala and Peru.

The alliance of the working class with other exploited strata of the population, as a rule, tends to arise as a result of an agreement between two or more political or social organizations on the basis of a joint program providing for short- or long-term cooperation. The progressive forces of Latin America face a number of common tasks: liberation from imperialist dependence, nationalization of foreign companies, control of industry, a radical agrarian reform, modernization of technologies both in industry and in agriculture, a genuine restructuring of the system of education and elimination of illiteracy, the raising of the people's material and cultural standards, democratization of public life, etc. Today, such a program could be subscribed to by sufficiently influential political circles in many countries of the continent, forces representing the working class, the peasantry, the middle urban strata, the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie and a section of the middle bourgeoisie. It is possible for them to set up an alliance provided the struggle has reached a level when the clearly formulated idea of unity goes home to broad (even if not all) sections of the population which are or can objectively be allies of the communists and other revolutionary forces.

At the same time, there are many subjective difficulties in attaining unity, and the proletarian party is faced with the task not of brushing these aside, not of entertaining the hope that in the concrete conditions the difficulties will make themselves known, but to prepare for their emergence and their overcoming so as to muster all the progressive forces.

This crucial importance of the unity of their revolutionary contingents, in the first place, was noted by the delegates of Cuba on the strength of their own experience. There was good reason, they said, why Fidel Castro's Report to the First Congress of the CP Cuba, was symbolically entitled 'Unity Has Led Us to Victory,' for this reflects the positive contribution made by the Cuban revolution in solving this problem.

Every figure of speech is conventional, but there is still good reason to compare the Latin American continent with a zone of volcanic activity. It implies that every volcano has an explosive substance, although the eruption of one volcano does not necessarily have to awaken others. The differences should also be borne in mind. One must realize that they arise within the framework of one and the same historical process. The Latin American region contains about 30 countries. They all have a similar past, a kindred culture and geographical proximity. They are faced with a common enemy — for the second time in their history: first, the colonialism of the European powers, and now U.S. imperialism. An uncompromising struggle is underway everywhere.

The position of exploited classes and strata within the social structure of Latin American and Caribbean countries is such that it is not only the communists that think that the revolution is inevitable. It is on the agenda, although no one, of course, intends to set a precise date.

The theoretical conference summed up the importance of socio-economic factors determining the revolutionary struggle at the center of which stands the proletariat. It also showed that this struggle cannot be suspended. If the vanguard is capable of correctly directing the action of the masses, no reaction can stop them. At the same time, if it decides on direct armed intervention, this will merely result, as Fidel Castro said, in more Vietnams.

While the theoretical conference was under way, El Salvador's fascist-minded gang assassinated Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the head of the country's Catholic Church, known for his courageous statements against the oligarchy and imperialism, in the presence of his parishioners, while he was officiating at mass in San Salvador. This has happened for the first time in history of the continent. Could there be more convincing evidence of the great intensity of the class struggle? There is growing division in the Church and the army, two social institutions which have traditionally catered to the interests of the ruling classes. Neither the Church, nor the army are at all united about doing the will of the exploiter minority.

Even the big bourgeoisie is split into various groups and factions. It begins to understand that the silence of the graveyard established by the fascist regime is shortlived. The fascist 'solution'

tends to sharpen the contradictions even in the upper tiers of the social pyramid, a fact which creates conditions for winning new allies for the masses.

The participants in the conference stated that these constant changes and clashes intensify the internal tensions, signalling, like volcanic smoke, the looming social eruptions. The process has brought out the factors which prevent the proletariat from using the 'explosive substance' of the conflicts that arise, to carry out a people's democratic and liberation revolution paving the way for a new society without exploiters and exploited. For that is the only society capable of successfully realizing the strategy of all-round development.

The subject of the conference, *Pavel Auersperg*, CC member, CP Czechoslovakia and *WMR* Executive Secretary from the CP Czechoslovakia, said at the final session, is of great interest for the revolutionaries not only in Latin American and Caribbean countries, but also in other regions of the world, for all those who want their countries to be free, sovereign and independent, equal and enjoying the benefits of peace, democracy and social progress.

The Havana Meeting was itself a manifestation of the profound sense of solidarity connected with internationalism that enables one to take the advanced stand of genuine patriotism. All delegates, pointing to the numerical growth of the proletariat and its potential allies, who make up the vast majority of the population, noted that the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have a fast growing revolutionary force. In the epoch of the general transition from capitalist to socialism, this force is able to break the fetters of imperialist oppression and its local henchmen in a historically short period.

The participants in the conference at Havana were unanimous in believing that the revolutionary forces of Latin American and the Caribbean as a whole were prepared to advance from an explanation of the world to its revolutionary change. It is the growing role of the working class in every sphere of social life, its political maturity and much higher fighting efficiency that warrant such an optimistic conclusion.

1. The Andean Pact or the Andean group is a subregional commercial and economic association including Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. The relevant treaty was signed in 1969. Since 1970, the members of the Andean group have pursued a common policy with respect to foreign capital, envisaging some curbs on the activity of foreign monopolies. Until 1976, Chile was also a member of the Pact. The fascist junta took the country out of the Pact, because it disagreed with its policy.
2. Fidel Castro, *History Will Absolve me*. Havana, 1973.
3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 57.

The class approach: the key to the truth

ONCE AGAIN ABOUT A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The problem of eliminating underdevelopment and restructuring economic relations in the world is a complicated political issue. *WMR* has carried (Nos. 6 and 7, 1980) articles on a new economic order. Here we present the views of scientists and political leaders representing Communist Parties from four continents. In concluding the discussion, we thank all its participants.

THE 'THIRD WORLD': A BROAD SPECTRUM OF FORCES

Vusizwe Seme
South African Communist Party

An acute ideological struggle is in progress over the problems arising from the elimination of underdevelopment and the restructuring of international economic relations. Bourgeois propaganda claims that the countries on our continent are underdeveloped because the African peoples lack the 'Protestant work ethic' and the 'accumulation of capital ethic,' and refers to the low cultural standards of the masses. These are racist arguments and their purpose is to exonerate the imperialist powers from any blame for their policy of colonial and neo-colonial plunder, which has bled the dependent countries white and slowed down their economic development.

The South African Communist Party, together with other fraternal parties, resolutely insists on the establishment of a new international economic order. We understand that this movement is one of the most complicated phenomena in the present world arena. The spectrum of political forces in the 'Third World' involved in this movement is very broad, ranging from countries taking the socialist orientation to reactionary political regimes. The same slogan is frequently invested with a different content, and the purposes of participants in the movement clash with each other. A correct assessment of the nature of the struggle, its objective and subjective class tenor, and a definition of one's own attitude to its various aspects and participants in the movement in order more actively to promote the democratization of the world economy can be effected only through a detailed political analysis of present day world reality.

A bird's-eye view of the developing countries as a coherent and unfragmented whole is totally futile. There are considerable differences between levels

and prospects of economic development, social-class structures, political regimes and foreign-policy lines of the many liberated countries. To judge the actual conditions of life on the basis of such global indicators as national income per head is like seeking to diagnose a patient's state merely on the strength of the average temperature of all the patients in a hospital.

The 'Third World,' which has a per head GNP of something like $200-250, includes both the OPEC countries, which have surpassed the $10,000 level, and the poorest countries of Tropical Africa and Asia, where the figure has yet to reach $100. Following the 1973-1974 'oil war,' the oil exporting countries secured a privileged position on the world market and continue to maintain it, because they have an instrument for exerting an economic pressure on the leading capitalist powers. The OPEC countries owe their exclusive positions to the fact that, first, oil is used all over the world: in transport, the power industry, the chemical industry, etc., and second, it is impossible to build up large stocks of this valuable raw material. Things are different with iron ore and ferrous metals: the developing countries do not have a monopoly on their extraction, while the leading industrial countries of the world have built up large stocks of ore. That is why the 'Third World' countries which have no oil of their own are unable to set up organizations like OPEC, and frequently find themselves in a hard economic situation, despite the fact that they have large stocks of mineral and agricultural raw materials which the world needs. Thus, at one time Zambia, Zaire, Chile and Peru suffered tremendous losses as a result of the sharp drop in the price of copper. The same thing happened to Malaysia and Indonesia over the price of rubber, to Egypt, over the price of cotton, etc.

The agrarian countries, especially if they produce only one crop which goes on the world market, are still highly vulnerable to political pressure from imperialism. We need merely recall the sharp drop in the price of cacao in 1966, on the eve of the military coup which led to the fall of the Nkrumah government. Ghana's economy was dealt a devastating blow, because cacao is one of its main export items. Nor did the price drop because of any fluctuation in demand; it was a well-considered political trick by the monopolies.

In the recent period, the 'green revolution' has slowed down, so that food deliveries are being increasingly used as a means of keeping the poorest countries of the African continent increasingly dependent on the world centers of imperialism. In other words, the prospects for economic growth generally and for so-called primitive accumulation of capital, in particular, which are opened up for the individual countries by their natural resources, the chief asset of the 'Third World,' differ very markedly from each other.

Other peculiarities tend to be superimposed on the natural and geographical specifics. Let us bear in mind that the colonial powers have pursued a 'divide and rule' policy (and continue to pursue such a policy in a modified form even today), and this has a marked effect on the development of the economic infrastructure in some African states. Thus, when making investments, France long gave preference to Senegal, as a result of which it is more industrialized than its neighbors. When the West African colonies rose to independence, the French government and monopoly circles concentrated on the Ivory Coast, where large funds were invested to produce a 'show-window' effect. That 'model developing state' was to serve as a counterweight to Guinea, which began to orient itself upon socialism.

Practice has shown that when in this or that country the Rubicon has been passed — the necessary minimum infrastructure built up — uneven economic development in the former colonies as a rule continues to grow: in the more favorable conditions there is accelerated economic growth, and this also tends to deepen the differences in interests, and in some cases to breed political contradictions. This was well demonstrated by the cooperation between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania within the framework of the East African Community. Kenya, which in the period of British colonial rule enjoyed some advantages, had a more developed infrastructure, so that when the three states were associated, the bulk of the capital investments flowed into that country. Its economic development accelerated to the detriment of its partners, which failed to obtain the expected benefits and so lost their interest in keeping the community going.

The differences in forms and pace of economic progress connected with the nature of the social system and political regimes in some liberated states are even more substantial. These are the factors which largely determine the effective use of the national resources for overcoming backwardness. When we are given the example of a once-backward socialist country, which for many years has steadily maintained a high rate of growth and has scored major successes in industrialization, it is quite obvious that its achievements are due, first, to the balanced economic activity of the socialist state, which makes it possible to concentrate sizable material and financial resources along the key lines of economic and social development and to maintain a high rate of accumulation, and second, to the assistance from other socialist countries. Hardly any positive results can be obtained from a mechanical application of this experience to the liberated countries, without a consideration of their social system.

It makes no practical sense to recommend some single scheme for overcoming backwardness (like the compulsory priority development of industry) or some norm of accumulation even when the advice is addressed only to the 'Third World' countries taking the way of transition to socialism. Take Angola and Mozambique, former Portuguese colonies which have won their independence with arms in hand. Their potentialities are very different. Angola is, perhaps, one of Africa's richest countries: oil deposits at Cabinda, diamond fields and

deposits of other diverse minerals. An organized working class is concentrated at Angola's oil fields and mines. Mozambique has none of this. It would be easier for Angola to attract foreign capital, to obtain the necessary technology and accumulate the resources for further economic development. The effort to overcome underdevelopment in Mozambique will face greater difficulties and obstacles. It is quite obvious that no abstract schemes can be followed here, and that each of these two countries will seek different ways for solving complicated internal problems.

Nor can I agree with the proposal to give developing countries assistance depending on the share of the national income appropriated for military needs. The Marxist-Leninist parties' approach to disarmament is based on the well-known thesis about just and unjust wars. Have we the right to demand that Ethiopia should reduce its military budget to 4-5 per cent of the national income, when it is faced with a threat from Somalia and the Eritrean separatists? Or Angola, which cannot cultivate large tracts of fertile lands because these areas are being subject to constant armed provocations by racist South Africa supporting the counter-revolutionary UNITA movement? Afghanistan is also forced to defend its revolution through armed struggle. It would be totally wrong, we think, to ignore these realities of the class struggle and to put forward proposals which are tantamount to withholding, for formal reasons, assistance to countries which are most in need of it.

That does not mean, of course, that we oppose arms cuts. On the contrary, in Africa there is sometimes inadequate comprehension of the importance of the struggle for détente and peaceful coexistence, which is considered a problem affecting primarily Europe and America, and not directly connected with matters of concern to our continent like hunger, illiteracy, etc. We seek to show that there is a direct connection between disarmament and an easing of international tensions, on the one hand, and the possibilities for overcoming underdevelopment, on the other. The proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for deducting a part of the resources released as a result of arms-budget cuts for the economic needs of the young states help more broadly to involve the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the common struggle for peace and détente. This form of assistance, without any political strings, will help to overcome underdevelopment, thereby marking an important stride toward the establishment of a new international economic order.

BASIS FOR JOINT STRUGGLE

Jose Lava
CC member, CP Philippines

The Communist Party of the Philippines also supports the movement for restructuring the world economy on the principles of equality and mutual advantage, and for doing away with every form of discrimination. But that does not prevent us from realizing that rallied round the banner of struggle for a new economic order are developing countries which set themselves far from identical goals, which have different allies and enemies, and which pursue contradictory strategic and tactical policies. Joint action was made possible, on the one hand, by the fact that their slogans are comprehensive, and on the other, by the fact that there is an objective basis for the joint struggle of the various forces for democratizing economic relations in the world, and against imperialism, which is to blame for the backwardness of the former colonies and semi-colonies.

The establishment of a new international economic order does not at all entail the elimination of capitalism. The aim is to transform world economic relations. The conceptions being put forward in this context by 'Third World' ideologists are of a bourgeois democratic character: they seek to eliminate neo-colonialist methods from the relations between developed capitalist and developing states, and to create a market mechanism for redistributing earnings from trade and the international division of labor in favor of the 'Third World' countries. Realization of these demands meets the interests both of the developing and the socialist countries, because it objectively leads to a weakening of the positions of imperialism and the transnational corporations.

At the same time, we are, of course, aware that the slogan of struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order does not go beyond the framework of a compromise between the national bourgeoisie of the newly-free countries and the monopoly circles of the developed capitalist powers. This movement is supported not only by democratic and progressive forces, but also in some instances by conservative and even by reactionary circles. Some leaders of developing countries use its slogans for internal political stabilization: in an effort to preserve archaic social relations and block social progress, they blame the people's hunger, poverty and, privations on external factors. For them, the advance to a new international economic order is a kind of lighting rod. Other representatives of reactionary regimes (in the OPEC countries, for instance), which have already seized a sizable share of the pie of imperialist superprofits, not only seek to entrench themselves in the positions they have won, but also try to obtain more. For them, the underdeveloped countries of the 'Third World' are a reliable hinterland. By supporting the radical demands of these countries, the leaders of the movement to establish a new international economic order representing the interests of the national bourgeoisie seek to intensify their political pressure on the imperialist powers.

Despite their checkered class make-up, those who advocate a democratization of international economic relations have maintained a relative unity for seven years now, because, even with the collapse of the colonial system, the contradiction between the former metropolitan countries and the

colonies is still there. Their winning of political independence has somewhat toned down that contradiction, but it has added to it a new contradiction between the interests of individual groups of the bourgeoisie representing various stages in the development of capitalism (i.e., the national bourgeoisie of developing countries and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the traditional capitalist centers). This factor could lead to an aggravation of the anti-imperialist struggle, while simultaneously providing a basis for a class compromise.

The political nature of the movement for the establishment of a new international economic order determines the attitude to it on the part of the communist parties and the socialist community: support for the overall anti-imperialist orientation, and resolute struggle against any attempt by reactionary regimes to kill the democratic character of the developing countries' demands, and to pit them against the socialist countries.

THE 'GOOD SENSE' OF IMPERIALISM: ALL ILLUSION

Steven Mark
CPUSA

Underdevelopment is the legacy of colonialism and neo-colonialism, which are the policy expressions of imperialism for the countries kept in its political and/or economic bondage. If it is possible for them to curtail the influence of foreign capital in one way or another, they gain some limited freedom of action toward becoming developing countries. But there are definite limits to how far developing countries can go in excercising their sovereign rights over their economic development, without jeopardizing imperialism's vital interests. This is plainly evident in U.S. imperialism's actions with respect to Iran, Afghanistan, Chile, El Salvador and in many other countries.

Full and complete opening of the road to accelerated development in accord with urgent requirements for one or another developing country largely depends on how much the door is shut to imperialist economic, political and military intervention. Least of all can imperialism be counted on to cooperate and aid in overcoming underdevelopment and giving genuine recognition to the sovereign rights of developing countries. To count on this is to let down one's guard and to expect imperialism to cease being imperialism.

This is basic in developing an approach to a new international economic order. To approach this problem as though it can be solved by adoption of a statement of principles, or of some economic program is to ignore the realities of the world we live in, and to harbor illusions about the 'good sense' of imperialism.

It is, indeed, impossible to democratize the world economy by a mere restructuring of market relations. The basic production sphere cannot be abstracted from, nor minimized in any consideration of a new economic order, if that term is to mean what it says. U.S. monopolies seek, under the pretext of rendering aid to developing countries in the process of industrialization, to give their economy a lopsided character dependent on supplying the needs of monopoly capitalism instead of the needs of their own peoples, and hamper their balanced, proportional growth, so placing the countries in a position of dependence.

It is of the essence of imperialism to super-exploit the labor and resources of other countries. Imperialism may and can be forced to make some concessions (in the areas of discriminatory tariffs, insurance rates, etc.), but the demand for complete sovereignty of a developing country over the disposal of its own labor-power and resources becomes, as the saying goes, 'fighting words' for imperialism.

That is why the question of establishing a new international economic order is a political one first of all. To attempt to 'erect' a new economic order in disregard of the real balance of world forces is to abandon the class approach, to fall victim to non-class over-generalized concepts which are the basis for many concepts deliberately substituting imaginary conflicts for truly deep ones, like the counterposing of developed and developing countries generally, rich and poor, North and South, world countryside and world city, etc. Any program that omits the socio-political context, which is narrowly limited to economic-market relationships is incapable of ensuring a full and complete solution to the problem of underdevelopment. Such a program could even be sanctioned in words by imperialism, but it would not erect a new economic order.

It is a hallmark of imperialist countries that, in the spirit of Rudyard Kipling's 'white man's burden,' they have a presumptuous, racist, attitude of tutelage toward former colonial countries and the few remaining colonial countries. Such an attitude is completely alien to socialism, which renders aid to developing countries on the basis of equality, respect and mutual benefit.

This principled stand was formulated by Leonid Brezhnev in the report of the CPSU CC to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

'Our party supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination, and is not after military bases. We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our communist convictions.'*

The democratization of international economic ties is a process that has been going on since 1917 with the birth of the first socialist state. It is inextricably bound up with the development of the world revolutionary process. That is why it is wrong to say that the slogan for restructuring the world economy was put forward a relatively short

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* L.I. Brezhnev. *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, Moscow, 1976.

time ago or was formulated by some individual. We are sure that unity, collective action by the progressive forces on an international scale can alone bring success in the struggle against neo-colonialism and diverse forms of economic discrimination.

A TRAP DISGUISED AS 'AID'

Tim Bone
People's Progressive Party of Guyana

The People's Progressive Party of Guyana supports the just movement of the developing countries for the establishment of a NIEO and regards it as an extention of a people's struggle for national and social liberation.

Some regard industrialization as a key factor in promoting and ensuring high economic growth rates, regardless of the social conditions in which it runs. But there is socialist industrialization and neo-colonialist industrialization. Many 'Third World' countries have started to industrialize — but how? Branch plants or factories of the monopolies and multinationals are set up with technologically obsolete equipment. A deformed type of industrial development designed for import substitution takes place, so creating a facade of industrial development.

Economic growth depends to a large extent on the nature of the production relations obtained in the given developing country. Clearly, without fundamental structural changes and the removal of the social fetters on the productive forces, production will continue to decline or stagnate and the economic and financial crisis facing many developing countries will worsen. Guyana is a classic example in this respect. The new (1978-1981) Development Plan of the Guyana Government projects real economic growth rates of 4-5 percent in 1978-1979 and 5 per cent or more in 1980-1981. But the Minister of Economic Development has admitted that, 'far from achieving the projected 5 per cent growth, there was absolutely no real growth in the economy in 1978.' Actually, the real growth rate was minus 1 per cent! This is a clear indication that the government intends to carry out a neo-colonial economic policy without balanced industrial agricultural development. Moreover, the Development Plan earmarks only 3.9 per cent for manufacturing, 6.5 per cent for electrical power (conventional i.e. oil, not hydro) and 26 per cent for drainage and irrigation infrastructure.

The situation in Guyana is well illustrated in the consequences of imperialist 'aid,' regardless of who gives it: foreign lending agencies or financial institutions under monopoly control (IMF and the World Bank). Over the past fifteen years the Guyanese Government has plunged the country deeper into the 'Debt Trap.' The total public debt at the end of 1979 is estimated at G$2.5 billion. Last year, 1979, debt payments were G$234 million, representing 58 per cent of current revenues.

The way to establishing a new international economic order will be neither smooth nor uniform. Here, it is impossible to use some universal model or copy the experience of some single state, however highly that state may assess its own achievements. The struggle for restructuring economic relations in the world will be effective only if the specific features of each developing country, of its internal and external policies are fully taken into account. Otherwise, our wishes are bound to remain on paper.

The governments of developing countries take a different stand on the idea of a new economic order. Some have continued a consistent and principled struggle to attain this goal, while others speak out in support of the just movement but in fact do everything to invalidate what has already been achieved. The socialist-oriented countries have pursued an especially firm anti-imperialist policy.

To say that the movement for a new international economic order is a struggle between poor and rich countries (or North and South) is, we think, to take the cue from pro-imperialist propaganda, to ignore the class nature of the system of international economic relations and to try to range the developing countries against the socialist countries.

History shows that the CMEA countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, have proved themselves as our peoples' most reliable friends not only in the period of struggle by the former colonies for national independence, but equally later, in the period of peaceful construction. The maintenance of close economic and political relations between the newly-free countries and the socialist world is a primary factor for success in the struggle to establish a new international economic order.

The political program of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, *Guyana's Road to Socialism*, clearly shows that to ensure rapid economic growth through the maximum development of the country's productive forces there is a need to resolutely re-orient our external economic and trade relations from the capitalist states to the socialist and non-aligned countries, which will tend to diversify and develop our exports, open new markets, achieve growing financial and technological independence and end devaluations of our currency.*

Close cooperation with the socialist countries in the just struggle to establish a new international economic order will help us to consistently continue the struggle for genuine national independence, péace and socialism.

HOW CONTRADICTIONS ARE OBSCURED

Ahmed Salim
CP Sudan

The developing countries' action for restructuring international economic relations is a characteristic feature of the struggle going forward in the world arena in our day. The preponderance of forces in favor of socialism and progress enables the de-

* PPP's Political Program *Guyana's Road to Socialism*, Georgetown, 1979, p. 40.

veloping countries to advance along the way of liberation from neo-colonialism and to stand up for their peoples' interests in world economic ties.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie seek to leave the impression that a new economic order can be established through purely economic measures aimed at regulating and developing the world economy on a fairer basis within the framework of international exchange. This approach is fraught with great danger because it covers up the noxious influence of the capitalist mode of production on present-day economic ties. A new economic order is presented as a market mechanism closely connected with the historically rooted economic relations between capitalist and developing countries, immune to the influence of socio-economic factors and the nature of the production relations prevailing in society.

That is why groundless notions tend to appear in some countries concerning the equal responsibility of all the industrialized countries without exception for the economic lag of the former colonies and semi-colonies, that is, an attempt is being made to put the blame for the worsening of the economic situation in the 'Third World' on the socialist-community countries as well. Such notions, fully endorsed by the imperialists, are aimed at weakening the solidarity of the developing countries, and at undermining their cooperation with the socialist world, the only bulwark of the young states in their struggle for genuine economic independence.

Neo-colonialism continues to exploit the developing countries, foisting on them disadvantageous forms of exchange and obsolete types of industrial production. The contradiction between the imperialist powers and these countries is objective, and is bound to deepen under the scientific and technological revolution. That is why the movement for a new international economic order is inseparable from the struggle against world imperialism, the archenemy of the peoples which have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence. Having lost its former possessions, it seeks to adapt itself to the natural urge of the 'Third World' countries to overcome their economic backwardness and to develop their economy at an accelerated pace. In face of the growing might of the national-liberation movement, the international monopolies resort to a new strategy, which is aimed at keeping the developing countries within the framework of the capitalist system and at preventing them from taking the socialist orientation.

In the course of the struggle for a new international economic order, the imperialist powers or the transnationals can run into contradiction with each other, but the competitive fight between associations of capitalists does not mean that radical changes have occurred in the positions of this or that capitalist country. That is why there is absolutely no ground for the illusions, which now and again appear in some 'Third World' countries, that they are in a position to choose for their partner some capitalist power that is 'better.'

For success in the movement to restructure the world economy it is essential to be firmly aware of the fact that the struggle between the industrialized Western powers for sources of raw materials springs from the operation of the law of the uneven development of capitalism. It does not lead to an elimination of capitalist property, or of the contradiction between labor and capital, nor does it go to the substance of the capitalist system in any way.

The only way to bring about a true democratization of economic ties in the world is to establish a solid alliance of the developing nations with the socialist community, which has always supported their urge to create an independent national economy and to strengthen their sovereignty.

A NATURAL AND RELIABLE ALLY

Wieslaw Klymczak
Polish United Workers' Party

The democratization of international economic relations is one of the global problems of the 20th century. The socialist-community countries have been acting on the premise that the economic backwardness, starvation and illiteracy among millions of men and women are a crying injustice in this age of scientific and technological progress and mankind's social emancipation. The fraternal parties want to see the establishment of more harmonious, stable and balanced relations among states, a restructuring of world economic ties on the basis of justice, equality and democracy, lofty principles on which the new economic order should be founded. The PUWP, like other communist parties, believes that the non-aligned movement expresses the legitimate aspirations of its members and has a positive and influential role to play in the international arena. We support these countries' initiatives aimed to attain complete sovereignty in the disposal of national resources and direction of their economic development.

In demanding a democratization of the world economy, the developing countries seek to obtain more advantageous forms of external economic activity. But it is impossible to exclude totally from the international capitalist system the market mechanism which regulates economic relations between individual countries. Imperialism being by nature an exploitative system, it cannot give up the practice of strong partners oppressing the weak, or of establishing new forms of dependence to replace obsolete ones.

Many developed capitalist and newly-free countries are engaged in economic, scientific and technological cooperation, but their relations continue to be in sharp contradiction, and this will be seen from the growing gap in their economic development levels. The young states need help in the struggle to overcome backwardness and to change the way in which they are involved in the international division of labor. Their natural allies, the

socialist countries, have consistently supported the national-liberation movement against every form of political and economic inequality.

The socialist-community countries have given and will continue to give diverse assistance — economic, political and cultural — to the 'Third World,' but they cannot be indifferent to the forms in which such support is rendered. For instance, while supporting the idea of an aid fund for developing countries, we object to the establishment of some kind of tribute on all the industrialized countries without exception in the form of a deduction of a fixed percentage from the national income. This method for forming aid funds for developing countries puts on the same footing the socialist countries, none of which ever had any colonies in the past, and the former colonial powers, which for a long time exploited the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to build up the metropolitan countries' large industrial potentials. We do not see any moral or political grounds for a similar approach to countries with different social systems.

The support which world socialism renders to young states is of a class character and expresses the interests of the working class and of broad masses of working people, of the forces of peace and progress. That does not mean that they give assistance only to countries taking the socialist orientation. In its policy with respect to developing countries, the socialist community proceeds from the fact that social conflicts in the 'Third World' have yet to be ultimately resolved and that social relations there cannot be regarded as having been established once and for all. Besides, the socialist countries have always sought to broadly develop equitable economic relations with all countries, regardless of the world system to which they belong, believing that this promotes mutual understanding among nations, consolidates peaceful coexistence and erects barriers in the way of war.

The significance of the developing countries' cooperation with the socialist countries cannot be measured only by the amount of aid being made available. What is also highly important is whom we help and how. The CMEA countries, which are engaged in building various projects in the 'Third World,' give preference to the state sector, because they are sure that that is the best way to meet the needs of broad masses of people. Ever more pronounced in our cooperation in the recent period is the switch from the construction of individual factories or plants to the establishment by joint efforts of whole territorial-production complexes, which exert a more tangible and purposeful influence on national-economic progress.

The practice of overcoming underdevelopment in former colonies and semicolonies shows that resolute advances in the desired direction can be made only with a complex approach to building up truly independent economies. Here, the socialist countries, with their tremendous experience in planning, can give effective assistance to the young states. By helping to organize planning, by their advice and practice in putting through agrarian transformations, and setting up peasant and handicraft cooperatives, the socialist community has been doing a great deal in practice in shaping a new international economic order.

Collective quest for solutions — the fuel and energy problem in the CMEA countries

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The provision of energy resources for economic growth has long since become an important international problem. It has now acquired global dimensions, and in the capitalist part of the world, the acuteness of an energy crisis. Ever more frequently broad international forums and conferences are told that in order to solve the energy problem there is a need to pool and coordinate the efforts of various countries — the whole of mankind — on democratic principles. But imperialist practices in international economic relations present an insuperable barrier in the way. The self-seeking interests of the major transnational corporations rule out anything like broad and rational international cooperation in production and the use of resources. The energy crisis continues to threaten the future of mankind.

This is a source of alarm in the world. Playing up on it, the CIA published in 1977, and then repeated with minor amendments in 1979, a forecast of the development of the energy situation in our country, predicting that in the 1980s the Soviet Union would cease to be an exporter of oil and would become a net importer. The CIA asserted that by 1982 Soviet oil exports would be halved from 150 million tons to 85 million tons.[1] That forecast was yet another propaganda and psychological act of subversion against the USSR. An effort was made to induce the Western world to believe that it should expect a new and powerful rival to appear on the oil market.

The threat of an energy crisis which allegedly looms before the Soviet Union impels it, the Americans hint, to aggressive acts in the Middle East. This 'warning' also has another aspect: cut-backs in Soviet exports of energy-carriers to Western Europe are bound, they claim, to lead to disappointment in economic cooperation with the East. At the same time, the CIA seeks to 'warn' the participants in socialist integration: bear in mind, it says, that you won't get much from the Soviet Union.

Of course, some take a more sober view of things. Thus, the British oil specialist D. Park does not share the CIA's dark conclusions. Although the CIA reports, he says, do correctly stress the considerable technical problems of the USSR's oil industry, he does not agree with the claim that none of them will be solved. Even in the absence of precise data, he adds, Western analysts agree that the level of exploitable reserves currently known to exist, will not constitute a constraint on the levels of production envisaged in the medium term.[2] This view has been supported by other West European experts.

But the discussion showed once again that the prospect for the solution of the energy problem in the CMEA countries has an important international political aspect. It is being analyzed by our friends and foes alike. Many oil-extracting countries are sensitive to it. These issues are a subject of ideological struggle, one of whose episodes is the CIA forecast designed for poorly informed and less than competent people. One has to be much too credulous to rise to this kind of bait. There are many facts to show that the extraction of oil and gas in the USSR has been increasing from year to year. Although in the recent period absolute increases in annual extraction have not been record highs, that is not yet evidence that extraction is declining, as U.S. intelligence predicts. Considering that the oil-bearing areas of Siberia are not as well explored as the old fields, and that there is a drive to extract oil in the Siberian North, including the ocean shelf, one may expect a further growth in oil output.

The diverse speculations over the fuel and energy problem are refuted by the economic development of the countries in our community and the actual practice of socialist economic integration.

The CMEA countries have a powerful and modern fuel and energy basis, whose structure is being steadily improved through an increase in the share of progressive types of energy-carriers. These countries' share in world output of energy resources[3] increased from 21 per cent in 1960 to 25 per cent in 1978, whereas that of the EEC countries dropped from 11 per cent to 6 per cent. The production of individual types of energy resources within the CMEA framework has been growing rapidly.

In 1978, the CMEA countries' output of all types of energy resources was 140 per cent up on 1960 (while their aggregate national income increased by 200 per cent, and industrial output by 280 per cent). There was especially rapid expansion of the fuel and energy industry in the Soviet Union, which produces 80 per cent of all the energy resources of the CMEA countries and which makes the main contribution to meeting their import requirements.

The development of the CMEA countries' fuel and energy complex creates the necessary basis for rapid economic growth. The effects of the uneven distribution of natural fuel reserves between these countries are being overcome through the international socialist division of labor. In 1977, the community's requirements in natural-gas imports were met almost entirely through mutual deliveries, in hard coal — 96 per cent, and in oil and oil products — 75 per cent. The high degree of self-sufficiency in fuel is an important advantage of the CMEA countries over the EEC countries, which have to import over one-half of their energy resources from third countries.[4] From 1960 to 1978, the output of energy resources in the EEC went up by only 5 per cent, and growth here was sufficiently large only in Great Britain and the Netherlands, with their extraction of oil and gas in the North Sea.

Table 1

Extraction of basic types of fuel and generation of electric power in the CMEA countries

	1950	1960	1970	1978	1978 over 1950
Hard coal and anthracite, mln.t.	282.9	496.3	613.1	734.0	2.6-fold
Brown coal and lignite, mln.t.	264.2	469.0	589.0	625.0	2.4-fold
Oil, mln.t.	43.2	160.9	369.2	588.0	13.5-fold
Natural and casing-head gas, bln.m³	9.2	54.5	219.8	406.0	44-fold
Electric power, bln.kwh.	135.3	406.5	987.4	1,614.0	11.9-fold

Source: Economy of the CMEA Countries. Statistical Collection, Moscow, 1974, pp. 79,80. Statistical Yearbook of the CMEA Countries. Moscow, 1979, pp. 86-89 (in Russian).

The dynamic development of the production of fuel and energy and the deepening of cooperation in this field not only created an important prerequisite in the 1970s for the CMEA countries' rapid socio-economic progress, but also expanded their potentialities for export to the world capitalist market of gas, oil and oil products from the USSR, hard coal from Poland, and oil products from Rumania. This export has a substantial role to play in Western Europe's energy balance. Being a reliable and stable channel of supply for several developed capitalist countries, it is valuable to them also because it enables them to diversify their sources of fuel and reduces the risk of excessive import dependence on countries in the Middle East. The socialist community is not threatened with upheavals like those which hit the capitalist world as a result of the energy crisis and which continue to loom like a dark shadow over them. However, the uninterrupted satisfaction of energy needs requires intense efforts on our part as well, because all CMEA countries, with the exception of the Soviet Union, have a gradually declining share of home-produced

energy in total consumption. It is hard to counteract the influence of natural and economic constraints.

Seventy per cent of the CMEA countries' total energy consumption[5] (about 580 million tons of conventional fuel) was covered in 1975 through production within the framework of the community. By the end of the 1980, these requirements are expected to go up to 780 million tons of conventional fuel, with only 65 per cent of these being met from home sources. In 1990, these figures may well come to 1 billion tons and 50 per cent. Table 2 shows that over a quarter-century increase in the fraternal countries' requirements in fuel and energy was met mainly by Soviet deliveries:

Table 2

Deliveries of fuel and electric power from the USSR to CMEA countries

	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980
Oil, mln. tons	22	56	138	250	370
Natural gas, bln.m³	1	1.6	8.0	30	88
Hard coal, mln.tons	29	63	62	74	—
Electric Power bln.kwh.	—	3.5	14	40	64

This sizable influx of Soviet energy resources into the CMEA countries' economy is a key factor of their industrial growth. From 1976 to 1980, these deliveries will add up to roughly 800 million tons of conventional fuel, which is 43 per cent more than the figure for the previous five-year period. From 1981 to 1985, Soviet export of these resources is to go up by another 20 per cent. Oil deliveries are to be maintained on the high 1980 level, and will reach 400 million tons in the five-year period.

The movement of energy-carriers across borders on such a vast scale has been made possible through the joint and concerted efforts in building up export facilities and expanding the capacity of transport arteries. Oil and gas pipelines have been laid from the USSR to the European countries of the CMEA. Thus, the starting in 1979 of the jointly built *Soyuz* gas pipeline enables these countries additionally to obtain 15.5 billion cub.m. of Soviet natural gas a year from the Orenburg area. Deliveries of Soviet electric power have been markedly increased with the erection of an inter-grid electric-transmission line linking up the Western Ukraine and Hungary.

Socialist economic integration is an effective instrument for solving large-scale energy problems. It reliably meets the needs of the member-countries on a long-term plan basis and preferential economic terms. Prices for energy-carriers in the CMEA countries' trade with each other have a world basis but are cleared of conjunctural and speculative elements and remain unchanged in the course of a year. They are agreed on the basis of average world prices for a period of five years prior to the year of delivery. This enables the socialist market to avoid sudden leaps in prices and to facilitate the adaptation of the economies to the stable trends in the changing price proportions of international exchange. Thus, in 1979, the European socialist countries bought oil from the Soviet Union at prices that were roughly 40 per cent lower than world prices. It is estimated that from 1976 to 1980, the CMEA countries will have a total benefit from the purchase of Soviet oil and oil products alone of over 5 billion transfer rubles.

Despite the fact that the Soviet Union has sizable energy resources, there are objective limits to a further increase in their exports. The European part of the USSR has a shortage of fuel, which has to be met with supplies from Siberia. The country's eastern regions are coming to be the main sources of oil and gas deliveries for export. This entails tremendous additional expenditures on the transportation and development of new and sparsely populated regions. With the scale on which oil, gas and some other energy-carriers are being extracted and exported, it is no longer possible to ignore the fact that these resources are limited and non-renewable.

Of course, the approach to the build-up limit for export capacities in the Soviet Union's fuel and raw-material industries tends to introduce some new and important elements into the solution of the energy problem.

The CMEA countries' growing requirements in fuel and also the vast scale on which energy resources are being delivered from the USSR have confronted the socialist community with the problem of formulating a strategy for developing the fuel and energy complex with an eye to the growing cost of energy resources, their limited supply, and the impact of the world energy crisis. The fraternal CMEA countries have given primary attention to this problem, regarding it as the key to further economic progress and the strengthening of the united might and cohesion of the community. Having considered the results of Leonid Brezhnev's meetings and talks in the Crimea with leaders of fraternal parties and countries in the summer of 1979 the CPSU Central Committee said: 'The socialist countries take into account the fact that some problems tend to arise for them from the growing complexity of the world economic outlook. This relates, in particular, to the maintenance of the high level achieved in the consumption of oil and oil products and the assurance of a steady growth of energy capacities.'

The CMEA countries will have to adapt to the new and less favorable situation in the fuel and energy sphere. This implies a substantial structural, organizational, technical and even psychological switch which will take time and require sizable additional inputs.

To meet the socialist-community countries' fuel requirements there is a need to move in the 1980s to new schemes in the international division of labor and interaction of the economies. The energy problem now has to be tackled not in isolation but in a complex with other industries, engineering in the first place. Here it is important to take into account the size of the inputs and their returns, the possibil-

ity of cooperating with developing countries, etc. Together with the expansion of national fuel and energy bases, there is a need for concerted measures to remodel the structure of the economy and rationalize consumption of energy. It is important to use potentialities in the balanced organization of the international division of labor like reduction in the share of energy-intensive lines of production in the countries where the conditions for the development are unfavorable.

Our community has clear and reliable prospects for meeting the basic needs in energy, over the next decade. The advantages of the planned economy and the planned organization of international cooperation enable the CMEA countries to cope with their energy problems and create guarantees that they will continue to do so in the future. This conclusion is borne out by the whole of earlier development and also by the results of economic-plan coordination between the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries for the next five-year period (1981-1985). The Long-Term Goal-Oriented Program of Cooperation for ensuring the CMEA countries' economically grounded requirements in basic types of energy, fuel and raw materials over the period until 1990, which was approved by the 32nd session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (1978) is a concerted strategy for solving the fuel and energy problem. It does not lay emphasis on a further extensive increase in the extraction and mutual deliveries of fuel and energy resources but on more intensive, that is, rational and economical, use of them. This strategy is aimed at involving to the utmost each country's own resources in economic commerce, above all every type of solid fuel for the generation of electric power and for technological-energy use. The European CMEA countries have sizable deposits of hard and brown coal and lignites, totalling roughly 105 billion tons, with estimated reserves coming to another 80 billion tons, a fact which makes it possible to expand considerably the extraction and technological processing of solid fuels.

The increase in extraction will proceed with the use of new and perfected methods and technical means in the building and operation of powerful mines and pits with complex mechanization. Cooperation is being started in the mastery and introduction of progressive methods for processing coals into liquid, gaseous and other transportable types of fuel.

The long-term goal-oriented program gives special attention to the accelerated development of atomic energy. The program for the utmost development of atomic engineering in the CMEA countries over the period until 1990, approved by the 31st session of the CMEA, lays down the main lines for specialization and cooperation in this field.

At the CMEA's 33rd session in 1979, a relevant multilateral agreement was signed under which more than 50 major industrial enterprises and associations of eight countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Poland, Rumania, USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) will take part in the manufacture and delivery of complex equipment for atomic-power stations. With the USSR's assistance, atomic-power stations with a total capacity of 37,000 Mw are to be started in the European CMEA countries and in Cuba. This will help to save nearly 70 million tons of conventional fuel a year. Two atomic power stations 4,000 Mw each are to be built on Soviet territory in cooperation with interested countries, and half of their electric power is to be exported to fraternal countries.

The construction of new thermal electric power stations operating on hard fuel is being expanded, and hydro-energy resources are to be more intensively developed. Large hydro-power plants are to be built on the Danube jointly by interested countries, among them: Gabcikovo-Nagymaros (in the Hungarian-Czechoslovak sector), Iron Gate-II — Derdap-II (in the Rumanian-Yugoslav sector), Nikopol-Turnu-Magurele (in the Bulgarian-Rumanian sector) and also a number of hydro-power plants on the Danube and other rivers. Much importance will be attached to the joint construction of hydro-accumulating power plants: Lakatnik in Bulgaria, Predikaloszek in Hungary, Nevistka in Poland, and Derdap-III in Yugoslavia, a scheme that will help to create the most favorable conditions for the operation of the power grid.

In 1977, eight CMEA countries signed a General Agreement on cooperation in the long-term development of Joint Electric-Power Grids for the period until 1990. In order to ensure supplies of electric power, to extend assistance in the event of breakdowns, to increase mutual transfer of capacities and also to enhance the reliability of the parallel operation of power grids a 750 kV system-forming network of great capacity is to be built up. Following the contruction of the Vinnitsa-Albertirsa line with the participation of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, and the Soviet Union, the Khmelnitskaya atomic power station-Rzesrow and the Konstantinovskaya atomic power station-Macin-Dobrudja lines are to be erected. The general system provides for the construction of a northern branch, the Ignalinsk atomic power station-Poland-Niedergörne and meridian LEP-750 electric transmission lines to form a reliable framework for the future integrated grid.

The community countries' requirements in oil and oil products will be met by deliveries from the USSR (the terms and quantities being agreed on a bilateral basis) and by an increase of their own extraction of oil and gas through their fuller extraction from the subsoil of operating fields and the development of new fields, including those lying at great depth, and also on the shelf of the Baltic, Black and other seas. Special importance is attached to multilateral cooperation in refining oil to a greater depth, above all through the introduction of better technology. In June 1980, an inter-governmental general agreement was signed for the development of specialization and cooperation in the manufacture of the necessary installations and equipment. This will help to make more efficient use of

oil, to expand the production of valuable products and to meet the growing requirements of transport in motor fuel, and petrochemistry in raw materials.

The fuel and energy complex has a considerable degree of inertia, and this has to be reckoned with when assessing the possible structural changes in the production and consumption of energy for the 1980s. One could expect these changes to bear above all on the methods used in the generation, transmission and use of energy. Calculations show that the CMEA countries have very large reserves for economies: the socialist community countries spend 40 per cent more fuel and energy resources per comparable national-income unit than the common market countries. In other words, if the norms for the input of these resources could be reduced to the EEC level, the CMEA countries' national income could be increased by nearly 50 per cent with the present fuel output.

Scientific and technological progress opens up broad potentialities for more efficient use of energy resources. In the developed capitalist countries, the use of energy resources comes to 30-35 per cent of their total consumption, the rest going to waste. EEC specialists believe that it is quite realistic to try to raise that figure by roughly one-third over the next 15-20 years. The CMEA countries have equal if not greater potentialities for increasing the percentage of the usefully consumed energy.

The important thing to emphasize is that measures for economizing on fuel require from one-half to one-third less investments than a corresponding increase in extraction, because there is no need to direct new mines, quarries, oil refineries, electric-power stations and electric transmission lines. This is also fully taken into account by the CMEA countries' long-term energy strategy. It envisages the working out and introduction of new technical approaches, improvement of existing technologies ensuring a reduction in fuel and energy requirements, the use of less energy-intensive technological processes, improvement of thermal insulation, and enhancement of the relative efficiency of energy-using installations. Measures will also be taken for the fuller extraction of fuel from the subsoil and better use of recycled energy resources.

The 34th session of the CMEA in 1980 once again noted the growing impact of fuel and energy supplies on the economic development of the community countries. It was decided to extend cooperation in geological prospecting in promising areas of these countries, to bring about an increase in the proved deposits and mutual deliveries of fuel, the most rational use of energy resources, and provision of economical equipment for the fuel-extracting and fuel-consuming industries. A scientific and technological prognostication of the solution of fuel and energy problems until the year 2000 is to be worked out.

Successful solution of these tasks largely depends on close cooperation in supplying fuel and energy industries with machinery, equipment and materials. This applies above all to the manufacture of mining, drilling, oil-fields, hoisting, transportation, power, oil-refining and chemical equipment. Within the framework of the Engineering Long-Term Goal-Oriented Program there is a provision for joint solution of the incidental technical problems, development of specialization and cooperation of production, remodelling and expansion of existing and erection of new facilities, including facilities built jointly by the countries concerned. Scientific and technological cooperation which affects every element of the fuel and energy complex is to be given fresh impulses.

The most important aspect of the CMEA countries' concerted strategy for solving the fuel and energy problem is the more rational location of energy-intensive plants. Within the framework of the common program additional facilities are to be set up in the USSR's Eastern regions to turn out energy-intensive chemical products like methanol, polyvinylchloride and polyethylene. In order to compensate for these deliveries, the CMEA countries concerned are to expand, by mutual agreement, the output of less energy-intensive types of chemical products for export to the Soviet Union.

It is generally known that the ecological problem tends to be sharpened by the further development of fuel and energy complexes, atomic energy in the first place. Wherever the density of the population is high, atomic power stations have to be dispersed. The territorial separation of enterprises for the concentration of nuclear fuel, the manufacture of heat-generating elements, the regeneration of spent fuel and the processing and disposal of radio-active waste tends to sever the elements of the production cycle. The transportation of large volumes of unirradiated nuclear fuel to the atomic power plants and the higly active spent fuel from the plants to the dumping sites could be a source of additional risk of radioactive contamination of the environment, which will tend to grow with the development of the nuclear-power industry and the expansion of fuel flows. That is why the CMEA countries are already starting cooperation in the transportation and recycling of spent fuel, designing special transport facilities and framing international juridical and normal documents to regulate various matters arising from such carriage.

The generation of electric power by atomic stations makes economic sense only with reactors of large unit capacity. But the enlargement of installed capacity of atomic plants leads to an increase in the area of alienated land and intensive use of water resources. In order to solve this problem, studies are being carried out in the Soviet Union to find out where it is worthwhile to link up atomic power plants into large nuclear-energy complexes with a capacity of several million kilowatts situated far away from densely populated areas. These are to be linked with the centers of energy consumption by means of electric-power transmission lines. Here it seems to be advisable to concentrate not only the atomic power plants but also the enterprises of the whole external fuel cycle on one site.

The increase in the output of hard fuel, of brown coal in particular, also tends to produce nowadays

difficult problems arising from the need to protect the environment. Because the richest and most conveniently located deposits in the European socialist countries are already depleted or are close to depletion, the maintenance of the old level and expansion of coal extraction requires the clearing of new and ever vaster areas for quarries. In many instances, this means not only the felling of forests, the loss of farmland and the appearance of gigantic dumps, but also the transfer of villages and even small towns. Among the important sectors of cooperation in tackling the ecological problem are the most economical use of land resources, reculltivation of worked out land, and prevention of air pollution by giant thermal plants.

In determining their energy requirements over the long term, the CMEA countries are not always capable of backing up their needs in economic terms. Because of the considerable difficulties in long-term prognostication and planning, simplified methods frequently have to be used and the parametric relation between the general dynamic of economic growth and increase in energy consumption taken as the starting point. The higher the planned rate of growth, the greater the prognosticated demand for the import of energy resources. But all-round economic substantiation of requirements calls for a different approach. It is important not only to take into account the reduction in the input of energy resources per unit of national-income growth in some countries, but also to coordinate strategy for the development of the countries importing and exporting energy resources, because they are inter-related. In other words, practical realization of the Long-Term Goal-Oriented Program in fuel and energy makes it necessary to improve the methods and forms of joint planning activity.

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The solution of the energy problem within the CMEA framework, as, incidentally, throughout the world, is made more difficult by the growth of raw-material and fuel prices. Since the end of 1973, oil prices in the world have multiplied over tenfold. This world-market trend is sooner or later, and with definite correctives, transferred to the relations between the CMEA countries. Although the price of oil in their trade with each other is lower than the world price, it is many times higher than the 1974-1975 price. To meet this price rise there is a need to expand export and make it more effective. For the time being, the CMEA countries have to resort to credits to pay for a part of their imports. One important task in the coordination of their long-term economic plans is to expand exports to compensate for the rising prices of imported energy resources.

There are other new problems which have arisen from the realization of the fraternal countries' collective energy strategy. One of its key elements, for instance, is the deepening division of labor with developing countries, and business cooperation with capitalist countries. The Soviet Union and other CMEA countries have proposed the convocation of a European energy congress to discuss the numerous possibilities for jointly tackling the existing problems in boosting the production, export and more rational use of energy resources. We want new forms and lines of cooperation with developing countries to have the possibility of buying additional oil, gas and coal on the basis of long-term agreements. It turns out that the conventional methods of trade are inadequate. In order to develop business ties on a sounder basis, the CMEA countries seek to develop their export industries oriented upon the satisfaction of the specific needs of the developing countries and to increase deliveries of the machinery they need. The socialist and the developing countries could evidently set up mixed companies to promote the rational development of natural resources and to help build up export facilities for deliveries to CMEA countries.

The experience in solving the fuel and raw-material problem within the framework of socialist economic integration does not, of course, provide answers to all the intricate problems which spring from practice. Much still has to be thoroughly thought out and specified. New approaches to these problems will undoubtedly appear. Scientific and technological progress will make an important contribution. But what the socialist community has already done shows that it is, in principle, possible to solve one of the most acute global problems of our day, if the fraternal countries coordinate their efforts voluntarily, with respect for each other's interests, and with mutual comradely support.

1. Oil and Gas Journal, Vol. 77, No. 36, 1979, p. 50.
2. D. Park, *Oil and Gas in Comecon Countries*, London-New York, 1979, pp. 133, 61.
3. Here and below in terms of conventional fuel.
4. *Revue du Marché Commun*, No. 216, 1978, p. 158.
5. Not including the USSR.

viewpoints

Nuremberg: the tribunal of history remains assembled

Dear Editor,

I belong to a generation born after the Second World War and am, therefore, vague or have no knowledge about many things linked to its history and effects. On the basis of what laws were, say, the instigators of the war and the war criminals tried? What was the Nuremberg International Tribunal? Have the norms laid down by it any significance today?

Gabriel Valderrama,
student (Spain)

At the request of *WMR* this letter is answered by Bohuslav Kucera, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, and Chairman of the Czechoslovak Governmental Commission of Inquiry into Nazi War Crimes.

Dear Mr. Gabriel Valderrama,

Your questions are very timely and important. Last May the world celebrated the 35th anniversary of the victory over fascism. Everybody who cherishes peace will soon mark the 35th anniversary of the commencement of the sittings of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, which was set up at the will of the nations that were subjected to nazi aggression and occupation, at the will of the people who fought in the battles or suffered in concentration camps.

The monstrosity of the crimes committed by the nazis during World War II is unparalleled in history. The worldwide carnage started by them took 50 million lives and brought total destruction to towns and villages.

Concentration camps were one of the means of terrorizing the population of occupied countries and suppressing all opposition. Most of these were extermination centers. Prisoners were branded and used for experiments from which few survived;[1] they were starved and kept in the cold; they were poisoned, shot, hanged, or gassed. In their concentration camps and other death centers the nazi criminals tortured and killed 12 million people.[2] Hundreds of thousands died in pogroms, punitive actions, and the bombing of civilian targets. Fascism was the first in history to pursue the objective of annihilating entire peoples.

This brought mankind round to the conviction that those responsible for the atrocities, murders, and destruction had to be tried and that guarantees had to be created to preclude a repetition of these horrors. The governments of the powers that fought nazi Germany responded to this will of the peoples. The USSR, USA, Britain, and France signed an agreement in London on August 8, 1945 on the trial and punishment of the main war criminals of the Axis European countries. Accordingly, the International Military Tribunal was constituted. Article 3 of the agreement committed its signatories to turn over the war criminals taken into custody by them to the International Military Tribunal for investigation and trial. The Charter of the International Military Tribunal became an inseparable part of the agreement of August 8, 1945. It defines the most heinous crimes against mankind and specifies the principles of criminal responsibility for them. The Charter classifies aggression as a punishable crime.

The Nuremberg trial commenced on November 20, 1945 with the reading of the indictment against 24 top nazi leaders[3] who personified the fiendish nazi regime (the indictment was drawn up by representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and France). They were charged with *contriving and carrying out* a conspiracy against peace (participation in planning, preparing, and unleashing wars of aggression); with *war crimes* (criminal transgression of the laws and customs of war, the murder and brutal treatment of prisoners of war, the execution of hostages, the pillaging of public and private property); with *crimes against humanity* (murder, extermination, and enslavement of the civilian population persecution for political, racial, and religious motives, barbarous experiments on living people, the transportation of civilians as slave labor to nazi Germany, and the use of forced labor in occupied territories).

In addition to the 24 war criminals in Nuremberg, the tribunal tried — for the first time in history — the criminal institutions and organizations set up by the accused, and also the man-hating 'theories' and 'ideas' spread by them in order to carry out their long premeditated crimes against peace and humanity. The constituting nations turned over to the military tribunal indictments against the nazi 'guard detachments' (SS), the secret police (Gestapo), including the 'security service' (SD), and the storm troops (SA), and also the Imperial Cabinet, the General Staff, and the supreme command of the German Armed Forces.

Nuremberg was thus a trial not only of specific war criminals but also of German monopoly capital and international imperialist reaction, which had

helped the nazis to come to power, consolidate their rule, and perpetrate their countless atrocities. It lasted for a little under a year (it closed on October 1, 1946). Being, above all, an anti-fascist and anti-imperialist trial, it became a watershed in the history of international law, putting an end to the age-old impunity of aggression and aggressors. The unleashing of war, the sentence passed by the International Military Tribunal stated, is the most heinous international crime that differs from other war crimes only in that it is the concentrated expression of the evil in each of the others.

You ask what significance the Nuremberg trial has today. In reply let me begin with the fact that the International Military Tribunal's acknowledgement that aggression is a most barbarous international crime and that statesmen guilty of planning, starting, and conducting wars of aggression and also the organizers and executors of criminal plans for the extermination of millions of innocent people and the subjugation of entire nations are liable to criminal punishment was justifiably seen by all decent people in the world as a sentence passed by history. The Charter of the International Military Tribunal and the sentence passed by it are a major landmark in the development of the system of laws protecting peace, facilitating struggle against aggression and, in the event aggression is started, protecting the victims of war, and bringing the perpetrators of aggression and war crimes to justice.

The principles of international law recognized in the Charter of the Nuremberg tribunal as mandatory norms in the efforts to end crimes against the peace and security of mankind and expressed in its sentence were unanimously approved by the UN General Assembly in a resolution of December 11, 1946, which reaffirmed them as principles of the international criminal code.

We must note that capitalist powers who signed the Charter of the Nuremberg tribunal have not been abiding by the adopted norms of international law.

On the very next day after, the USA, along with other nations, signed the agreement on punishment for war crimes, a U.S aircraft dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, killing thousands of civilians.

Then the record of U.S. imperialism's crimes against peace and humanity, the record of its war crimes in various parts of the world began to lengthen.

The systematic impingement on political rights, the repressions, and persecution of those who speak out against oppression, exploitation, discrimination, and militarism in the USA itself should unequivocally be qualified as crimes against humanity.

The racial discrimination against the 25-million-strong Black population, the Puerto-Ricans, the Chicanos, and the Indians comes under the same heading. In a document sent to the UN some Indian national organizations of the USA charged the U.S. government of carrying out a policy of genocide against the indigeneous inhabitants of America.

The criminal nazi and fascist ideology and practices condemned in Nuremberg are to be seen ever more clearly in the day-to-day activities of the apartheid regime in the South African Republic, where the number of prisoners is growing twice as fast as the nation's population. The jails hold more than 200,000 victims of racism. During the past few years punitive units of the South African army and police have killed or wounded several thousand persons — adults and children.

That nazi ideology and practices die hard is shown also by the events in the Middle East, where the racially-motivated Israeli authorities are deporting Arabs en masse, conducting repressions against civilians in occupied Arab territories, and torturing prisoners.

The sanguinary record of the fascist junta in Chile is a repetition of the crimes committed against humanity by the nazis. The thousands of patriots who have been killed or 'listed missing,' the 200,000 Chileans who have passed through concentration camps, the arbitrary arrests, the tortures, the absence of guarantees of human rights, and the systematic persecution of persons suspected of opposing the regime lie on the conscience of the Pinochet secret police.

The repressive regimes, whose actions may be characterized as criminal on the basis of the legal principles worked out by the Nuremberg tribunal, include the regime in Uruguay, where there are 6,000 political prisoners, and in Guatemala, where 70,000 patriots have been killed for political reasons over the past 25 years. In Paraguay thousands of political prisoners are held for months and years on end without trial or investigation. The Duvalier 'presidents for life' family has been committing outrages for the past 23 years in Haiti, which is called the 'empire of fear and terror'; at least 100,000 patriots have fallen victim to bloody retributions.

The nazi murderers have been aped also by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang, which committed bestial crimes against the Kampuchean people. They butchered nearly 3,000,000 people.[4]

Today, the significance of the Nuremberg tribunal is chiefly that actions of this sort are no longer the internal affair of one ruling clique or another. They are quite rightly qualified as international crimes. Little wonder that soon after the Nuremberg trial the ruling circles of the USA, whose foreign policy throughout the period since the war has been one of support for the most aggressive and reactionary forces in the world and who have themselves started two wars of aggression (in Korea and in Southeast Asia), reconsidered their attitude to war crimes and to crimes against humanity. Also of little wonder is that in the FRG denazification was turned (with the obvious connivance of the USA) into a farce. No judicial actions were taken in that country against many war criminals, while most of the trials that were held usually ended with a ludicrously lenient sentence.[5] At the other extreme, witnesses have been intimidated and the principles adopted at Nuremberg have been distorted.

It has become quite evident that in the FRG some circles aim to bury the principles of the Nuremberg

tribunal in oblivion, shake off the criminal nazi past as soon as possible, proclaim that war crimes are outside the jurisdiction of the law at the expiry of 20 years after the formation of the FRG, and amnesty all nazi criminals without exception. However, with the memory of the war tragedy still alive, world public opinion opposed these plans. In 1968, the UN General Assembly, acting on a Polish motion, approved a convention on the non-applicability of any time limitation to war crimes and to crimes against humanity. Moreover, the convention reaffirmed a principle, recognized by the majority of nations, according to which these crimes remain punishable regardless of how much time passes since they were committed.[6]

Significantly, this convention was not signed by the FRG or Japan. Neither was it ratified by the capitalist states that were members of the Anti-Hitlerite Coalition. The USA, for one, has neither ratified this convention nor the UN convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide and the convention on the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination, and has evinced no desire to subscribe to the international pact on civil and political rights. The U.S. ruling circles evidently have weighty reasons for not undertaking the judicial commitments stemming from these documents.

Another cause for concern springs from the attempts to exonerate fascism in one way or another and save nazi criminals from the punishment they deserve at a time when ultra-right and pro-fascist organizations are growing increasingly active in the FRG and many other countries. Statistics of the FRG Ministry of the Interior show that neo-nazi terrorist groups structured along the lines of trained paramilitary units now number as many as 24.

In Italy about 50 groups actively cooperate with the neo-fascist MSI-DN.

In this situation the question of the attitude to the past is becoming part and parcel of the struggle for the future. Nobody will question the fact that any obscuring of the past fosters the regeneration of its most odious features, while indulgence of war criminals, the termination of prosecution for crimes committed by the nazis would be justifiably assessed by everybody as encouragement for the resurgence of nazism.

Czechoslovakia, one of the signatories of the London agreement, the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, and the convention on the non-applicability of the time-limitation provision to war crimes and crimes against humanity, has been and is unswervingly fulfilling all the obligations under these documents. Prosecution of nazi war criminals and their accomplices was started in Czechoslovakia as soon as it was liberated in 1945. By the close of 1948 extraordinary people's courts had sentenced more than 33,000 war criminals, both nazis and collaborators. Half of them were persons of German nationality, and 35 per cent were Czechs or Slovaks, 15 per cent were of other nationalities. The justice system thus operated regardless of the nationality of the criminal. Its sole purpose was to punish, in accordance with the law, all who committed war crimes.

However, so far not all war criminals who had committed atrocities in Czechoslovakia have received the punishment they deserve. Soon after the war many found refuge in Latin America, and subsequently returned to the FRG. A governmental commission of inquiry into nazi war crimes was set up in Czehcoslovakia in 1965 to ensure that no nazi war criminal escaped punishment. To date it has investigated 180 cases and indicted 662 persons responsible for the death of at least 14,560 people. Ninety-three indictments of 430 criminals have been turned over to the FRG and Austria in the form of memoranda, and in some cases in the form of a request for extradition.

At its sittings this commission considers the measures taken by the judiciary in the FRG relative to proven war criminals. Regrettably, the facts indicate that in the FRG the prosecution of nazi war criminals is passive, demonstrating a reluctance to punish such criminals as they deserve. This conclusion is corroborated by the circumstance that in the FRG court examination has not been completed on any of the indictments turned over by the Czechoslovak governmental commission, while in some instances the proceedings have been suspended. And this in spite of the fact that these are indictments of persons whose crimes in Czechoslovakia are widely known, for example, the last Gestapo chief in Prague Ernst Gerke or the head of the nazi press service Wolfram von Wolmar.

We feel that the important criminal code amendments denying the time limitation statute to crimes such as genocide and murder, amendments adopted by the Bundestag under pressure from world opinion and from progressives in the FRG, are making it possible to counter the attempts to exonerate fascism more effectively and continue the prosecution of nazi war criminals. But the actual realization of this judicial posibility will depend on the West German judiciary. If it persists in the line it has been pursuing to date, it will be hard to expect the Bundestag decision to lead to the punishment of the war criminals residing in the FRG who have avoided that punishment. The lenient sentence passed on Kurt Lischka and his accomplices, who are responsible for the death of many people in France, and the moves being made to grant amnesty to the last of the main war criminals sentenced by the Nuremberg tribunal, Rudolph Hess, do not give grounds for speaking of any changes.

The Nuremberg trial is called the Tribunal of History, the Tribunal of Nations. it made public opinion more sensitive to the question of responsibility for war, peace, and human rights. This was seen in the world-wide attitude to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. And it is seen today in the stand taken by world opinion on the Israeli aggression against Arab nations, on the crimes of the Chilean junta, and on the reign of terror imposed by the

white minority on the indigeneous population of South Africa.

The fascist ringleaders tried at Nuremberg got what they deserved.[7] However, the sinister forces represented by them have not vanished entirely from the political scene, although their influence has been greatly weakened. More, to this day there are governments that have made chauvinism and militarism part and parcel of state policy, and this is an ominous threat to peace and the security of nations.

Peace is also jeopardized by the ultra-right and neo-fascist forces, who are growing increasingly more active in the West under the impact of the Carter adminstration's course toward a resurgence of the cold war. The vicious anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign, which hardly differs from the anti-communism of Hitler and Goebbels, is creating a climate conducive to the opponents of détente.

That is what sustains the continued significance of the Nuremberg trial.

Its documents, laying bare and denouncing the unprecedented barbarity of the nazis, help to fight elements that would like to vindicate the nazi regime, the German military, the nazi party, the SS, and all the other criminal organizations of nazi Germany; these documents are an instrument against present-day racist ideology and practices, apartheid and genocide, political perfidy and blackmail, and imperialism's militarist ambitions and acts of aggression.

As a major contribution to the moral defeat of fascism and aggression generally the Nuremberg trial is to this day a stern warning to war mongers, a stern caution to those who ignore the lessons of history and are trying to revive the ideology of militarism, chauvinism, and aggression.

1. In some experiments victims were immersed in icy water until their body temperature dropped to a lethal 28°C. In others the victims were put in low-pressure chambers to test human survival at high altitudes. Experiments were conducted with poisoned bullets and infectious diseases. X-ray and other methods were tested for the sterilization of men and women.

2. The nazis planned to exterminate another 30 million Slavs immediately after the war.

3. The defendants at the International Military Tribunal were Hermann Goering, Rudolf Hess, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Robert Ley, Wilhelm Keitel, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Alfred Rosenberg, Hans Frank, Wilhelm Frick, Julius Streicher, Walther Funk, Hjalmar Shacht, Gustav Krupp, Karl Doenitz, Erich Raeder, Baldur von Schirach, Fritz Saukel, Alfred Jodl, Franz von Papen, Arthur Seyss-Inquart, Albert Speer, Konstantin von Neurath, Hans Fritzche, and Martin Bormann.

Before the trial commenced Ley committed suicide in prison; Krupp was found incurably ill, and he was not arraigned before the tribunal; Bormann was not found and he was tried *in absentia*.

4. See the relevant report in this issue.

5. In the period from January 1970 to the close of 1973 proceedings on 14,700 indictments of nazi criminals were instituted. However, only five sentences were passed: three persons were imprisoned and two were acquitted. Four acquittals were handed down by a Dusseldorf court, which tried a group of SS murderers of the Majdanek concentration camp.

6. In addition to ten socialist countries, Mexico was the only non-socialist nation that at once signed the convention on the non-applicability of the time limitation statute to war crimes and crimes against humanity. It was later signed by another 12 nations.

7. Twelve of the defendants — Goering, Ribbentrop, Keitel, Rosenberg, Kaltenbrunner, Frick, Frank, Streicher, Sauckel, Jodl, Seyss-Inquart and, in absentia, Martin Bormann — were sentenced to death by hanging. Three — Hess, Funk, and Raeder — received life sentences. Schirach and Speer were sentenced to 20 years', von Neurath to 15 years', and Doenitz to 10 years' imprisonment.

Some lessons of the Italian elections

Celso Ghini
Electoral and Statistical Department Director,
CC Italian Communist Party

The elections of local government bodies held in Italy on June 8 and 9 last were of great political significance. Inviting tens of millions of citizens to the polls to elect 123, 656 regional, provincial and communal councillors (apart from neighborhood councillors in big cities) is always an important manifestation of democratic life. During election campaigns, those elected to local government bodies from the majority and minority parties report to the public on what has been accomplished and their parties state their policy on domestic and international affairs.

The latest elections were primarily an internal affair but this does not imply that they were dissociated from what went on in or was worrying the world: the problems of energy and production, unemployment, inflation, ways and means of advancement in backward regions, economic restructuring, the consolidation and extension of democracy and, on a more general plane, the problem of war and peace. On all these issues the ICP had to engage in more or less sharp polemics with all the other parties. In the case of some parties, the debate also concerned terrorism and declining public morality, which, as the other problems listed above, are not an Italian monopoly. This is why, during the election campaign the anti-communists dusted off their traditional armoury coupled with a

ration — dished several times daily — of radio and television reports on Afghanistan and Kampuchea, on the alleged training of Italian terrorists in South Yemini camps, and so on. The campaign went beyond the bounds of internal self-government problems and became a general political encounter that did little to ascertain the aspirations of the electorate.

On June 8 and 9 (voting in Italy takes two days) 15 general-status regional councils were elected. There are another five special-status councils and these are in the mixed-language border areas and in Sicily and Sardinia, where 720 councillors are elected on different dates. Also elected were 86 provincial councils out of 94 — they comprise 2,283 councillors — plus 288 councillors in nine Sicilian provinces, who are elected under a different system; 6,590 communal councils, of which 82 are councils of provincial capitals, including Turin, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Naples, Taranto, and Palermo (elections in Rome, Genoa, and Bari are held on a different date); 1,536 councils of other communes, where elections are held under a system of proportional representation. A total of 40,417 were to be elected under the proportional system and 79,945 under the majority system in 4,972 communes of up to 5,000 inhabitants. Lastly, there were elections by universal suffrage and under the proportional system for the district councils of 167 towns. The following numbers of people were invited to vote in elections:

for regional councils	36,100,221
for provincial councils	37,694,473
for communal councils (proportional system)	24,118,056
for communal councils (majority system)	7,810,652

In some places (Rome, Valle d'Aosta, Trentino Alto Adige) electors had one ballot-paper. Elsewhere they had two, three or even four ballots, so that the total number of electors was about 42.9 million, of whom 52 per cent were women.

Elections for 15 regional councils

Parties*	June 15, 1975** (per cent)	June 8-9, 1980 (per cent)
ICP	33.5	31.5
PPU	0.5	1.2
PD	1.1	0.9
ISP	11.9	12.7
ISDP	5.6	5.0
IRP	3.3	3.0
CDP	35.1	36.8
ILP	2.6	2.7
ISM	6.3	5.9
Other parties	0.1	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0

*ICP, Italian Communist Party; PPU, Party of Proletarian Unity; PD, Proletarian Democracy; ISP, Italian Socialist Party; ISDP, Italian Social Democratic Party; IRP, Italian Republican Party; CDP, Christian Democratic Party; ILP, Italian Liberal Party; ISM, Italian Social Movement. — *Ed.*

**Previous local elections. — *Ed.*

The results of the voting should be assessed area by area and with account of the differing attitude of voters to the issue on which they were to express an opinion.

Twice in the five years since 1975 elections were held for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate — on June 20, 1976 and June 3, 1979. In the former the ICP scored its greatest success, polling a nation-wide average of 34.4 per cent of the votes. This result, which offered the prospect of far-reaching social and political changes, alarmed large interest groups that wanted essentially no change in the existing system. This found reflection — to the point of organized violence and terror — among a wide spectrum of political forces ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left and including the coalition parties backing the national unity government directly or indirectly.

On the left it was alleged that the ICP was not sufficiently autonomous and militant vis-à-vis the CDP. This was at a time when CGIL General Secretary Luciano Lama was assaulted at Rome University, when anti-communist and extremist young people joined forces against Red Bologna in a bid to expel the communists and their supporters from the city's streets and squares, and when CDP Chairman Aldo Moro's body-guards were slain and then he himself was killed because he was considered too acquiescent toward the communists. Attacked on all sides and compelled to take up a defensive position, the ICP lost four per cent of the votes in the 1979 general election. In democratic parties groups most closely associated with President Carter's doctrine were particularly active in the anti-communist campaign.

In the light of developments since 1975, the communists should regard the outcome of the latest elections as generally favorable. Contrary to the forecasts of their opponents, there was no further weakening of their positions. True, in some areas, especially in the South, the party sustained some losses even against 1979. But then elsewhere it polled more votes than before. On the whole, it may be said that the party's positions are now stronger.

	June 8-9, 1980 (per cent)	June 3, 1979 (parliamentary elections; per cent)	June 15, 1975 (per cent)
ICP	31.1	30.4	32.6
PPU	0.3	1.4	0.2
PD	0.5	—	0.6
ISP	13.3	10.0	12.8
ISDP	5.4	3.9	5.9
IRP	3.4	3.0	3.5
CDP	36.0	39.0	34.6
ILP	3.0	2.0	2.8
ISM	6.2	5.7	6.8
Other parties	0.8	4.6	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The results of the elections for 86 provincial councils were somewhat different (there are 92 provinces which elect their council by universal and direct suffrage; six elected their council on other dates).

The differences are not great but they are indicative nonetheless, since there is a rigid alignment of political forces in the country. The above data show that, first, the number of votes cast for the ICP is on the whole going up again; second, the ISP won considerably more votes; third, the CDP, which had better results compared with 1975, when the support it had sank to the lowest point, collected fewer votes than last year. Amintore Fanfani himself, as Chairman of the Senate and leader of the CDP right wing, urged his friends to desist from triumphant comments on the outcome of the elections, since the Christian Democrats had not won them. The ICP registered the most positive results in the central and northern regions and the most negative ones in the southern regions. The outcome varied even within one and the same province, region or capital city. This is exemplified by the following results of the elections for the communal councils of 82 provincial capitals.

Parties	June 8-9, 1980 (per cent)	June 3, 1979 (parliamentary elections; per cent)	June 15, 1975 (per cent)
ICP	30.0	29.8	31.9
PPU	0.5	1.3	0.2
PD	0.6	1.1	0.5
ISP	14.1	9.4	13.2
ISDP	5.3	4.0	5.7
IRP	3.7	4.1	3.7
CDP	35.7	34.1	34.4
ILP	2.6	2.8	2.3
ISM	4.8	7.7	4.8
Other parties	2.7	5.7	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What strikes the eye is the strong increase in votes cast for the ISP, especially in comparison with the latest parliamentary election (it should be noted that in parliamentary elections the ISP polls fewer votes than in local elections). The socialists were successful even in comparison with the 1975 communal elections, which is not a negligible fact. Against the background of the massive 5.72 per cent leap in the number of votes cast for the communists in 1975, which brought them their greatest electoral victory, the latest results give the impression that there was only a minor gain, even a slide.

But the three series of elections confirm that the decline in the number of votes for the ICP in several by-elections in 1977-1979 has stopped and there are many signs of an upturn. The number of votes polled by the socialists, who have had a long series of setbacks, has begun to draw closer to the 1963 figure and there has been a shift in support from the north to the south. The results of the Christian Democrats show that they command a relative majority. Due to discord among the left-wing forces, whose combined strength exceeds that of the Christian Democrats, this majority still enables the latter to hold a dominant position on the national political scene (thanks to political string-pulling and the readiness of minor parties and, in some degree, even of the ISP, to coexist with it.)

However, in local elections the CDP has to deal with organs of decentralized authority in which the communists and socialists, as well as other democratic forces of the left, acting occasionally against the will of the national party bodies concerned, administer large regions, many provinces, such large cities as Rome, Milan, Turin, Naples, Genoa, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Perugia, and Taranto, and dozens of other urban communities. Only a year ago the communists lost many votes in precisely these major cities, and it was feared that the left might lose control of some organs of power. In the latest elections, however, there were clear signs of the communists regaining influence there. Here and there the ICP lost some seats, but then elsewhere it won more than it had held before. In many cases where the ICP lost a seat it was picked up by the ISP, the Proletarian Unity Party or Proletarian Democracy; this means that barring a breakaway of socialist elements, which the ISP leadership does not envisage at the moment, the left may yet regain its earlier majority.

To round off the picture of the June elections, mention should be made of the turnout, the number of people who dropped a blank ballot, the number of ballots that were voided because the voter deliberately or inadvertently put unnecessary or erroneous marks making it impossible to ascertain his option.

The electoral system adopted by the Constituent Assembly after the defeat of fascism and the end of the war is one of the capitalist world's fairest, for it is based on the principle of proportional representation and stipulates that voting shall be personal, direct, and secret. Under this system every citizen has a countable vote in contrast to the system under which each district elects one deputy and the votes cast for the candidate who has won remain valid, while those cast for the candidate who has lost can be ignored. This is why the Italians have come to the conclusion that voting is worthwhile and that participation in elections is a way of participating in and helping to improve socio-political life. In terms of the number of people who go to the polls Italy is thus in the vanguard of capitalist countries where elections are free and democratic. In elections for the Italian Chamber of Deputies, the turnout has always exceeded 90 per cent, sometimes going as high as 93 per cent. It should be remembered that Italy is a country with a high emigration rate, whereas votes must be cast personally, directly, and secretly, and only on national soil, in the community where the votes are registered. Indirect voting, such as by proxy, is not allowed, as it is not direct, personal, and secret. This prevents many

people from voting. In a parliamentary election, the only exceptions are the military, who may vote at their place of service provided they follow a definite procedure. As for local elections, even the military may not join in them outside their district. This is far from the only reason why local elections attract fewer voters than a general election.

The elections of June 8 and 9 drew 88.5 per cent of all registered voters. This is a more than impressive turnout. But in the previous elections the turnout was 91.8 per cent. The press drew a variety of conclusions from this disparity that has been in evidence for several years (the parliamentary election on June 3, 1979 brought 89.1 per cent of the electorate to the polls), and even built castles in the air. It wrote that the people were tired of the traditional parties, had a distaste for politics, were becoming more and more apathetic, and so on. And this was affirmed, and still is, in spite of the fact that nine in 10 citizens go to the polls.

It is also interesting to note a unique, perhaps typically Italian reality, namely, the existence of a party — the Radical Party — which holds 18 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and two in the Senate but decided to stay out of the latest elections. However, on the basis of an informal but well-publicized agreement with the ISP it declared that despite this decision any of their supporters who still wanted to vote may cast his or her ballot for the ISP. In exchange the socialists pledged to help the radicals collect signatures in support of their demand for ten referendums with a view to repealing as many laws. Since in 1979 the radicals polled 3.5 per cent of the votes and the number won by the socialists went up by a meagre 0.8 per cent, the RP-ISP agreement cannot be said to have borne much fruit.

Estimates have shown that there were about two million blank, unused or spoiled ballots (6.2 per cent of the electorate). In 1979 spoiled ballots made up 4.2 per cent and in 1970, 4.6 per cent. It follows that the phenomenon is not new but merely became more marked in the latest elections. Nevertheless, Marco Pannella, the RP leader, sought comfort in this and talked of victory, for he had recommended those who planned to go to the polls to spoil their ballots by putting unauthorized marks or words in them.

Of course, the point is not only and not so much that recommendations of this sort are made. It is a problem that must be studied and not interpreted in practical or propaganda terms. It is unreasonable and unscientific to lay claim, as Pannella does, to the allegiance of 17.7 per cent of the electorate, meaning 11.5 per cent who did not vote, plus 6.2 per cent who cast an unfilled or spoiled ballot. Strange as it may seem, the RP, which put forward no candidates, has access, even in greater measure than all other parties, to the state radio and television network and used this access to campaign against the elections. It is politically naive to affirm, as many journalists do, that Italy now has a third major party with an electoral support second only to that of the CDP and ICP. Italian reactionaries have always longed to pose the mass of 'renegades,' once called the 'silent majority,' against the traditional democratic parties, which have deep roots in the people's thinking and culture. It is not accidental that this so-called majority was headed by the flower of Italian fascism and prominent reactionary spokesmen of various other parties.

The 17.7 per cent of electors who abstained or cast a spoiled or unfilled ballot were not renegades or people without political allegiance or country. Only a small fraction of them are scum and egoistic characters. Most are upright, democratic-minded working people who have yet to take their bearings, to find a guide and a lofty goal in life. Had this not been so, the conclusion would have to be drawn that the population of major developed capitalist countries, which have done and do so much for progress in art, science, and culture and where participation in elections does not generally exceed 50 or 60 per cent and may even be less, is composed of renegades.

What the democratic parties must realize today is that the capitalist world is going through a crisis of values and truths, that people are less and less willing to accept systems and methods of managing public affairs and distributing burdens and the wealth produced by human labor and intellect that enable some to issue orders high-handedly while everyone else must obey them. There is a growing demand for conscious participation in public affairs from top to bottom. The implication is that everyone should hold a well-defined place and that there should be no sector exempt from control or verification. Scandals, cliques, and favoritism must be combated by everybody and the means used must be suitable for constructive effort and restructuring.

This, then, is what non-participation in elections, unfilled and spoiled ballots (when their number goes beyond a definite limit) suggest. Our thirty years' experience indicates that abstentions should not exceed six or seven per cent and spoiled ballots, two or three per cent. This boundary, if crossed, becomes a symptom of malady, the cause of which is a low turnout and shortcomings or malfunctions of democracy.

These are the early conclusions that may be drawn from the outcome of the elections held in Italy.

Socialist realities

Our readers ask us questions related to socialist realities. They want to know more about various aspects of the socialist way of life, about the new relations in the economic, social, moral, legal and cultural spheres, in every-day life, and about the contradictions and difficulties of socialist development.

Below are answers to some questions received in the latest mail.

ARE COOKS PREPARED TO GOVERN THE STATE?

Dear Editor,

I have read Lenin's words that in a socialist society every cook, meaning every person, should be able to govern the state. I think that even considering what *World Marxist Review* writes about socialist democracy, these words should be seen as a rhetorical exaggeration, a figure of speech and not a demand to be taken literally. After all, government necessitates a very high standard of special training, political acumen, experience, erudition, and culture. What then are the forms in which a cook could make a showing in these circumstances?

You may, possibly, find that I, too, am being rhetorical. Indeed, why seize on a word when what we have to deal with is a meaningful political thesis? But for people interested in what political life is like in a socialist society and knowing about it only from what they read in the press it is very important to have a clear understanding of its general significance and particulars.

Respectfully,
T. Sergursen
Esbjerg, Denmark.

Indeed, the words 'every cook should be able to govern the state' have gained currency as Lenin's formula characterizing socialist democracy. But let us see what Lenin actually said. In *Can the Bolsheviks Hold State Power?* he wrote: 'We are not utopians. We know that an unskilled laborer or a cook cannot immediately get on with the job of state administration . . . We demand that *training* in the work of state administration be conducted by class-conscious workers and soldiers and that this training be begun at once, i.e., that a *beginning* be made at once in training all the working people, all the poor, for this work' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 113).

From this you will appreciate that when Lenin, one of the greatest realists, wrote this in 1917, he put the problem somewhat differently: he called on every 'cook' as an embodiment of illiterate poverty to learn a new, exceedingly difficult public job, to rise to it, and this did not imply that the cook would immediately take the helm of state. This is actually what Lenin meant, and his statement contained no rhetoric.

Six decades have passed. What, you may ask, is the situation now? Is every cook in a socialist country prepared to accept the reins of government? At this juncture we have to make a further reservation: there is no such thing in the socialist countries today as 'poor' people or 'kitchen slaves' in the traditional sense of the word, that is, ignorant, downtrodden women who could only cook meals for their rich masters. But every working man or woman, including housewives, can be elected to a government body. What do they contribute to the work of these bodies? Are they merely figureheads nominally representing the electorate but incompetent, professionally untrained for decision-making?

The answer to these questions would be given by a 'micro-sociological survey' by means of several interviews on one question, a method common in the Scandinavian press and unquestionably familiar to the writer of the letter. We asked *Rabotnichesko Delo*, newspaper of the BCP Central Committee, to interview deputies to the People's Assembly of Bulgaria and to people's councils, which are local government bodies. The question was: 'In what way do you participate in government?' Their answers follow.

Radi Kuzmanov, shop superintendent at the Vasil Kolarov heavy-current apparatus plant in Sofia, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, member of the State Council.

I have been elected to the People's Assembly several times in succession ever since 1966. I never trained for a political career. I began my working life as an apprentice at a private factory, then became a worker and afterwards moved on to the Kolarov plant as a team leader. Without discontinuing work, I studied to improve my skills and in the end was appointed shop superintendent, a job I still hold. As a matter of fact one in every four deputies to the People's Assembly is directly linked to material production.

Let me give you an example of what my duties as a deputy are. In 1971 I was elected to the State Council and as a member of the Commission for Socio-Economic Development I was charged with monitoring adherence to the construction schedule of the Rhodope Hydropower Station project. To be frank, it was not an easy assignment because I was unfamiliar with construction at the level either of civil engineer or economist. However, things were made easier by my being associated with the power industry, for our plant makes electric motors and synchronous generators for hydropower stations. Moreover, my three decades' experience in production was helpful.

In monitoring progress on the project I looked for shortcomings in work organization, learned the reasons for time wastage, and tried to get at the root of bottlenecks. In cases where I could not get the point of things I turned to expert advice. But once I had taken a stand I stuck to it. Of course, we never tried to sub for government officials or make decisions for them. After each check we forwarded our conclusions and recommendations to the commission, which kept an eye on the work of ministries, government departments, and research institutes.

One of the checks gave me reason to ponder how shortages of skilled building workers could be eased. A similar problem confronted the Kolarov plant, where I worked. I compared the situation with what I had seen in the Soviet Union, at Leningrad's Elektrosila plant, which has its own specialized secondary schools and a higher technical school for its personnel. After telling the commission meeting about this Soviet experience, I suggested that our big factories should set up their own vocational training centers. The idea was approved. Annually, centers of this kind now enable 80,000 workers to improve their skills and general education. At our plant there is today hardly a single worker under the age of 40 who has not received a secondary education.

In the current term in office as deputy, I am on the Foreign Policy Commission. I now have some experience of tackling difficult interlocking problems. I draw on that experience and try to learn more.

Tsvetana Vishovgradska, housewife, Sofia.
One of every deputy's duty is to carry out his or her constituency's mandates. My mandates when I was elected to a people's council in one of the capital's districts were, among other things, to see that the district got a new shopping or everyday services center and a playground. I am doing my best to carry out these mandates — I discuss them with the leadership and specialists of the people's council and insist on the relevant decisions.

The decisions passed by the council are sound but some are not carried out on schedule. One of the deputies' functions I always bear in mind is that of checking up on the fullfillment of decisions and making sure that the requisite workforce and funds are made available.

The district people's council concerns itself with municipal problems. But we all realize that each component of the state machine must run smoothly if the machine as a whole is to function properly.

Ivan Popov, driver at the Plovdiv automobile plant.
As a deputy to the People's Assembly my job is environmental protection or, to be more exact, the protection of the Maritsa River from pollution. You may wonder what an ordinary driver knows about the subject. Indeed, at first I had no more than a superficial notion about it. I dug into specialized literature. I exercised my rights as a deputy to consult designers, builders, ministry officials, and other competent people.

Also, I met with many managers of plants that were polluting the river. Gradually I got a clear picture.

In the end the knowledge I had gained and my own experience in life helped me to suggest a way of keeping the Maritsa cleaner. My suggestion was approved by engineers and backed by public opinion, and this allowed going over from words to deeds. The enterprises polluting the river were allocated large funds to build efficient purifying installations. Some are already in operation now. It will not be long before the waters of our ancient river are restored to their former sparkle.

As you probably know, our deputies are not salaried career MPs. I am still on my job at the Plovdiv auto plant. Of course, I have little time and must give many of my off hours to my public duties. It cannot be otherwise. I must justify the confidence of those who have elected me to represent them in the People's Assembly.

Rumyana Georgieva, waitress at the Yagoda Restaurant, Tyrgovishte.
I cannot say I take part in governing the state because that would be a very strong overstatement. But I do have a share in the management of the affairs of my town, where I finished a public catering school two years ago and was elected to the communal people's council last year.

When it came to distributing deputies' duties, I was appointed to the standing Distributive Industry Commission of the People's Council Executive Committee — they took my work and vocational training into account. The distributive industry covers all citizens, since every one of them is also a buyer. I receive criticisms and suggestions on ways of improving that industry and these I submit to our commission. It makes the decisions to raise the standard of service.

I often meet with my constituents. We discuss ways and means of modernizing our neighborhood. I'm only twenty but people readily tell me about their problems. This helps me know their interests and gives me confidence when I take the floor at Executive Committee meetings.

These brief answers cover only some activities of people's deputies to our socialist parliament and members of local government bodies. But they give some idea of the forms in which ordinary persons can show their mettle as the people's elect, the schooling they get in social management, and the manner in which life under socialism helps them train for active participation in the administration of state and public affairs.

We may add that in Bulgaria's administrative apparatus, too, most of the experts and executives in the ministries and departments have been workers or peasants, whom the new society has enabled to receive a higher education.

FROM THE BATTLE FOR THE SIXTH TO THE BATTLE FOR THE NINTH

Dear Comrades,

I know from press reports that Cuba's general education campaign called the 'Battle for the Sixth Grade' is drawing to a close. Why 'battle?' This word normally implies enormous, time-limited effort that decides the outcome of a campaign. Could it be a question of an intensive process begun recently? But the Cuban revolution triumphed more than two decades ago. Why then has the aim of a universal six-year education been set only now? Perhaps it is a high enough level for Cubans because it corresponds to our secondary education — or does it?

V. Uglanov
Teacher
Varna, Bulgaria.

Dear Comrade,

I will answer your letter gladly because it shows your sincere interest in the cultural problems being tackled in Cuba. These problems are unquestionably common to all countries that have set out to build socialism, for after the victory of the revolution each was confronted with the need to greatly expand literacy and raise the population's level of education to a definite standard. However, each country has its historically-shaped peculiarities.

In postwar Europe socialism triumphed in countries with hardly any or rather few illiterates, that is people who could not read and write. Not so in Latin American countries formerly dominated by the local bourgeoisie, landowners and U.S. imperialism. You may find it hard to believe but in January 1959, when a revolutionary government took over in Cuba, one-third of the island's population was illiterate. To really benefit by the freedom they have won the people need to have some knowledge and culture.

Cuba was disastrously short of teachers even for elementary schools, whose doors were thrown open for all children, not just those belonging to the privileged classes. The only way to teach all workers and peasants to read and write is for every educated person to teach at least one illiterate, as Fidel Castro said at the time.

In 1960 we tackled this task, which was comparable in significance to the agrarian reform, with young people as the main driving force. An army of volunteers, mostly teenagers and even boys and girls who had barely turned ten, went to the countryside, to mountain areas where the majority of the illiterate population was living. The literacy campaign became a battle, not only in the figurative sense. It was fiercely resisted by counter-revolutionaries and CIA agents, who did not stop short of terror. Some of the teen-age volunteers, among them Manuel Ascunce and Conrado Benitez, were murdered. Their names came to symbolize literacy fighters. But the battle went on and did not stop even when mercenaries invaded the Bay of Pigs.

We owe it to the enthusiasm and determination of the masses that success came earlier than could have been expected. It sounds almost incredible now, but a year later there was hardly anybody who had not been taught to read and write.

That was when it became possible to set a higher target, namely, giving every working man and woman in town or countryside an elementary education, which means six years of school in Cuba. It was in those days that the phrase 'battle for the sixth grade' was coined as an expression of the continuity of the new stage of struggle. We knew well that the campaign would have to go hand in hand with defending the revolution and advancing the economy and that it would take at least twenty years.

To help you realize what place adult education is assigned in the country's socialist advance, I wish to note that the trade unions consider it as important as sustained effort to raise labor productivity. The National Association of Small Agriculturists considered participation in the 'battle' a matter as important as the formation of production cooperatives, now under way. Each of Cuba's fourteen provinces is determined to be a territory where all peasants have a six-year education at least. The Cuban Women's Federation never sets the cultural battle apart from the movement for real, complete equality.

The campaign has been going on steadfastly. It took years to train teachers for the worker-peasant education system. Then consider the time it takes to overcome various difficulties in setting up classes!

Let me give you an example. Employees of the Geological Survey Center in Pinar del Rio Province were often given assignments far afield. Besides, many lived permanently elsewhere. This made it very difficult to hold classes in the evening. A solution was sought in common, under the guidance of the party organization and with the help of a commission of the trade union, Young Communist League and management. A sliding schedule was adopted and some classes were held individually. As a result, only six of the 43 employees who began to study have yet to finish six grades.

The working people of the Florencia agricultural municipio were the first to win the Battle for the Sixth Grade. Recently over 1,300 adults completed their elementary studies there. At a rally marking the event, Antonio Perez Herrero, member of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat, said that it was a victory for all Cuban working people and would be a further stimulus to the fulfillment of this national task.

This year, which is the closing year of the Battle for the Sixth Grade, we were able to set a great new objective: that of providing 60 per cent of Cuba's workers willing to study with a nine-year education by 1985.

Fidel Castro has described the new battle as a most important stage in the struggle against underdevelopment, for socialist progress.

Raul Valdez Vivo
Representative of the CP of Cuba
on the Journal

SETTLING LABOR DISPUTES

Several letters contain questions about how labor disputes are settled at socialist enterprises and about the relevant legislation. We have asked Janos Somosköi, a trade unionist, to answer these questions on the strength of Hungarian experience.

According to amended legislation that became effective on January 1, 1980, commissions on labor disputes are elected at every factory. They are the first level to deal with conflicts between employees and management. The commissions are nothing new, for they existed before, except that instead of being elected democratically they were appointed by the management. Classes organized for commission members acquaint them with the Labor Code and provide them with general legal knowledge.

What disputes does the commission handle and what are the results? Let us take Erdert, a forestry enterprise. A group of workers employed for auxiliary jobs complained that they were not paid a 20 and 40 per cent pay increase for work on afternoon and night shifts respectively. As the management did not consider the provision for a pay increase applicable in this case, the matter was referred to the commission, which established that the law was in the employees' favor and that their claim was thus justified. The management had to agree to pay 39 employees arrears totalling nearly 200,000 forints. A similar case involved another group of employees, whom the management had refused an increase, saying that they were white- and not blue-collar workers. The commission ruled the management's argument wrong because the employees who had lodged the complaint did physical work. The complaint was satisfied.

Where a commission is competent, principled and firm, most labor disputes are now settled on the premises and never reach the courtroom.

The democratic principles on which commissions on labor disputes are set up are not the only amendment to the new legislation. There is also a provision for the conclusion of contracts allowing people to hold several jobs instead of only one. This makes it possible to cut losses of working time and assure uninterrupted production, and on the other hand, to offer workers greater material inducements and use their knowledge, experience and abilities more effectively. The same purpose is served by a new provision under which a worker may take a temporary job at another enterprise if the enterprise at which he is permanently employed can dispense with his services at the given time.

Some innovations have to do with the regulation of working conditions and regimen. For instance, the obligatory free time between the end of a working day and the beginning of another is now 11 hours, or three hours more than previously. Young people are given less work on night shifts and will be barred from such work altogether 18 months from now. The employment age has been raised to 15.

The very first months in which the new labor laws have been in force have shown that they benefit each employee individually and society as a whole.

Janos Somosköi
Budapest, Hungary.

The ravages of dogma

Vsevolod Rybakov
WMR staff member

REPORT FROM KAMPUCHEA

Interest in Kampuchea springs from and is sustained above all by two factors.

First, the fresh confirmation of the atrocities of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, which perpetrated the crime of genocide against its own people, leaves no doubt at all that that regime is a unique phenomenon. But the press of the imperialist powers has already established a stereotype when commenting on it: the natural reaction of disgust is used to smear socialism.

Second, the situation in, or rather around Kampuchea, continues to be one of the most intricate ganglions in the international situation. Peking, the imperialist powers and their allies support the overthrown regime, while slanderously accusing Vietnam and the new — and legitimate — government of Kampuchea of being responsible for the grave situation in the country.

Accordingly, the main purpose of my trip to Kampuchea was to sort all this out, to find out why all this became possible, and who is to blame.

How it all began

Many facts characterizing the clique of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, Son Sen and others have already been publicized. Still, one cannot do without mentioning some events and establishing some of the milestones.

Some two years ago I visited Vietnam together with Jose Lava, a member of the *WMR* Editorial Council. We began our report on the trip by describing what we saw from the plane before it landed at Hanoi: 'Brown spots which stood out on the green of the rice paddies round the airport' — 'open wounds of the Vietnamese land. Those are U.S. bomb craters.'[1]

Once again I saw the same brown spots, but this

time before landing at Phnom Penh. They are indelible evidence that U.S. imperialism conducted in Vietnam and Kampuchea (as in Laos) one and the same war, with the same means, and for the same — neo-colonialist — purposes.

U.S. bombings of Kampuchea began secretly as early as 1969, before the coup carried out the following year by General Lon Nol, and before the actual invasion by the troops of the United States and Thieu, their Saigon puppet, on April 30, 1970. These raids continued — with mounting ferocity — until August 1973. But even after the U.S. Congressional ban became effective, [2] U.S.-made bombs were dropped on the liberated areas of Kampuchea from U.S. planes by Saigon and Lon Nol pilots, who had been trained and directed by the Americans.

That was the first stage in the destruction of the Kampuchean society. Let us recall that following the Lon Nol coup and the invasion of the country by U.S.-Saigon troops, resistance was organized very rapidly and just as rapidly scored successes. Within something like 12 to 18 months the bulk of the country's territory — up to three-quarters — was liberated. It is on these liberated areas that death-dealing loads were daily dropped from the skies. It is not surprising that the civilian population fled, above all into the intact cities that were mostly under Lon Nol's control. Into Phnom Penh, which had 600,000-800,000 inhabitants in the late 1960s, something like 2.5-2.8 million people had crowded by 1975, while all the cities of Kampuchea contained over 3.5 million people, nearly one-half of the country's population, although before that the urban population had come to less than 20 per cent. In this exodus — even at that time — many social connections, including personal and family ties, were disrupted.

On April 17, 1975, the revolutionary-liberation forces entered Phnom Penh. But instead of rehabilitation, the Khmer Rouge victory ushered in the second stage in the destruction of society. The facts are well known. First of all, the total expulsion from the towns of those whom the war had driven there, as well as the native inhabitants. What is less well known is that Pol Pot's men kept endlessly moving — even later, throughout the more than three years of their rule — vast masses of the now rural population from one province to another.

With Peking's help, the clique which seized power in Kampuchea on April 17, 1975, actually put the finishing touches on what the U.S. imperialists had started. But these were phenomena of a different order. The demolition of social structures at the first stage was spontaneous, a 'side effect' of the neo-colonialist imperialist war. At the second stage, it became deliberate and methodical, being the result of a thoroughly considered and cold-blooded policy with respect to the people. The price the people have had to pay for it is known: 600,000-800,000 men and women killed in the course of the five-year war of liberation, and about 3 million killed in less than 4 years of the tyranny set up by Pol Pot & Co.

Demolition of society

What strikes one most, perhaps, is the mad, cold-blooded and deliberate methods used by Pol Pot's men in conducting their line of genocide. Recalling the horrible days when 'there was terror on the faces of people at sunset and at sunrise,' Princes Sisowath Sovethvong Monivong, a member of the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea (UFNSK), told me: 'Everything was done according to plan, stage by stage.'

The Pol Pot clique actually expected to have a niche in history, and so kept a record of their atrocities (which they believed to be epochal achievements) in their documents, resolutions, directives, reports and photographs. There was a precise count — in a form of a daily table — of the executions in Pol Pot's torture-chamber at Tyol Sleng, which is now notorious all over the world. Specimens of these tables now hang on the walls of the prison, which is one of the most terrible museums in the world. The tables show how many prisoners — classed under the various categories — there were in the morning, how many prisoners — classed under the various categories — were executed, how many prisoners — classed under the various categories — were brought in, and finally, the total count at the end of the day.

There are many documents and all deserve to be put before world public opinion, because they are a terrible warning. But I have to confine myself to extracts from the indictment laid before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal investigating the crimes of genocide perpetrated by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. I was given an opportunity by the Kampuchean authorities to study the act and other documents in the trial, a total of over 900 pages. The 46 pages of the Indictment set forth the gist of these crimes.

The Pol Pot clique divided the whole population of the country into three categories: 1) the 'old people,' the inhabitants of the liberated areas, the resistance bases; 2) the 'new people,' the ordinary inhabitants of the areas under Lon Nol's administration; and 3) persons who had belonged to Lon Nol's administrative apparatus and the army (Indictment, p. 2).

People of the third category were subject to annihilation, and those of the second to a 'purge' (i.e., selective liquidation). Initially, the first category was in a favorable situation, but from 1977 on it too was subjected to a mounting 'purge' (as uprisings against the regime broke out in the areas where the 'old people' lived).

There are more than 20 national minorities in Kampuchea, but this was denied by the Constitution of 'democratic Kampuchea' adopted by the Pol Pot regime in 1976. Its directive to the provincial authorities said: 'The Kampuchean revolution is a single whole. The Kampuchean nation is also a single whole. The Khmer language is the only language. Henceforth, different nationalities no longer exist in Kampuchea. . . . That is why the inhabitants must change their names into ones proper for mem-

bers of the Khmer race. The languages, ethnic peculiarities, clothing, customs and religion of the former nationalities must be resolutely eradicated. Persons who refuse to obey this order will bear full responsibility for this' (Document 2.4.02). Anyone who was unwilling or unable to speak Khmer was killed. (Ibid. p. 4).

In early 1977, the authorities of the 'people's communes' received this directive: 'Liquidate the reactionaries,' both actual and potential members of the opposition. Intellectuals and people who were merely educated were hunted down. The killing was also started of members of the families of Lon Nol officials and soldiers who had been killed earlier (ibid., pp. 5. 20).

A directive issued by the Bureau of the Eastern Zone on September 5, 1977, in pursuance of a decision of the Central Committee of Pol Pot's party, says: 'We must redouble our revolutionary vigilance with respect to those who served in the old apparatus of power: technicians, teachers, doctors, engineers. Our party has decided not to use them.' This was, in effect, a sentence of death. A directive not to use skilled workers in industry had the same meaning (ibid., pp. 19, 24).

Here are some results of the 'cultural policy':

Of the 725 teachers of higher schools only a handful remained;

of the 2,300 high school teachers, 207 remained;

of the 21,311 secondary-school teachers, 2,717 remained;

of the 487 doctors, 54 remained;

of the 196 pharmacists, 15 remained;

of the 1,241 artists, 121 remained;

over 2,000 sportsmen who had taken part in international contests, and more than 300 trainers and PT instructors were killed (ibid., pp. 41, 22).

Following the uprising in the Eastern Zone in May 1978, all the officers and men in the zone, including fighters of the 'local forces,' including disabled veterans of the war against the United States, were killed. Also killed were the natives of this zone who had been moved for work in other areas, like the 40,000 who were sent in June 1978 to dig the Pursat-Battambang canal (ibid., pp. 6,7).

A resolution by the Standing Bureau of the Central Committee issued in September 1978 says: 'The family shall be organized by Angkar ('The Organization' — *author*) in the light of politico-ideological considerations' (ibid., p. 15).

Was there a model?

At the end of September 1977, a delegation of 'democratic Kampuchea' led by Pol Pot paid a visit to Peking. At the official reception, Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the CPC CC and Premier of the State Council of the PRC, welcomed it in these terms: 'Comrades, you have been scoring remarkable successes not only in destroying the old world but also in building a new one . . ., crushing the subversive moves and sabotage of internal and external enemies.'[3]

We already have an idea of some of the methods used in 'building' a new society for which Hua Guofeng praised Pol Pot and his henchmen. Let us now have a look at the substance of this 'society' itself.

At the Tuol Sleng prison-museum, the guide Chum Vuthy led me to a photograph on the wall. Mao is addressing Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, who are brimming with gratitude. The text says: 'Comrades, you have scored a fantastic victory! One stroke — and there are no more classes. Our future consists of rural communes of poor peasants and middle peasants of the lowest level throughout the territory of Kampuchea.' (Note the highly characteristic 'our' in this text.)

Chum Vuthy knows these 'communes' very well. A former stewardess of the Cambodian airline, she was deported in 1975 into the mountains in the Pursat province, where she lived for almost four years under the trees, without a roof over her head — they allowed houses to be built only in the plains — doing hard labor and living from hand to mouth. But she feels that she has been lucky: she is alive.

'At one stroke' the Pol Pot clique not only put an end to classes. Comrade Keo Chanda, Minister of Information of the People's Kampuchea (and, incidentally, also Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal), quoted in an interview with me what Pol Pot said to a group of journalists in one of the rare talks he had during his rule: 'The whole people, all the fighters, young people must live in unity, in a healthy society, which has the task of abolishing the contradictions between town and country, workers and peasants, and manual and mental labor.'

The Pol Pot clique 'abolished' these contradictions by issuing a single order under which workers by brain and skilled workers were first expelled from the towns and then killed.

Money, the commodity economy and markets were abolished at one strike, by blowing up the national bank at Phnom Penh (a photograph of its ruins has gone round the world).

They called it a 'permanent, swift and true socialist revolution,' Comrade Keo Chanda said. They also said it was a 'one hundred per cent, complete socialist revolution,' 'a revolution of the great leap, of tremendous progress, of remarkable perfection' (quoted from the Indictment).

One cannot but recall the well-known slogan: 'Build socialism in accordance with the principle of more, faster, better and more economically.'

Indeed, there is no doubt at all about the Maoist origins of Pol Pot's ideology and practices. The Pol Pot clique itself made no secret of the fact, and on the contrary, took pride in it. Replying to Hua Guofeng's praises, Pol Pot was modesty itself: 'In the practice of revolutionary struggle we have applied Mao Tsetung's ideas to Kampuchean reality creatively and with success. Chairman Mao has always supported and encouraged us.'[4]

But, some will say, there were no such things in Mao's China as the abolition of classes, of the basic social contradictions, of money, of commodity exchange, etc. Indeed, that is no longer socialism. Was

the Pol Pot clique, in fact, engaged in building 'communism?'

No, they did not make any open claim of doing so (not after their takeover, at any rate) although in September 1977 they declared that their party was a 'communist' one. For the external audience they spoke of an urge to create an 'egalitarian society.' Ieng Sary asserted in an interview with an Italian journalist: 'The revolutionary experience of the Khmers has no precedent. What we are trying to realize has never before been done in history. That is why we are not imitating any model, neither the Chinese nor the Vietnamese one. We are reorganizing the country, having taken agriculture as a basis, and with the aid of what we are able to obtain from it, we are building up an industry, although its ultimate purpose is to serve agriculture.'

Indeed, much of what the Pol Pot clique did in Kampuchea is unprecedented.

Bou Thong, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, says: 'They destroyed everything that is necessary for the normal functioning of any modern society, to say nothing of a socialist society: economic system, technical facilities, money, culture, the elementary gains of civilization, schools, transport, postal service, and finally — and most importantly — people. Although at first sight the speeches delivered by Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan and others looked like the speeches of revolutionaries, they were not revolutionaries, and they were certainly not communists.'

While the monstrous crimes of the Pol Pot clique were unprecedented, they were merely applying Mao's ideas to Kampuchean reality. They did have a model.

The clique takes shape

'Two periods stand out in the history of our country's revolutionary movement,' Comrade Bou Thong went on. 'The first is marked by the struggle against the French colonialists led by the Front Issarak, headed by Comrade Son Ngoc Minh. At that time, in 1951, following the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Indochina, which decided on the establishment of independent communist parties in the three countries in the former French Indochina, the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia took shape, with Son Ngoc Minh as its Chairman, and Touk Samout as the CC General Secretary. It was a new type of Leninist party. It worked deep in the underground, but after the confirmation of Cambodia's independence as a result of the 1954 Geneva Conference, it also set up a legal group, Pracheachon (the People), which published a newspaper of the same name.

The second period began with the return to Phnom Penh at the end of the 1950s of a group of young people, coming mainly from the petty bourgeoisie and wealthy small landowners who had been to Paris for their studies — a tradition in their milieu. In the group were Saloth Sar (the future Pol Pot), Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, Son Sen, Hou Juon, Hu Nim, the three Tiounn brothers, Khieu Thirith and Khieu Ponnary (sisters from a rich aristocratic family which, according to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, were linked with his grandfather's family along the paternal line), who became the wives, respectively, of Ieng Sary and Saloth Sar. That is, for all practical purpose, the whole list of the future leaders of the Khmer Rouge and 'Democratic Kampuchea.'

They were all members of the Khmer Students' Association in France, known for its leftist attitudes, whose Chairman was Ieng Sary, and secretary-general Khieu Samphan. They moved in French student circles in which numerous little anarchist and Trotskyite groups were making noise (as, incidentally, they still do). It was in that milieu that their first notions concerning the future of 'their' Kampuchea began to take shape.

Upon their return to Phnom Penh, they began to actively infiltrate the revolutionary movement and the party, and here they were given every possible support by the Chinese embassy. Eye-witnesses assert that as early as 1960, Ieng Sary generously supplied his friends with Chinese magazines in French. In 1963, Saloth Sar, Ieng Sary and Son Sen went away into the jungle with the help (and possibly incitement) of the Chinese embassy. By 1967, Comrade Bou Thong believes, they had completely taken over the party leadership. One of the steps toward this was the assassination of Touk Samout, which Pol Pot organized. (In 1972, Ieng Sary organized the assassination of Son Ngoc Minh in Peking.)

Being accompolished demagogues, they managed to use the people's discontent with corruption and a worsening economic situation to make many trust them, and to follow them in armed struggle against the Sihanouk regime. Uprisings broke out in the provinces of Battambang, Ratanakiri and others.

'That was a mistake, a leftist preemption of events,' Comrade Bou Thong emphasized. 'Pol Pot & Co. ignored the fact that at that time the government's policy objectively served to consolidate national independence, sovereignty and neutrality and the buildup of the national economy; that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries supported that policy and helped Cambodia.'

The uprising was brutally suppressed on Sihanouk's orders, and that was when he called its leaders the Khmer Rouges. The regime's domestic policy began clearly to move to the right. Fearful of repression, Khieu Samphan, Hu Nim and Hou Juon, who had, incidentally, been ministers under Sihanouk, also fled into the jungle with the help of the Chinese embassy. There, the future leadership of 'Democratic Kampuchea' was now assembled in full.

Even at the time — during the struggle in the jungle — the Chinese embassy in Kampuchea organized illegal trips by the Khmer Rouges to Peking. Kampuchean comrades say that Pol Pot first went there in 1965, on the eve of the 'cultural rev-

olution,' and the second time, at its height, in 1967. He was favored with the reception by Mao, who, Comrade Keo Chanda told me, gave a high appreciation of Pol Pot as 'an outstanding Khmer leader with a real revolutionary soul.'

'Ideological' roots

Mao Tsetung thought, fell on fertile soil: a hodgepodge of Marxist, anarchist and Trotskyite views collected in the Paris period. Not many testimonials of the period now remain, for the successes of the future 'leaders' were not the same. Saloth Sar (Pol Pot) received only a secondary technical education certificate, Ieng Sary, a second-degree bachelor's diploma, while Son Sen failed to pass the entrance examination to the *Ecole Normale*.[5] Hou Juon and Khieu Samphan proved to be more serious-minded: they defended their theses at the economic faculty of Paris University. In their search for 'ideological roots' of what happened in Kampuchea, bourgeois researchers give frequently but sufficiently vague mention to Khieu Samphan's thesis, 'The Economy of Kampuchea and Problems in its Industrialization.' I have read it. There is nothing peculiar about it: 192 type-written pages bound in a brown cover. Defended on May 13, 1959, at the Faculty of Economics and Law before a panel presided over by Professor G. Leduc (known, incidentally, for his conservative views).

It has two parts. Khieu Samphan starts by showing the fatal effects for the Cambodian economy of what he calls 'international integration' or, in plainer terms, domination by foreign capital, colonialism. He notes that in the countryside this leads to the conservation and consolidation of pre-capitalist structures, and in the town, to the excessive growth of parasitic consumption and the corresponding strata: 'latent unemployed,' among whom he includes all those employed in the service sector and government officials. His conclusion is: stubborn pursuit of this way, ever more consciously rejected by the population, is bound to end in a 'violent explosion' (p. 100).

He sets forth his own proposals in the second part, which, I must say, is much weaker than the first part. His formula is 'autonomous development' toward the establishment of an 'agrarian-manufacturing-commercial state.' It is a program shaping a 'coherent national capitalist (!) system' (p. 113). Indeed, Khieu Samphan, a leftist and the chief ideologist of the Khmer Rouge, believed that the way out lay through capitalism, even if a 'national' one. And because Cambodia had neither the capital, nor the market for national capitalism, he recommends that the main accent should be on the development of agriculture, which should help to accumulate the necessary capital for their subsequent use by prospective national capitalists. It is a curious fact that Khieu Samphan believes that these were to be the ethnic Chinese who, in contrast to the Europeans and the Americans, could be integrated into the Khmer society (p. 78). The Chinese origin of Khieu Samphan's mother, a vegetable-market woman, did have an influence, after all. As for the above-mentioned 'parasitic' strata of the urban population, they should be 'moved' into the sphere of small-scale production.

Of course, one has to be objective. One has to take into account the fact that in maintaining his thesis at the Sorbonne under the tutorship of a conservative professor it was perhaps difficult for Khieu Samphan to set out the idea of socialism in so many words (although others did as much even at that time). His project for organizing agricultural production — from the establishment of groups of peasant mutual aid to production cooperatives (p. 173) — testifies that he did have a knowledge of socialist doctrine, with some elements of Marxism-Leninism. But Khieu Samphan believed that it was impossible to develop socialism on an urban basis, for he believed that the backwardness and parasitism there were an insuperable obstacle. He did not believe in the potentialities of the working class (and simply had no knowledge of Lenin's theory of non-capitalist development or ignored it). For him, socialism began with the countryside, with the cooperation of the peasantry, but even then he was already in the grip of the Trotskyite idea of the maximum extraction by the state of the peasant product as a means of 'primitive accumulation . . . a reduction in the levies on the peasants and an increase in their incomes could induce them to consume more, and so not to give up their product' (p. 172). Accordingly, in Khieu Samphan's social model, the peasants would not consume much.

That is about all the ideas the future leaders of the Khmer Rouge had upon their return to Kampuchea from Paris. We find that the soil for fully adopting the Maoist theory of 'encirclement of the town by the village' was prepared. It only remained to switch the 'primitive accumulation' effected through the plunder of the peasantry, from capitalism to 'socialism.'

It is true that their work in the clandestine party, in the Pracheachon group, alongside real communists, provided an opportunity for making a closer study of Marxism-Leninism, but with their petty-bourgeois, leftist leaven, these men found the 'Sinicized model' of Marxism more acceptable. Their years of jungle warfare especially intensified their adventurist Trotskyite inclinations, and their anarchist impatience: on their agenda for Kampuchea is a 'socialist revolution' carried out through a civil war fought by the village against the town. But it is still not clear what will happen after the victory, of which they had no doubt at all.

When in the middle 1960s, Pol Pot & Co. turned up at the Mao reception, their intially obscure notions of the future of the Kampuchean society at once acquired clearcut contours. They received a scheme, something that they had always yearned for in their petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

Mao's spiritual offspring

At a press conference in Peking in the autumn of 1977, Pol Pot said: 'We have learned some lessons of

the world revolution, and especially the works of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the experience of the Chinese revolution of that period (since 1957), which is highly important for us. Having summed up Kampuchea's concrete experience . . ., being guided by Mao Tsetung thought, we have found the way which corresponds to the concrete situation and conditions of Kampuchea. In accordance with this, our party's Central Committee has formulated the party line.'[6]

Here is what Kampuchea comrades told us in this connection.

In the Chinese experience, the pre-1957 period, the period of socialist construction was ignored. What then was adopted? Let us recall that in 1957, following the well-known 'let one hundred flowers bloom' campaign, brutal repression was started against intellectuals in China. This happened once again during the 'cultural revolution' ten years later. Then (in 1958) there was the people's communes movement in China, which was said to be a means for 'building socialism ahead of schedule and gradually going on to communism.' The 'communes' doomed to destruction the previously existing forms of social ties: the distribution according to work practised in the cooperatives, the peasants' participation in management, and distinctions between cooperative and personal property. Simultaneously, the 'great leap forward' into communism was proclaimed under the slogan: 'A few years of persevering labor — ten thousand years of happiness.' That is where we find the line running directly to Pol Pot's 'democratic Kampuchea,' for he, too, promised in return for hard labor over a period of three years a cornucopia as early as 1979. Also, we were told, the Maoist 'theory of continued socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat' implies the existence of antagonistic class contradictions and class struggle even in the socialist society, where the population is divided into the people and the 'enemies' who have to be wiped out.

A study aid published in the second half of 1977 for Pol Pot's cadres says: 'We have abolished the regime of exploitation, the power of the exploiters — we have abolished them completely,' and adds, 'We have strengthened and developed the regime of equality in the communes and are carrying on the socialist revolution.' This document also contains a 'class analysis': 'a class problem has arisen in the movement of traitors, whom we have already identified in the recent period. On the whole, class make-up of the traitors is the petty bourgeoisie (which includes all the educated people — *author*) or the middle upper-level peasants. . . . They oppress the poor peasantry, namely the poor peasants and the middle lowest level peasants.' Some members of the petty bourgeoisie were allowed to stay alive: 'there are also some good people among the class of petty bourgeoisie, but they are a handful, and not a whole class' (paragraph 4, p. 6).

We find that Mao's pupils were diligent.

One other thing sheds additional light on the atmosphere in which Mao met Pol Pot, the 'remarkable revolutionary.' It was becoming evident even at the time that Peking's attempt to foist the Maoist model on the liberated countries of Africa was a fiasco. In the mid-1960s, these countries became the objective of a massive diplomatic offensive by China, but displayed firm resolve to maintain the independence they had won. And here was China's golden opportunity.

In Kampuchea, Mao and Pol Pot clearly decided, the 'blunders' committed in China (or in Africa) would not be repeated. There they would build, regardless of the objective specifics, according to their scheme, on a clean sheet of paper. It was to keep it clear and to prevent any opposition from originating, that they conceived this monstrous project to eliminate the towns and their population, to destroy the economic structures, to abolish money, trade, means of transport, and any forms of communication among human beings.

That was the origin of the militarized type of 'society,' consisting of 'agricultural cooperatives' (later 'communes'), which were isolated from each other and in which everyone wore the same black clothes and lived in similar houses working much and consuming little. In place of the party (after all the real communists were wiped out) came the mysterious 'Angkar,' a small and secret group dominating the people and eschewing any dialogue. Later on they would decide on a back-dated 're-establishment' of the party, arbitrarily changing the date of its formation. A 'resolution of the CC (of the Pol Pot party) on various matters dated March 30, 1976,' which was discovered among other documents when Pol Pot's headquarters in the mountains south of Tasanh was taken in 1979, said quite clearly: 'To establish as the year of the party's foundation 1960 instead of 1951, as they had it' (i.e., the true founders of the party).

Project without a name

Comrade Ios Por, General Secretary of the UFNSK Central Committee, having recalled Hua Guofeng's praise of Pol Pot over the efforts to destroy the old and build a new world, told me: 'It is impossible to say what kind of society it was: an old society or a new one; it is altogether impossible to determine what it was. But it had, of course, nothing in common either with socialism or communism. The fact that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary eventually declared their party to be "communist" is camouflage. They turned their backs on Marxism-Leninism and implemented Mao Tsetung thought.'

Indeed, what could be more alien to the very spirit of Marxism-Leninism than the attempt to forcibly fit society into an abstract scheme and to declare the egalitarian starvation of the concentration camps to be communism? Let us recall that a circular of the First Congress of the Communist League (1847) urged members 'to refrain from all system-making' and 'to keep firm ground under our feet by the constant consideration of the social relations which alone have given rise to communism.'[7]

Maoism is the absolute antithesis of Marxism, for

it has contempt for the objective social relations and cultivates submission to the will of the leader. That is the aspect of Maoism that the Kampuchean candidates for the role of leaders adopted in the first place. They borrowed its most reactionary and anti-proletarian aspects.

Apart from the schemes and methods, Pol Pot and his clique borrowed from Maoism its extreme pretentiousness and its vain urge to 'show the world the way.' Here, Pol Pot & Co. wanted to outhelmsman the 'great helmsman' himself.

Prince Sihanouk relates a characteristic episode in a book recently published in Paris. Before the 'democratic Kampuchea' leaders allowed him to return to the country from China — in September 1975 — he was received together with Khieu Samphan and Ieng Sary's wife by Chou En-lai then on his death-bed in hospital. Chou said, Sihanouk relates, that China had suffered many heavy defeats in an effort to leap over the objective stages of social development. Chou warned: 'Do not follow our bad example of "great leaps forward".' Khieu Samphan merely smiled. A little while later, back in Phnom Penh he told Sihanouk: 'Our Kampuchea would prove to the whole world that it is possible to attain full communism at one stroke: In this way our country will inscribe its name in the annals of world history in letters of gold as the first to effect communization without unnecessary stages.'[8]

Everyone knows the results. What could be a farther cry from communism, which Marx, Engels and Lenin saw as a society of 'free working men,' than the prison, the concentration camp into which 'Angkar' had converted Kampuchea? How are we to designate what the Pol Pot people produced? 'Primitive militaristic socialism,' Comrade Keo Chanda suggested. There is something in that, but the word 'socialism' is somewhat confusing. Perhaps 'lumpen, pauper socialism'? That has the same flaw in it. Then shall we say 'a military-bureaucratic form of primitive communism'? No, that is not suitable either, because the egalitarianism of primitive communism sprang from the primitive productive forces, while Pol Pot's gross levelling was effected through the destruction of the existing productive forces and the plunder of the peasantry by the ruling elite.

It is, indeed, hard to find a better name for that which existed in Kampuchea under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan rule than the one which General Secretary of the CPSU CC Leonid Brezhnev gave it in his answers to questions submitted by *Time*'s Managing Editor Ray Cave: 'The Chinese model of the political system'[9] — no socio-historical categories are applicable in this case.

Of course, a closer look will reveal in this model — as in Maoism itself — elements of other political systems and other ideologies. It contains the attempt to revive the system of state slave-holding based on water control which had existed under the Angkor Empire. 'To be the master of water' was the top Pol Pot slogan,[10] and so they ruthlessly moved vast masses of people from one place to another for the construction of irrigation works, as had been done in the Angkor period. They made no secret of their claim to be heirs to the Angkor emperors. Engineer Ung Pech, one of the few prisoners of Toul Sleng who survived, testified before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal that in 1978 he was given an assignment to cast one statue of Pol Pot in gold, three in silver and ten in bronze. In one of the rooms of the former prison I saw specimens of these statues with my own eyes.

Taking the present epoch, Pol Pot's society also had something from the model worked out in the 19th century by the anarchist Alliance of Socialist Democracy. In its cooperatives of the future, 'the urge of each will be to produce for society as much as possible and to consume as little as possible.' On this point Marx and Engels remarked: 'What an excellent specimen of barrack-room communism!' One cannot but recall, in this context, the enthusiasm for anarchism that Mao had as a youth.

The Pol Pot model also contains elements of fascism — nationalism carried to the extreme, an urge to solve domestic problems by means of external expansion, and genocide, both at home and in neighboring countries — and what is most disgusting: the moral crippling of children and their conversion into informers and murderers.

Is it at all necessary to try to find a berth in history for this dogmatic scheme, which for three years and eight months became a prison-house for the people of Kampuchea? Sociologists now frequently use the term 'project for a society.' For Pol Pot & Co. it was a project negating society, a project for an 'anti-society.' As such, it logically included terrorism and genocide. When all ties — social and personal — between people are destroyed, the people themselves become superfluous. The people of Kampuchea paid the price of three million lives for the Pol Pot clique's contempt for the objective specifics of the revolutionary process and social development generally. And its natural and objective outcome is the most terrible lesson of the Maoist experiment staged in a 'pure form' on Kampuchean soil.

The limits of deceit

Everyone who tries to understand what happened in Kampuchea between April 17, 1975, and January 7, 1979, is bound to ask this question: 'But how did it all become possible, what about the people?'

Everyone I talked with in Kampuchea, whether in Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Sisophon, Battambang or Kompong-Som — were agreed that the people had been deceived. This was made possible by a concurrence of circumstances.

First, the Khmer Rouge leaders' skillful use of the natural discontent of the mass of Kampuchean peasants, who justly regarded the impoverishment of the countryside, accelerated in the closing years of Sihanouk's government, and especially under the Pro-American Lon Nol regime, as the corollary of the rapid growth of parasitic, speculative capital in the towns. This naturally made Khieu Samphan, known everywhere during the war of liberation

(1970-1975) as the chief leader of the Khmer Rouge (he was commander-in-chief of the National Liberation Army — no one had ever heard of Pol Pot at that time) cock of the walk, for he had studied the problem in his Paris thesis. It proved to be easy to get the peasants to follow the egalitarian slogans and to channel their discontent against the 'town' generally. That is the kind of slogan spontaneous peasants uprisings have always followed. And then the peasants were promised that they would have much food, clothes and good dwellings, as I was told this by Chhum Hul, Chairman of the Kompong-Som city committee, himself a peasant in the past and a commander of a Khmer Rouge battalion.

Second, there was the corruption and lawlessness which under Lon Nol far surpassed everything that had been 'achieved' under Sihanouk. At first, the mass of intellectuals and simply educated people welcomed the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the republican regime. But they were in for a bitter disappointment. When the 'first liberation' as it is now called in Kampuchea came on April 17, 1975, (the second, real liberation came on January 7, 1979), many did not at first regard as tragic either the expulsion from the cities, or the black clothes, or even the coercion to perform inhuman hard labor. After all, the irrigation installations had to be built, [11] and rice had to be grown, and everyone realized how important that was. People thought that the ordeal of a life in hard labor was temporary, and so gritted their teeth.

Later the Pol Pot clique expected that the bloody terror and starvation would reduce the people to the level of 'cave animals, living corpses,' or 'abstract beings' as Khieu Samphan put it in his thesis (p. 34). As a document put before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal correctly said, the idea was to turn the people into 'machines for growing rice, consuming little rice.' All of this, together with the age-old Khmer custom of obeying their rulers, would rule out any possibility of resistance, the ringleaders assumed.

But there is a limit to any deception. The Kampuchean people's eyes were opened by the systematic policy of genocide, starvation and murder. Discontent developed into uprisings, and the ground under the regime began to crack. The Pol Pot clique stepped up its terrorism and began — in accordance with the classic recipe of nationalistic dictatorship — to seek a way out through aggression against a neighboring country, socialist Vietnam. There again, the Pol Pot clique had Peking's full support.

What happened then is well known. At the end of 1978, a United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea was set up in areas liberated from the Pol Pot clique in the course of a series of uprisings. The army it formed, together with the Vietnamese troops which entered Kampuchea at the request of the UFNSK Central Committee, liberated Phnom Penh on January 7, 1979, and the whole of the country's territory soon after. The Maoist experiment in Kampuchea was cut short. An 'anti-Maoist people's revolution,' as Comrade Ruos Samay, a leader of the Republic, called it, triumphed in the country. The People's Republic of Kampuchea was set up. Its government — the People's Revolutionary Council — set itself the goal of reviving the devastated country, re-establishing social ties, and recreating society itself. Comrade Keo Chanda told me: 'The task now is to help the people to start enjoying life once again.'

The logic of genocide

One would think that the whole world should have applauded the elimination of probably the most sanguinary regime in the modern history of mankind. But the Pol Pot clique, together with the remnants of its troops hiding out in the jungle along the borders of Thailand and Kampuchea, turned out to have patrons: Peking, U.S. imperialism, which had become its ally, and their friends. It is they who are blocking broad international recognition of People's Kampuchea, and seek to impose on other governments and international organizations the overthrown clique as the 'legitimate' representative of the Republic. The high-flown speeches about 'human rights' have been forgotten, despite the fact that these were trampled by the Pol Pot clique more grossly than they have been anywhere in the world: these rights were not even trampled, they simply did not exist. At the August 1979 trial, the U.S. Professor of law John Quigley of Ohio University was quite right when he said that one of the necessary consequences of the crime of genocide is that the accused regime loses every right to govern (the country — *author*). That was the case with Hitler's government, and that is how it should be in the case of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary government' (Document 3.03E).

The 'Khieu Samphan operation' — the substitution of Khieu Samphan for Pol Pot in the post of 'premier' of the nonexistent 'democratic Kampuchea' — carried out in late 1979 was an element of this policy of the Peking-imperialist alliance. In their efforts to make the overthrown regime 'respectable,' its patrons tried to present Khieu Samphan as a 'moderate' leader, allegedly not involved in the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary bloody atrocities. And that is being said about the man who was the regime's chief ideologist, and who since 1967 has been a member of its ruling group, the Political Bureau of Pol Pot's party, and since 1976, the President of 'Democratic Kampuchea.'

In his interviews with Western journalists, whom he receives 'somewhere in the jungle,' and at press conferences in Peking, where he is given a state reception, Khieu Samphan admits that in Kampuchea this regime did commit some 'excesses' and 'mistakes,' but not genocide, God forbid. He hints that if they are only allowed to return, everything will be different.

But the truth is that there were no mistakes, no excesses. The documents of the Pol Pot regime and its 'party' testify that there was a strict plan which was implemented with sanguinary implacability. There was also the iron logic of the Maoist model, which demanded genocide. Assuming for a mo-

ment that the experiment were to be restarted — in Kampuchea or elsewhere — the same logic would clearly and inexorably lead to the same results.

As for the Kampuchean people, they are fully resolved to prevent a return to Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan & Co. to the country. The Kampuchean comrades told me that 'operation Khieu Samphan' is a mockery of the memory of their three million dead compatriots. The Kampuchean people are also well aware why there is a need for the presence of Vietnamese soldiers, who, in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance, are helping the army of People's Kampuchea to defend the country. They are now the guarantee that the Pol Pot gangs, being armed by Peking and fed by the international aid they take away from the refugees, will not be able to return. That is why demands for a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea as a condition for 'normalizing' the situation are justly regarded by the Kampuchean people and their government as interference in the country's internal affairs.

What is surprising, however, is that the logic built into the export Maoist model has not induced serious thinking in the minds of the leaders of some states, especially in Southeast Asia, who have stubbornly continued — under overt pressure from China and the United States — to officially recognize the Khieu Samphan 'government' as the 'legitimate government of Kampuchea.' The fact is that, as will be seen from the documents laid before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal in Phnom Penh, Kampuchea was only the first stage, a bridgehead, from which the model was to have been extended to other countries of Southeast Asia.

There is documentary evidence of this: Pol Pot's own words in a transcript of his negotiations with Hua Guofeng on September 29, 1977: 'If the revolution in Southeast Asia takes the opportunity to go over to an offensive, the situation will improve, and we shall be able to solve our problems. We have exchanged views with our Burmese, Malaysian, Indonesian and Thai friends and have reached agreement. That is a great political success. Of course, if one goes deeper into detail, the situation still remains highly complicated. But we have the support of our Chinese friends in the North. The unity achieved in Southeast Asia is a strategic gain, which will be highly encouraging to us. We were sure of Chinese friendship in the past, and now we are even more sure of it.'[12]

A meeting was organized for the delegation led by Pol Pot with the Maoist 'leaders' resident in Peking of the Burmese, Malaysian, Thai and 'Indonesian' communist parties (the latter is a Maoist group which has usurped the name of the Communist Party of Indonesia and which has nothing in common with the true, revived CPI). At that meeting it was decided that the revolution in the Southeast Asia would 'go over to the offensive' with the support of 'the Chinese friends in the North.' There is hardly any doubt that in accordance with the meaning of that decision, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia were to have become — with the aid of Maoist 'communist parties' and the numerous ethnic Chinese in these countries — the next experimental stations in realizing Peking's experiment tried and tested in Kampuchea!

The Kampuchean lawyer Dith Munty, appointed as defense counsel for Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, said in a speech before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal that 'in the event the Maoist experiment staged by the Peking reactionaries, expansionists and hegemonists in Kampuchea had succeeded, our country would have been turned into an excellent base for aggression, for Chinese expansion in Southeast Asia in accordance with the wish expressed by Mao Tsetung in 1955. . . . While being a base for aggression, Kampuchea would simultaneously serve as a model for other countries.'

That is why, even after Mao's death, Peking continued to put into Pol Pot Kampuchea tremendous resources, sending in a flood of weapons and a great crowd of advisers. That is why, from the standpoint of the Chinese policy of exporting Maoist ideas into the 'third world,' the fiasco in Kampuchea is of capital importance. In the 1960s, what failed in the African countries was a policy aimed to impose the Maoist model. Here, in Kampuchea, it was the fiasco of the Maoist model itself, implemented in 'a pure form.'

The liberation of Kampuchea has evidently impeded the activity, connected with the abovementioned decision concerning an 'offensive of the revolution in Southeast Asia.' But as the world has repeatedly seen for itself in the recent period, the Peking rulers do not easily abandon their goals. And that is something, let me repeat, that should be pondered by the advocates of the overthrown, even if refurbished, 'government of Democratic Kampuchea' and by the adversaries of the actual government. As for the People's Republic of Kampuchea itself, its leaders and its people are quite right in their certainty that the situation in the country is irreversible. Kampuchea is returning to a new life.

1. *WMR*, No. 2, 1979, p. 68.
2. The U.S. Congress prohibited the U.S. Air Force from being directly involved in the war against Kampuchea as of August 1973. For details see, William Shawcross. *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia*, London, 1979.
3. *Jenmin jihpao*, September 19, 1977, quoted in the Indictment.
4. *Jenmin jihpao*, ibid.
5. A higher pedagogical school in Paris.
6. *Jenmin jihpao*, October 3, 1977, quoted in Indictment.
7. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 598.
8. Norodom Sihanouk. *Chroniques de guerre ... et d'espoir*. Paris, 1979, pp. 139-140.
9. *Pravda*, January 10, 1979.
10. Francois Ponchaud. *Cambodge, année zéro*, Paris, 1976, p. 99.
11. Most of them have turned out to be unfit for use, for they were built under the direction of ignorant men and fall short of elementary technical requirements.
12. Indictment, p. 37.

In memory of Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez

The international communist and working-class movement has sustained a heavy loss with the death of Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina.

Arnedo Alvarez was born into the family of a peasant in the village of Rojas, Argentina, on October 14, 1897. He began his working life at the age of eight. He was a farm-hand, day-laborer, stevedore, and meat-packing plant worker. He came to know the injustice of the capitalist system by his own experience and devoted himself from youth to struggle for the working people's interests.

From 1917 to 1920, Arnedo Alvarez was active in the strike movement. His class instinct told him where he should look for answers to political questions; in 1924 he joined the Communist Party of Argentina. Shortly afterwards he was assigned to party and trade union work in Buenos Aires Province.

After the 1930 reactionary coup Arnedo Alvarez was arrested, savagely beaten, and tortured in the special police department and banished to the Ushuaia hard-labor prison in the forbidding far south of the country.

In the 1930-1938 period Arnedo Alvarez held various key posts in the Buenos Aires Provincial Party Committee and the CPA Central Committee. In 1938 he was co-opted into the CC Executive Committee and elected General Secretary of the party. He held this post for 42 years to the day of his death.

During World War II Arnedo Alvarez worked with Victorio Codovilla and Rodolfo Ghioldi, founders of the CPA who had returned to Argentina, to organize a struggle against the fascist threat in the country and a broad popular movement of solidarity with the Soviet Union.

Arnedo Alvarez is the author of numerous articles, pamphlets and reports setting out CPA policy. His reports to the 12th, 13th, and 14th Party congresses (1963, 1969 and 1973, respectively) and to a number of CC plenary meetings were notable contributions to the shaping of this policy. In recent years the communists continued under Arnedo Alvarez' leadership to work actively in the difficult conditions imposed by the military regime, trying to stop the advance of reaction and unite the progressive forces with a view to bringing about a democratic-oriented military-civilian government and to ending the terror unleashed by ultra-rightist and ultra-leftist alignments.

The multinational collective of *World Marxist Review* knew Arnedo Alvarez as an author and friend who had done much to promote cooperation between the Communist Party of Argentina and the journal.

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