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Developed socialism and scientific and technological progress

Andrei Kirilenko
Political Bureau member and Secretary,
CC CPSU

The Soviet communists and all other Soviet citizens are now focusing on the preparations for the 26th Congress of the CPSU. It has long become a tradition that the labor, creative effort of the entire nation aimed at carrying out the key tasks confronting it is upgraded during the period preceding a congress. In a developed socialist society one of these tasks is to ensure the continuous growth of the economy's efficiency.

'One of our major objectives,' Leonid Brezhnev said at the CC plenary meeting last June, 'is to enhance production efficiency and improve the quality of work. This must be kept constantly within our field of vision.' Today this is a key element of the CPSU's economic strategy, which fully takes into account the natural need in a mature socialist society for a steadily expanding national economy achieved by promoting labor productivity and speeding up scientific and technological progress.

I

In scientifically directing economic development in the interests of satisfying the steadily growing material and cultural requirements of the people, the CPSU takes as its point of departure the fact that the objective potentialities for the growth of labor productivity, potentialities created by socialism, do not materialize of themselves, automatically. Their realization implies the perfection of planning and management, the use of modern scientific and technological achievements, and the committed creative effort of millions of people. That is why our party regards the promotion of developed socialist economy's efficiency as a multifaceted, wide-ranging problem. To this end are directed the party's political work, and the nation-wide social organizational, economic, ideological and educational measures now being implemented. The CPSU pays considerable attention also to questions directly related to the development of science and technology.

At all stages of the new society's advance the CPSU has regarded scientific and technological progress as a cardinal factor in the building of the material and technical basis of socialism and, currently, of communism. In this we continue to be guided by the basic propositions of Marxist-Leninist science and by the accumulated experience of socialist construction.

The founders of scientific communism all-sidedly substantiated the role of science and

technology in the building of the new society and in raising labor productivity, showing the laws that govern the conversion of science into a direct productive force. With the growth of large-scale industry, Marx noted, the creation of society's actual wealth becomes increasingly more dependent 'on the general state of science and on the progress level of technology, or on the application of this science in production.'*

The founder of our party and state Vladimir Lenin regarded the development of science and technology and the widespread use of their achievements in the economy as the lever making it possible to end speedily the country's age-old technical and economic backwardness and ensure the fulfillment of the new system's main task, that of assuring social equality and creating the conditions for the all-sided, harmonious development of the individual. When he charted the program for socialist construction during the grim, flaming Civil War year of 1919 he wrote: 'We must take all . . . science, technology, knowledge and art. Without these we shall be unable to build communist society' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 70).

By drawing upon the advantages of socialism the Soviet Union quickly became a major industrial power. Our national economy was able to develop on its own technical basis as early as before the war.

The party's concern for the development of the productive forces of the country of victorious socialism was one of the main factors that brought about the defeat of German fascism, which had subordinated to itself the economy of almost the whole of Europe. It will be recalled that war came to our country only 24 years after the establishment of the Soviet power, before we were able to square our shoulders. The strength of the socialist system, the young republic's economic strength made it possible to stand firm and save human civilization from the fascist plague.

In the period since the war Soviet science and technology have risen to a higher qualitative level and increased their contribution to the fulfillment of socio-economic tasks and to the strengthening of the nation's defense. The wide application of scientific and technological achievements created the conditions for boosting economic efficiency.

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, Part II, p. 213 (Russian translation).

During the period of the last three five-year plans labor productivity has doubled.

In 1979, compared with 1940, the Soviet Union's national income was up 13.6-fold, the volume of industrial output 20-fold, and agricultural output 2.5-fold. Per capita real income during this period rose 5.6-fold.

The Soviet government allocates 4.6 per cent of the national income for research and development; more than one-fifth of this income goes into capital construction. Today the USSR has a large army of over 1,300,000 highly-trained scientific cadres. Of these nearly 400,000 are doctors or candidates of science working at research centers and institutions of higher learning. Today all the Union Republics have an academy of sciences and a ramified network of research establishments, and universities and other institutions of higher learning. New scientific centers are being set up according to plan. But considering that at the beginning of 1979 there were over 26 million specialists with a higher or secondary specialized education engaged in the national economy, it will be seen how great our country's potential is for tackling the most complex scientific and technological problems.

These statistics indicate that Soviet society has entered a qualitatively new stage of development, the stage of mature socialism. On the one hand, the transition to developed socialism became possible through the application of scientific breakthroughs and advanced technology in the economy. On the other, it is at this stage that ever fuller possibilities are objectively opening up for the comprehensive utilization of scientific and technological achievements in the economy, for coupling these achievements with the superiority of the advanced social system.

The conclusions being drawn from this by our party are embodied in its concern to ensure that science and technological progress play a growing role in the building of communist society.

To this end broad use is made chiefly of economic planning, which ensures the promotion of science and technology, charts the main orientations for scientific and technological progress, and defines the qualitative changes in industry's branch structure and the location of the productive forces. *Planning is the economic and organizational lever by means of which the complex process of the practical application of new scientific and technological ideas and solutions acquires the necessary balance and is coupled with other aspects of society's day-to-day life.*

Scientific and technological advances are taken into account in every section of the state plan. Moreover, the plan contains a special section devoted to the development of science and technology.

In planning wide use is currently being made of programming the management of science and technology, beginning with research and ending with the implementation of research results.

In the process of drawing up the plan for the new, eleventh five-year period (1981-1985) the USSR

Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology have, jointly with branch scientific bodies, worked out a comprehensive program determining the main orientations of scientific and technological development up to the year 2000.

Special-purpose comprehensive programs, for example, the fuel and metal conservation program, the program for increasing the output of consumer goods, and so on are tied in closely with the relevant branch and territorial sections of the state plan and with material and financial resources.

The Soviet economy has now reached a level where in many cases new techniques and technologies are finding the confines of individual enterprises much too narrow. The objective need has thus arisen for the creation of large units — production and scientific-production associations. Today these associations embrace 17,500 independent industrial enterprises and production units employing nearly half of the industrial workforce. Eleven large territorial-production complexes — in the European part of the Russian Federation, the Urals, Siberia, the Soviet Far East, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan — are being formed to ensure a more productive combination of branch and territorial balances.

The party links the further improvement of management and organizational methods in the development of science and technology with the fulfillment of the resolution passed in 1979 by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to improve planning and increase the impact of the economic mechanism on production efficiency and the quality of work. Here special attention is given to enhancing the impact of five-year and current plans on scientific and technological progress and to a more energetic use of cost accounting and the initiatives of production collectives for this purpose.

Alongside the centralized planning of key projects, the mechanism of managing scientific and technological progress in a socialist society involves the use of economic levers and incentives. Many industrial ministries now have a joint fund for the promotion of science and technology. This fund is made up from profits and is designated for the financing of technical improvements of production and increasing the output of research and project centers, paying the expenses for developing and mastering new products and technological processes, and compensating for the high costs inevitable during the first years of the manufacture of these products.

Today, in view of the relatively limited potentialities for a further increase of the workforce and for the enlistment of additional fuel-energy and raw-material resources into the economy, a significant element of the party's economic policy is to ensure an accelerated growth of labor productivity through the reconstruction and re-tooling of operating enterprises. In the course of four years of the present five-year plan period the installation of new technology at existing enterprises ensured more

than half the labor productivity increment in industry, saving the labor of approximately 550,000 workers annually. The significance of this may be gauged from the fact that the achieved saving now practically equals the annual increment in the number of personnel employed in industry.

To be sure, the efficacy of technological progress is not confined to the saving of material and labor outlays. One of its most important expressions is the renewal and improvement of the quality of the output. During the five-year plan period now ending the proportion of top-quality products in the total output of industry has tripled.

As it prepares for its 26th Congress our party is mobilizing all potentialities for developed socialist society's further progress, including an enhancement of labor productivity on the basis of the most advanced scientific-technological equipment for the economy. This work is conducted on a colossal scale, and there are difficulties and shortcomings. At the CPSU Central Committee's plenary meeting in November 1979 there was sharp, principled criticism of the fact that not all potentialities were being used for the acceleration of scientific and technological progress in a number of sectors of the economy. This principled criticism oriented production collectives, research centers, planning bodies, and managements on a more purposeful and systematic effort to resolve the entire spectrum of difficult problems linked to the use of scientific and technological achievements in the economy.

We can now confidently say that under the party's guidance the planned use of the breakthroughs of modern science and technology ensures a steady rise of the efficiency of the Soviet economy, which is developing as an integral complex and creates a dependable base for its own further growth.

II

With the nation's enhanced scientific, technological, and industrial potential as its point of departure the CPSU has defined (at its 24th and 25th congresses) and consistently implements a coherent technical policy geared to the conditions of mature socialism. This policy is one of ensuring far-reaching qualitative changes in high-technology implements of labor, in technological progress, in energy, and in the production of various materials. It underlies the coordination of key orientations in the development of science and technology and helps to increase their contribution to the national economy and to the solution of social problems.

Bearing in mind its present state and the prospects for its development, the qualitative changes in the economy's structure cannot be overestimated. More, they are of immense significance in the context of the world-wide class struggle and of the competition between the two opposing social systems. These changes have become a feature not only of our internal economic policy but also of international political life. Indeed, have not the imperialist circles in their intention to return international life to the cold war and use the methods of

the 'positions of strength policy' against us of late linked their hopes on the alleged 'technological lag' of the Soviet Union and of socialism generally? Is not the latest anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda studded with references to the socialist economy's alleged inability to master the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution?

This makes the tangible advances achieved by our economy on the basis of scientific and technological progress not merely an important result of socialism's economic advancement but also objective testimony of the untenability of its adversaries' political calculations.

The party's technical policy has been exceedingly productive during the past decade. It has brought to life *some new orientations of scientific and technological progress that are now vigorously influencing the make-up of the nation's entire production apparatus.*

To a large extent the present scientific and technological revolution is determined by electronics. In the USSR the output of computers is developing at a rate far exceeding the growth of the output of other branches of the economy. During the past four years the manufacture of computers has doubled compared with the corresponding period of the previous five-year plan. There are now 4,400 computer-based automatic control systems, including 1,645 systems controlling technological processes.

Soviet industry has successfully mastered the manufacture of digital programmed machine-tools. The output of automation instruments and implements has grown by 60 per cent in the past few years. Robots performing health-hazardous, monotonous and exhausting work have now become commonplace in industry.

Nuclear power stations are accounting for a growing proportion of the output of electricity. They save more than 17 million tons of fuel annually, yield a huge saving on transportation, and substantially relieve the nation's transport arteries. The world's largest power block with a fast-neutron reactor has become operational at the Beloyarsk nuclear power station (it has drastically enhanced efficiency in the use of nuclear fuel). An experimental power station has been built for the direct conversion of heat into electric power by means of a magneto-hydrodynamic generator.

The economy is making ever wider use of the most up-to-date cosmic and laser technologies. This concerns industrial production and other sectors of the economy. For instance, the results of research conducted with earth satellites and orbital stations are being increasingly used in geology, oceanology, forestry, agriculture, communications and meteorology.

The Soviet Union's coherent technical policy takes into account the laws governing the scientific and technological revolution, which is affecting all aspects of social production. *In the improvement of implements of labor and in the development of the engineering industry there is now a clear-cut ten-*

dency toward a considerable increase in the unit capacity of machines and machine-clusters. An example is the recently completed 1,200,000-kw power block, one of the largest in the world: it can satisfy the electricity requirements of an industrial town with half a million inhabitants. Compared with the earlier-manufactured 800,000-kw block it saves (in terms of per unit of power) 20 per cent in capital investments and metal and 40 per cent in servicing personnel.

Another significant feature of our technical policy in the development of implements of labor is the steady transition of the engineering industry to the development of highly efficient systems of machines, equipment and instruments. These systems embrace entire technological processes and ensure mechanization and automation at all stages of manufacture, particularly of ancillary, transport and storage operations.

A major advance has been made in the Soviet Union in the improvement of technology through the use of new systems of machines, electrification and the chemicalization of production. I'll give a few examples.

New metalworking methods and principles have significantly changed the technology of machine-building. In 1979, compared with 1965, industry as a whole had more than three times as many mechanized production lines and four times as many automated production lines.

The ferrous metals industry now produces more steel by the oxygen converter method and electric steel; the technology of obtaining iron from ore by direct reduction is being developed on an industrial scale. In the oil industry high technology at new deposits has increased the per well output by 25 per cent during the past 15 years. In the coal industry output by the cheaper, open-cast method has more than doubled since the mid-1960s, while east of the Urals open-cast mining accounts for nearly 60 per cent of the coal output.

Dramatic changes are taking place in agriculture under the impact of modern industrial technology. Land improvement and the widespread use of advanced machinery, mineral fertilizers, and plant protecting chemicals are creating additional conditions for a stable growth of output and making it possible to surmount the influence of unfavorable weather more effectively. Agrarian-industrial complexes combining crop-growing and animal husbandry at kolkhozes and state farms with industrial processing are serving as vehicles for the spread of industrial technology in agriculture.

There has been a significant rise in the industrialization level of construction, which increasingly consists of assembling equipment and prefabricated building elements at construction sites. Advanced methods have played the decisive role in housing construction, the development of natural resources in the nation's eastern and northern regions, the creation of a cascade of giant hydropower stations on the Angara and the Yenisei, and the building of the Baikal-Amur Railway and a number of large engineering plants.

The problem of fuel and raw materials is today acute worldwide. The capitalist world is experiencing a severe fuel and energy crisis. Against this background the *stable, planned development of the USSR's fuel and raw materials resources* becomes all the more impressive. Compared with 1965, the output of fuels of all kinds in the USSR has nearly doubled to reach 1,853 million tons (in terms of conventional fuel) or one-fifth of the world's output.

By the mid-1970s the Soviet Union had outpaced other countries in the output of oil. It will be no exaggeration to say that the development of rich oil and gas deposits in uninhabited areas in West Siberia, despite exceedingly unfavorable climatic conditions, is a scientific-technological achievement of global significance. In these areas the first million tons of oil were produced in 1965, output rose to 148 million tons in the mid-1970s, and this year it is planned to produce 315 million tons of oil and gas condensate. The Soviet Union has the longest and most powerful oil-and gas-pipelines carrying fuel to its European regions, where the bulk of industry and the population is concentrated, and also to fraternal socialist countries.

Our country's fuel and energy resources are enormous but, needless to say, not infinite. In this connection it is important to note that in the USSR technical policy has always been aimed at the rational use of these resources. Fuel consumption, in terms of per ruble of industrial national income, has dropped by more than 20 per cent compared with 1965. The significance of this area of technical policy will grow in the future.

By the mid-1970s Soviet industry had moved into first place for the output of ferrous metals and ferro-concrete articles and some other building materials, while some 5-10 years earlier it had become the world's largest producer of iron-ore, cement, and timber. The stability of the supply of raw materials now makes it possible to shift attention mainly to improving the quality of construction materials (increasing the range of metals, improving the processing and composite use of timber, enlarging the output of synthetic materials, reducing waste and losses and so forth).

All this is evidence of the radical changes that have taken place in the organizational and technical level of industry, leaving no room for the inventions of bourgeois propaganda about our technical and economic 'weakness.' The facts are that during the past three five-year plan periods the Soviet economy has moved into the forefront in all the main areas of scientific and technological progress and ensured a stable growth of the nation's economic, scientific and technological potential.

The USSR has made such considerable headway in this field that the Carter administration's attempts to pressure it by folding up Soviet-U.S. economic, scientific and technological links can only be described as ludicrous. What then is the point? Evidently that today science and technology cannot develop successfully and comprehensively without international cooperation. But in Washington they are clearly engaging in wishful thinking by

believing that for us exchanges of scientific and technological expertise and information are reduced to the USA.

We are well aware of the international character of the development and achievements of science and technology, and together with other socialist-community nations we are doing everything to increase the socio-economic efficacy of scientific and technological progress chiefly on the basis and within the framework of socialist integration.

Scientific and technological links among the fraternal socialist countries are stable and expanding steadily. During only the past decade the CMEA countries have jointly developed 1,700 new machines, mechanisms, and instruments, 1,300 technological processes, and 1,400 commodities and materials. They have developed and begun the mass production of 14 models of integral computer systems and mini-computers, hundreds of types of means of teleprocessing information, and sets of programs for the fulfillment of planning, economic and engineering tasks.

The efforts of nearly 3,000 research and project institutes, and also of universities and other institutions of higher learning have been channelled into the main orientations of scientific and technological progress linked to the fulfillment of the long-term special-purpose program for raw materials, fuel and energy approved by CMEA. Joint effort is increasing the scientific potential of each socialist country and making it possible to use the results of collective research and, on that basis, conserve resources and save time.

The international character of the scientific and technological revolution also creates favorable conditions for cooperation with capitalist countries in the promotion of science and technology. Many of these countries have tangibly felt the profitability of such cooperation. Realistically-minded political leaders and businessmen of these countries are refuting the allegations that this cooperation is one-sided. We are doing everything to maintain established business contacts also as an important factor promoting the use of scientific and technological achievements in the interests of social progress, the strengthening of peace, and the relaxation of tension.

III

The problems of scientific and technological progress and the utilization of its achievements cannot be considered in isolation from society's social system. Under capitalism, and this is borne out by its entire history, the use of technological innovations is a means of intensifying the exploitation of the working people, obtaining larger profits, and consolidating bourgeois rule. Like the steam engine in the past, the latest inventions of mankind — electronics, automation, new sources of energy and raw materials — have led and are leading to an aggravation of the antagonistic class contradictions of bourgeois society. If we take, for example, a basic social problem such as employment, we shall find that the distinctions between the socio-economic

effects of technological progress under capitalism and socialism are particularly striking. Unemployment has always been and still is the inevitable fellow-traveller of capitalism. In bourgeois society the development of science and technology is accompanied by a growth of the reserve army of labor, by the redundancy of more and more millions of workers. Technological progress boomerangs against the worker.

Socialist society uses scientific and technological progress consciously and systematically to ensure full employment and restructure the conditions of the people's life along the principles of equality and social justice. The Soviet Union put an end to unemployment at the beginning of the 1930s and for half a century our people do not know the meaning of this social calamity. Socialism's economic system guarantee was recorded in the 1936 Constitution and in the new, 1977 Constitution of developed socialism it is complemented with the right of choice of profession, occupation, and work in accordance with the calling, abilities, professional training and education of citizens.

At the 25th Congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev said that the CPSU's activity and its aspirations are aimed at doing everything necessary for the welfare of man, for the sake of man. * *The CPSU pursues this line consistently also in its guidance of scientific and technological progress, which under socialism it in fact places in the service of the people and uses to raise their cultural and technical level and to humanize their work.* This widens the horizons for the development of new technology and immeasurably enhances the positive impact of scientific and technological progress on socio-economic processes, on all aspects of the life of Soviet people.

Scientific and technological progress is among the factors contributing to a steady rise of living standards, as, for example, the following statistics indicate: in terms of per 100 families there has been, since 1965, a 3.5-fold increase of the number of television sets, upwards of a 7-fold increase of the number of household refrigerators, and a 3.3-fold increase of the number of household washing machines. The number of Soviet-made cars sold to the population has increased many times over.

Productive utilization of science and technology is helping to improve social relations. As a direct productive force science is playing a growing role in our society's social and cultural advancement. Scientific and technological progress is increasingly influencing the social structure, helping to erase class distinctions and achieve social homogeneity.

The bulk of the population engaged in the economy are workers. Their number has grown from 23,700,000 in 1940 to 78 million today. The highest growth rate of the number of workers is to be seen in industries determining technological progress: electrical engineering, chemical, petro-

*XXVth Congress of the CPSU, Documents and Resolutions, Moscow, 1976, p. 106.

chemical, heavy engineering and metalworking industries.

High-technology machines and machinery have made it possible to reduce manual labor in industry. In agriculture machine systems have been used to mechanize the basic processes in crop-farming and to raise the mechanization level in livestock-breeding.

On account of the scientific and technological revolution there is now a growing number of workers of a new type combining work by brain and by hand and having a high skill level based on specialized secondary or, in many cases, higher education. Such are adjusters and assemblymen of automatic production lines and program lathes, radio mechanics, electricians, and operatives of high-technology systems and also of machinery in the chemical and other industries. In the Soviet Union three out of every four workers have a higher or secondary (ten-or seven-year) education. The social structure of the rural population is also changing, with the working class and peasants levelling up in skills and general culture, working conditions, remuneration, and incomes. The increasing application of scientific and technological achievements is enhancing the role played by intellectuals.

The alliance of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, with the working class playing the leading role, is the social foundation of our multinational people's state and of Soviet society's further ideological and political consolidation. The rise of the overall cultural level, the improvement of specialized skills, and the perfection of socialist relations of production are creating favorable conditions for the people's participation in running production and in mass innovation in all areas of society's life.

In recent years the CPSU Central Committee has approved many noteworthy initiatives by advanced work collectives in industry, construction, agriculture and transport that opened up new possibilities for using science and technology in the building of socialism. These include the method developed at the Volga Car Works for the comprehensive enhancement of labor productivity, production efficiency, and the quality of output, the experience accumulated at the factories and research and project centers in Chelyabinsk Region of saving metal, improving its quality, and reducing the metal-intensity of machines and other equipment, the expertise acquired at the ZIL Auto Association, Moscow, in speeding the application of scientific and technological achievements in production and also the Lvov system of quality control.

These and other initiatives are being widely disseminated. Under the guidance of party organizations they are promoted nation-wide with the active participation of the trade unions, the Young Communist League, scientific and technological societies, and the people themselves.

In our country one of the most popular forms of mass participation in developing science and technology is the movement of inventors and pro-

duction innovators. Scientific-technological societies and also societies of inventors and production innovators now have over 17 million members, which is equal to one-seventh of the working population. In 1979 a total of 4,600,000 people, or 60 per cent more than in 1965, submitted suggestions for improvements in production. The saving from these inventions and improvements adds up to nearly 6 billion rubles annually. Alongside the enhanced level of education and professional-technical training, this development of the people's contribution to science and technology reflects their profound, socialism-generated commitment to scientific and technological progress.

In the resolution 'On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education,' passed by the CPSU Central Committee in the spring of 1979, it is stated that the Soviet citizen is conscious of the social significance of his personal participation in the fulfillment of economic plans and in accelerating scientific and technological progress as the key condition for the further strengthening of the country's might and the triumph of communism.

Beginning with the next five-year period the economic and social development plans of associations and individual enterprises will envisage the use of advanced expertise in technology and in the scientific organization of labor, production, and management. In this way we are carrying out Lenin's injunction that nation-wide application of advanced experience is mandatory.

The scientific and technological creativity of the people has always been linked indissolubly to socialist emulation. Today this relationship rests chiefly on the local plans of work collectives aimed at revealing untapped potentialities for production. The new procedure for compiling annual plans, envisaged in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the managerial mechanism, takes this practice, which has proven itself, into account. The drawing up of annual plans begins from the bottom, at the level of production associations and enterprises. Local plans are aimed at surpassing the five-year plan targets for the corresponding year. Adopted on the initiative of work collectives and tied in with available material resources, they are included in the annual state plan. Here the work collectives are given substantial material incentives. At present the people of the Soviet Union are working to fulfil the assignments for 1980. At the same time, the new, eleventh five-year plan, which will be the next stage in, among other things, the assimilation of scientific and technological achievements, is being drafted.

Concern for the steady development of science and technology is a key component of the CPSU's socio-economic policy. The party is doing everything to direct the productive forces of science toward ensuring the further growth of the economy and raise the Soviet people's living standards and cultural level, toward the fulfillment of the tasks of communist construction.

History urges vigilance

Yumzhagin Tsedenbal

CC First Secretary,
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party;
Chairman of the Presidium,
Great People's Khural, MPR

Thirty-five years ago the Second World War came to an end with Japan signing the act of unconditional surrender on September 2, 1945. The forces of fascism, militarism and reaction suffered a crushing defeat. Freedom-loving nations won a victory that became the starting point of postwar changes, which led to a fundamental restructuring of international relations in the interests of peace and social progress.

To this day the entire course of world developments continues to be powerfully influenced by this historic victory, to which the great Soviet people made the decisive contribution and for whose sake the Soviet people, led by their militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard, performed feats of immortal valor and made incalculable sacrifices. The nations learned much from the Second World War. Nonetheless, there is a constant need to refer to its lessons again and again. Contemporaneity is linked closely to history. To draw correct conclusions from the past means to pave the way for correct decisions for the future. In a situation where imperialist and hegemonistic forces of aggression are aggravating the international climate and creating flashpoints of military tension and war in different parts of the world, the masses have a particularly large role to play, and their consciousness and responsibility for the future of mankind are growing dramatically. The success of the efforts to prevent catastrophic world wars depends on their understanding of the danger that imperialism and hegemonism spell out for the world. In this context I believe it would be logical to recall how the Second World War broke out, developed and ended in Asia, and to see what lessons can be drawn from this for present-day policies, decisions, and actions aimed at ensuring security on the Asian continent and in the world at large.

Japanese imperialism prepared for its aggressive entry onto the Asian political scene in the course of many decades. The military and political program of Japan's rulers acquired an extreme expansionist, aggressive orientation as early as the close of the 19th century. Spearheaded initially at the imperialist European powers and the USA, which had by that time seized strong positions in the Far East and in the Pacific and Indian oceans, this program called for the ousting of Japan's colonial rivals. Its purpose was to turn Asia and Oceania into a sphere of unchallenged Japanese domination and create a great Japanese Asian empire in order to enable Japanese imperialism 'to plunder the Eastern, the

Asian countries' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 226).

An ideological doctrine contending that Asia had to unite under Japan's aegis (known as *Hakko Ittyu* or *Eight Corners Under One Roof*) was put forward to make the idea of Japanese domination more attractive to the other Asian peoples. At the same time, bellicose Japanese imperialism played on nationalistic feelings with slogans such as 'Asia for Asians' and 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,' and readily struck bargains and alliances with 'white' colonialists in order to strengthen its positions in the Far East and the Pacific. This was seen most strikingly in the course toward fighting the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, the national liberation forces in China, and progressives in Japan itself. The ideologists and politicians serving Japanese militarism saw the spread of socialist ideas, the ideas of proletarian internationalism, and also the example of the socialist restructuring of life in the USSR and People's Mongolia as the principal threat to bourgeois nationalism and the hegemonistic, Pan-Asian ambitions of the Japanese military.

The anti-socialist and anti-Soviet guidelines of militarist Japan's military and political doctrines were given every encouragement by the other imperialist powers, the USA in the first place. They were eager to direct Japanese aggression against the Soviet Union, for the sake of which they were prepared to make concessions, to yield some of their own positions to Japan. The Japanese ruling circles benefited by that situation.

Japan began its preparations for a world imperialist war much earlier than Germany. In 1931 it seized Northeast China, turning it into the main beachhead for an invasion of the rest of China and other Asian countries. This brought the Japanese militarists into direct border confrontation with the USSR and Mongolia. In Manchuria they acted under the slogan of defense against the 'Bolshevik threat' and had the undisguised support of the Western powers. The Japanese army stepped up its aggressive operations in North China and Inner Mongolia.

With the benign collusion of U.S. and British diplomacy, the Japanese imperialists formed close ties with the leaders of Nazi Germany, with whom they exchanged information on the state of the economy, the armed forces, and the domestic political situation in the USSR, and in November 1936 they signed the notorious Anti-Comintern Pact. The

publicized part of this pact stated that it was a political alliance pursuing the objective of halting the spread of communism in the West and East, but its secret provisions comprised a military conspiracy against the Soviet Union. Japanese militarism's anti-Soviet drive was even more frankly evident in the tripartite pact signed by Japan, Germany, and Italy on September 27, 1940. This pact formalized systematic, close contacts in all areas with emphasis on extending the framework of military actions, the principal of which was to be a war against the USSR.

Why, it may be asked, had Japan not attacked the Soviet Union, but instead turned to conquer the possessions of the Western colonial powers in Asia and Oceania despite this long and painstaking military, economic and political preparation? I believe there were a number of reasons.

The ignominious failure of the armed provocation at Lake Khasan in August 1938 and the utter defeat of the Japanese military in the four months' war in the vicinity of the Khalkhin-gol in the summer of 1939 made the Japanese and German ruling circles, chiefly the broken Japanese generals, apprehensive about Japan's actual capabilities. In a dispatch from Berlin, Ambassador Oshima informed Tokyo that these failures were raising doubt among Germany's leaders about Japan's ability to take serious action on the level of military cooperation. Moreover, after their easy victories in Europe, the nazis were confident they could overrun the Soviet Union in a matter of three or four months and felt it would be more to their advantage to dispense with Japanese assistance. But for Japan's fascist strategists the main factor was, unquestionably, the resistance put up by the Red Army, the total failure of the nazi plans for a blitzkrieg, and the Wehrmacht's smashing defeat at Moscow.

These were the developments that reinforced the Japanese ruling circles in their view that the invasion of the USSR had to be postponed. In September 1941 the German Ambassador to Japan Eugen Ott informed von Ribbentrop that because of the Russian army's resistance to a powerful army such as the German the Japanese General Staff did not believe Germany could win a decisive victory in the war against Russia until the winter. This view, the ambassador wrote, was backed up by the recollections of the Nomongan events,* which were still fresh in the Kwantung Army's memory, and for that reason the Japanese Imperial Headquarters had shortly before decided to delay action against the Soviet Union.

The plans of the imperialist powers contained the miscalculation that Japanese aggression would be directed exclusively against the USSR. Japanese imperialism, however had no intention of pursuing only this course of action, into which it was being unrelentingly pushed by the governing circles of these powers. While parading its anti-Soviet designs, it prepared also for a war against the USA and other Western powers, aiming to seize their posses-

sions in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. It will be recalled that the policy of conniving at Japanese militarism led to the opposite result — the unfolding of Japanese aggression in a southerly and southwesterly direction.

As regards the plan for a war against the USSR in the Far East, the heavily armed and highly trained Kwantung Army was kept in Manchuria — prepared to start hostilities at any propitious moment. Even after hostilities began in the Pacific, Burma, Indonesia, and elsewhere, Japan continued regrouping its forces in China, moving picked units to the frontiers of Mongolia and the Soviet Union, and to the communication lines linking the USSR and China.

At the close of 1941 and the early months of 1942 nearly half of Japan's land forces and almost one-third of its air force were massed in Manchuria, Korea, and southern Sakhalin. Along the frontiers with the Soviet Union the Japanese militarists built 17 fortified districts extending over a length of roughly 800 kilometers with more than 4,500 pill-boxes and other installations. In the period 1941-1945 the Japanese troops on the Manchurian springboard built 129 air bases and landing facilities, including 42 airfields; the barracks that in 1941 were intended for 39 divisions were enlarged by 1945 to accommodate up to 70 divisions with a total strength of 1,500,000 effectives.

The war factories in Manchuria worked at top capacity. Japanese naval vessels piratically attacked Soviet transports. The Kuomintang rulers of China, which was in a state of war with Japan since 1937, did nothing to counter these actions. More, Chiang Kai-shek and his entourage went to all lengths to provoke war between the USSR and Japan in order to ease their own position. A treacherous stand relative to the USSR was also taken by Mao Tsetung, who ordered the cessation of resistance to the Japanese in the liberated regions in the autumn of 1941, when the Red Army was locked in a life and death struggle in the West and Japanese divisions stood poised for an invasion of the Soviet Far East and Maritime Territory. He used only 10 per cent of his forces against the Japanese, 20 per cent against the Kuomintang, and 70 per cent for internal security. But, as I have already noted, it was only the victory of the Red Army at Moscow and, particularly, at Stalingrad that deterred the Japanese militarists from entering the war against the USSR, although the threat of such an attack existed for a long time to come.

By pinning down the main forces of nazi Germany and its satellites in Europe and the million-strong Kwantung Army in the Far East, the Soviet Union gave the USA and Britain the opportunity to recover from their initial reverses in the Pacific and Southeast Asia and ready their armed forces for offensive operations.

The defeat of the nazi Reich, a defeat to which the main contribution was made by the USSR, predetermined the defeat of militarist Japan. However, Germany's surrender did not signify that Japan was crushed. The Japanese militarists had an army of

*The military gamble along the Khalkhin-gol.

seven million effectives, large reserves, and the military-industrial resources of Northeast China and Korea. The U.S.-British command were under no illusion; they knew it would take considerable time, a huge effort, and enormous losses to defeat Japan; in particular, it was estimated that a landing in Japan proper would cost the Allies a million lives.

Under these conditions crucial significance was attached to the Soviet Union's participation in the war against Japan and the swift defeat by the Soviet Armed Forces of the Kwantung Army, which was Japanese militarism's principal strike force. By entering the war against Japan on August 9, 1945 in keeping with its Allied commitments, the USSR pursued the aim of hastening Japan's surrender and thereby ensuring its own frontiers, ending the Second World War as soon as possible, saving the peoples, including the Japanese people, from further losses and suffering, and helping the Asian nations to win deliverance from the Japanese invaders. The war of the Soviet Union against Japan was thus a just war.

I should like to take special note of the fact that in deciding the question of entering this war the Soviet government made the important condition that the USA and Britain would recognize the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic. This stand was further evidence of the genuinely international policy pursued by the USSR, which consistently championed Mongolia's sovereign rights and interests on the international scene.

The Mongolian People's Republic joined the Soviet Union in the war against Japan. We are proud of the contribution made by the Mongolian people to the defeat of German nazism and Japanese militarism. During the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against nazi Germany all the working people of Mongolia, led by their Revolutionary Party, saw their sacred duty in giving the fraternal Soviet people all the material assistance and moral support in their power in the struggle against fascism. Along with Soviet troops, the Mongolian Army remained in combat-readiness, diverting a large part of militarist Japan's armed forces and thereby limiting the sphere in which the Japanese military could act on the Asian continent. The strength and viability of Mongolian-Soviet friendship and of the wartime cooperation between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples and armies were seen in joint military operations against Japan, operations that ended with the total defeat of Japanese militarism. In the struggle against imperialist reaction the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union have always acted as brothers and comrades-in-arms, bound together by common aims and tasks.

The victory over imperialist Japan, which was a constant threat to the MPR's revolutionary development and independence, accorded with the aspirations and interests of the Mongolian people. The speedy and total rout of the Japanese Armed Forces prevented the occupation of the whole of China and the Chinese people's enslavement by the imperialists. The defeat of the Japanese militarists

was, at the same time, a blow to the backstage policies of the USA and Britain, whose purpose was to remove Japan as a rival in Asia and the Pacific, bring the Far East under their domination, and suppress the national liberation movement. The unconditional surrender of the Japanese aggressors further weakened the forces of world imperialism, helped to create the conditions for the success of the revolutions in Korea and Vietnam, and facilitated the rapid upsurge of the struggle of the Asian peoples for national independence and freedom.

The victory of the Soviet Armed Forces over Japanese militarism was a factor of special significance for the development of the revolution in China. Northeast China and Inner Mongolia, liberated by Soviet forces with the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army fighting shoulder to shoulder with them, became the main springboard for the People's Liberation Army of China. With armaments and military equipment from the USSR, it was subsequently able to mount a swift offensive southwards and liberate the country from Kuomintang rule.

Lastly, the Japanese people themselves shook off the tyranny of the military-fascist dictatorship as a result of the defeat of Japanese militarism in the Second World War. They got the possibility of establishing peaceful, good-neighborly relations with other nations and democratizing their life.

Noteworthy changes have taken place in the world, including the Asian continent, during the 35 years since the end of World War II. The colors of the colonial powers have disappeared almost entirely from the maps of Asia and Oceania. The nations that have won liberation from colonial bondage are strengthening their national statehood, developing their economy and culture, and playing an increasingly active role in international life. Many of them have chosen the socialist road and, while repulsing the attacks of internal and external reaction, are laying the foundations of a new social system free of exploitation.

Further, the lessons of the Second World War and the experience of the struggle for national and social liberation call upon the Asian peoples to be vigilant. One must be blind not to see that throughout the period since the war the main threat to the security of these peoples has come from U.S. imperialism, which seeks to use the existing situation to reign supreme in different parts of the world, including Asia. To achieve this aim it has had recourse mainly to the threat of violence, to acts of direct aggression. It was none other than the U.S. ruling circles that launched military campaigns such as the aggression in Korea and the criminal war in Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia with the purpose of 'rolling back' socialism and the forces of national liberation.

In its strategic plans Washington attaches paramount importance to building up its military strength and expanding its military presence, to setting up military facilities on foreign territory. In Japan alone there are more than 140 U.S. military bases, some 45,000 U.S. troops, units of the U.S. 7th

Fleet, and nuclear submarines, while in South Korea another contingent of over 40,000 U.S. military personnel are quartered at the innumerable military bases.

On the Asian continent there is growing concern over the policy of reviving Japanese militarism and involving it in the USA's military preparations in the Far East. Contrary to the will of the Japanese people and in contravention of Japan's Constitution and treaty commitments, a so-called security treaty has been imposed upon it by the USA and now, under pressure brought to bear by the USA, the Japanese self-defense forces have grown into an army of 260,000 effectives equipped with the most sophisticated military hardware. Encouraged from without, the Japanese militarist circles are pressing for more military allocations and the introduction of compulsory conscription in order to turn Japan into a major military power.

In the present international situation the most reactionary, adventurist circles are trying to organize a wide-ranging campaign against détente that has been won by the peace-loving nations. We feel that in this respect there is a special danger from the policies of the Peking leadership, policies that run counter to the vital interests of nations, to the progressive trends of world development. An attentive observer cannot fail to see that in line with their hegemonistic foreign policy the Peking leaders are coming out more and more openly as the successors and continuers of the prewar political guideline of Japanese militarism and Pan-Asianism.

Like the policy of prewar militarist Japan, Peking's foreign policy line highlights rabid anti-Sovietism, hostility for the USSR and its friends. Moreover, the Peking leaders are sparing no effort to form what they term as the 'broadest possible international united front,' in other words, a bloc of forces of any hue united by hostility for the Soviet Union, for world socialism and communism — a sort of new Anti-Comintern Pact. Mao Tsetung's successors see the aggravation of international tension as a factor conducive to the formation and consolidation of a bloc of that kind. They incite and support all the forces prone to sabre-rattling, to gambles, to demonstrations of 'determination,' and to an 'uncompromising confrontation' on the hypocritical pretext of countering 'Soviet hegemonism.'

Much as the anti-Sovietism of prewar years opened for the Japanese military the hearts and safes of big U.S. and British capital, the Peking leadership's present anti-Sovietism is designed to win the approbation of the ruling classes of the USA and other capitalist countries. Peking is arguing that it is in the West's own interests — in any case, in the interests of militarist circles — to help China acquire a big military capability as quickly as possible.

The peace-loving nations are justifiably concerned over the further development of the alliance of the Peking leadership with the aggressive circles of the USA, NATO, and Japan, over the expansion of military ties between the imperialists and Peking. At the close of May, for example, the United States

hosted a high-ranking Chinese military delegation led by Geng Biao, member of the Political Bureau, Deputy Premier, and Chief of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee's Military Council. After U.S. Defense Secretary Brown's visit to Peking last January, this was a further step toward the coordination of plans of aggression against the socialist community, the national liberation movement, and all other peace forces.

As it increases the threat to the security of the peoples of Asia and other parts of the world, the emergent U.S.-Chinese-Japanese alliance starkly reminds these peoples of the notorious Berlin-Tokyo-Rome Axis.

The scenario planned by militarist Japan, mentioned at the beginning of this article, accorded the principal role in a war against the Soviet Union to Germany and confined Japan's role to spreading 'imperial prosperity to East Asia and its peoples,' to quote a strategic document adopted by the Japanese government. For their part, the present Peking leaders are eagerly expending military-political cooperation with the USA and NATO in order to get them to shoulder the main burden of a confrontation with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community. Hence, in keeping with its objective of forming the 'broadest possible international united front' against the USSR, Peking is steadily stepping up its effort to prompt the USA to head that 'front.' For the time being, the Chinese scenerarists are giving themselves an ancillary and complementary role within the context of what they call 'parallel actions' with their imperialist partners.

Much as the Japanese militarists were once prepared to cooperate with 'white' colonialists in order to enslave Asia, the present Chinese leaders would like to use the imperialist powers to clear the way for the realization of their own hegemonistic designs, chiefly in Asia. If this scenario succeeds Uncle Sam may then, as one of the Chinese leaders declared, be expected 'to pack his bags.' The calculations of those who are trying 'to play the China card' are thus naive, to say the least. To see this one has only to leaf through the pages of recent history.

We shall add, however, that whatever the character of the agreement between the Peking hegemonists and U.S. imperialism on 'parallel actions,' the latter are a serious threat to the Asian people. This agreement carries with it the danger of another armed invasion of Vietnam, of pressure on the ASEAN nations, of an intensification of subversive armed actions against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, of support for the U.S. military provocations against Iraq, and of a reinforcement of the attempts to shatter the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India.

Whatever anti-Soviet and anti-communist falsifications Peking uses to justify its military-political rapprochement with the imperialists, it cannot hide its great-power, hegemonistic ambitions. Almost all the Asian states with common land or sea frontiers with China have in recent years been victims of undisguised or covert military gambles taken by the

Maoists to reinforce their territorial claims. Moreover, to justify its territorial expansion Peking has recourse to any excuse and distortion of history and lays claim to land incorporated in empires created by any Chinese or even non-Chinese conquerors in Asia.

The peoples of many Asian states continue to feel the effects of the Chinese leaders' great-power intrigues. Further, these intrigues are linked to support from pro-Chinese 'fifth columns' in various countries — orchestrated 'insurgent' and separatist movements, and the societies of Hoa (persons of Chinese nationality). The lesson of history is that attempts of this kind are futile. But they can seriously undermine the foundations of peace in Europe and the world and gravely injure the movement for national and social liberation. That is why the peoples, especially the Asian peoples, should continue to be vigilant relative to the subversive, provocative actions of Peking, whose strategic aims come into direct conflict with the interests of mankind's progress.

The 35th anniversary of the end of the Second World War finds the Mongolian people united

closely around its Revolutionary Party. The program for consummating socialist construction, which has already given our republic tangible results in ensuring a peaceful, happy, and free life, is being successfully carried out. Together with our faithful friend and brother, the Soviet Union, and together with all the other countries of the socialist community, with all the peace forces, People's Mongolia is championing the ideals of peace and international security. We want good-neighborly relations with all countries, including the People's Republic of China.

Anti-Sovietism, which served the ideological and political preparations for the Second World War, will benefit neither China, nor the Asian peoples, nor the other peoples of the world. It is a myopic and dangerous course. To put an end to it and clear the way for the assertion of a policy of collective security in Asia, the way to détente and disarmament means to strengthen peace. This requires the efforts of all people of good will regardless of political convictions, religion, or nationality. This is our common duty to the memory of those who died in the Second World War and to present and future generations.

The revolution in Afghanistan enters its second stage

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Somewhat over half a year has passed since the Saur (April 1978) Revolution entered a new stage. Our party ended the dark night of Amin's rule on December 27, 1979,¹ and that marked the beginning of a renaissance in Afghanistan. The Afghan people are now reaping the first fruits of the revolution's return to the sure road. This period has seen a stabilization of the situation, the restoration or revolutionary law and order, a strengthening of the spirit of confidence and cooperation, and the consolidation of unity among patriotic and progressive forces. Afghanistan celebrated the second anniversary of the Saur Revolution in an atmosphere of enthusiasm. The second plenary meeting of the CC, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), held on the eve of that memorable date, passed important decisions relating to the nation's future and approved the Party Rules.

A great achievement of the new stage is that the PDPA, which the Amin gang were bent on destroying, has resumed its leading role in our society. It is once again the headquarters of the revolution and is vigorously mending its bonds with the people, primarily the workers and peasants. Its cohesion is growing. The steps that have been taken to democ-

ratize life in the country, the energy shown by the party rank and file in overcoming difficulties, and their resolve to assure Afghanistan a progressive future have added considerably to the party's prestige among the most diverse population groups. The main thing, of course, is that the PDPA is regaining the people's confidence.

Another notable development of the past months is that a broad-based National Fatherland Front uniting all national, democratic and progressive forces is in the process of formation on PDPA initiative. The first step in that direction was the appointment of non-party cabinet ministers. The course has been set toward enlisting intellectuals and non-party specialists into the administration of the nation's affairs. Senior party and government officials have had many meetings with representatives of diverse population groups and with patriotic Muslim and tribal leaders. At these meetings they discussed problems of the greatest importance for the nation's future and measures to repulse foreign aggression and bring peace to the people. From the outset these talks revealed that the policy of the revolutionary authorities is finding growing understanding among the peoples inhabiting our

country, and that the overthrow of the bloodthirsty Amin gang on December 27, 1979 is seen by democratic and patriotic opinion as having been correct and proper, as just retribution for crimes. The government has called on compatriots forced into emigration by Amin to return to their country, and they are beginning to come back.

One of the most important milestones of the second stage of the Saur Revolution is the Revolutionary Council's approval of the Fundamental Principles of the DRA, or the nation's provisional fundamental law. These principles formalize the leading role of the PDPA, the vanguard of the working class and other working people, the force with whose activity all revolutionary changes in Afghanistan are linked. Moreover, they establish the legal basis for forming the Fatherland Front. Its political foundation is to consist of a close alliance of the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals with the PDPA providing political leadership. The republic, the provisional fundamental law says, is committed to strengthening the alliance of the workers, peasants, nomad herders, intellectuals, artisans, shopkeepers, and patriotic *ulema* — of all the country's democratic forces, all its nations, ethnic communities, and tribes. This is a policy aimed at removing all survivals of feudal relations, ending backwardness, unemployment and illiteracy, and raising the living and cultural standard of every family.

Another significant gain of the current stage is the frustration of the vast, ramified conspiracy of foreign reactionaries, who aimed to reduce Afghanistan to a pawn in their expansionist, geopolitical game and to set up in our country a regime hostile to the Soviet Union and other neighbors. While aggression persists, taking new forms, and while bandits, spies and saboteurs infiltrated from Pakistan go on perpetrating atrocities on Afghan soil and inciting the population to rise against the popular government, many counter-revolutionary schemes and acts of subversion have been intercepted in recent months. Political support, military assistance and, above all, the temporary presence of a limited contingent of Soviet troops in compliance with the Afghan government's lawful request for aid to repulse foreign aggression give all patriotic Afghans confidence in their country's future and help to consolidate its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. When foreign interference and aggression cease entirely the need for this presence will evaporate.²

Lastly, a crucial development of the new stage is that the party and government leadership swiftly drew up a realistic program for urgent measures in various, primarily social and economic, spheres and began its gradual implementation.

The Afghan economy was grievously knot by subversion by local and regional reaction and world imperialism plus Amin's policy of terror and strangulation of democracy. The fiscal system was disrupted, trade stagnated, the prices of food and other commodities soared, and the people's purchasing power fell drastically.

In agriculture the situation was indescribably bad. One-third of the non-irrigated and a sizable part of the irrigated land was unused last year. The cultivated area decreased by 8 per cent and output by more than half a million tons. Even taking into account some objective circumstances, primarily last year's drought, the main cause of this situation in agriculture and the economy generally was Amin's anti-national and anti-democratic policy. It was this policy that plunged the country into an economic and social crisis.

The arbitrary practices of Amin's henchmen and the massive persecutions paralyzed economic activity in rural areas and disrupted their links with the towns. While many peasants were denied the right to draw on rural mutual aid funds made up of their own contributions, grain sellers were robbed on their way to town by bandits linked with the Amin gang. The favorite catchword 'Security, legality, and justice' was invoked to hallow every manner of repression in regard to the population, the persecution of Muslims (especially those who worshipped regularly), and other infamous practices, such as eavesdropping on gullible villagers. Many peasants had to flee from persecution, leaving their land uncultivated.

Amin's interference in the private sector seriously undermined business activity. It set businessmen against the revolution despite the fact that it was precisely the revolution that had brought them greater opportunities for entrepreneurial activities for the good of the country, especially since the foreign commercial agencies were closed. The latter were replaced at the time by 22 specialized associations of local businessmen importing tires, condensed milk, soap, and other commodities in high demand. The Amin regime destroyed all this and set up a state trading corporation which monopolized the import of these commodities although it had no commercial expertise, let alone business connections. Moreover, the police harassed Afghan entrepreneurs, accusing them of 'subversion,' torturing and even killing them. Not a single Afghan businessman felt safe in those days.

Economic management was in a shambles. Most of the leading executives and specialists were removed and the rest were prevented from influencing economic activities. Amin put an end to scientific economic planning and misappropriated public property and funds. Encouraged by the imperialists, he mounted a violent assault on the Saur Revolution in order to trample its democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist ideals into dust. But on December 27, 1979, the nation was saved from political, economic, and social catastrophe.

It was a very sad legacy we were left with. The party, the Revolutionary Council, and the government were faced with the formidable task of reviving the economy. We defined the immediate tasks and the nature and sequence of the rehabilitation projects. The party and the government focus attention on, among other things, repairing and building roads and irrigation systems, supplying drinking water, and organizing communications. Increased

housing construction providing employment for part of the workforce will help to activate the urban economy. To improve the supply of prime necessities, we plan to open a network of government shops. A program of extending and carrying forward the land reform has been drawn up with the assistance of the peasants themselves. A literacy campaign is under way (90 per cent of the population cannot read).

Recently the Revolutionary Council Presidium adopted a Socio-Economic Development Plan for the year 1359 (March 1980-March 1981). This plan takes into account the basic guidelines of the current five-year plan, the objectives of the new phase of the Saur Revolution, and the present situation. It envisages further economic growth, to be achieved by making fuller use of domestic resources and with foreign aid. When plan targets are reached gross industrial output will increase by 9 billion afghanis³ to a total of 25 billion afghanis (an 11.6 per cent increase).⁴

Special attention is given to agriculture, whose output is to go up 4.4 per cent by the year's end. New state farms will be set up and the number of agricultural cooperatives will rise to 2,550. The irrigation network is to be expanded, which should make it possible to bring 2,000 hectares of virgin lands under cultivation and improve irrigation on a further 15,000 hectares. Four tractor pools are to be formed. Output is to increase as follows: of wheat to 2,600,000 tons, of cotton to 150,000 tons, and of sugar-beet to 100,000 tons.

Steps to remedy and improve the situation in agriculture are being vigorously put into effect. The countryside gets implements, draught animals, pedigree livestock, high quality seeds and fertilizers on easy terms. Peasants and small rural employers are granted credits. In this year's sowing season the concern shown by the state was appreciated by everybody. The government has raised the purchasing prices for cotton, and sugar-beet by 20 and 30 per cent respectively, and this is likewise helping to increase output. Peasants who grow these crops can now buy grain from the state at fixed cut prices. Simultaneously, an effort to plough and sow all land abandoned by its owners. The government appealed to lawful owners or their heirs to return to their land and cultivate it with government support.

The measures taken by the government are welcomed in the country, as the first agricultural conference, for one, has shown. The peasants, clergy, party members, and white-collar workers who attended it urged their fellow-countrymen engaged in farming to make effective use of the varied aid offered by the state, cultivate all the arable land, irrigated and non-irrigated, and form volunteer units to defend the rural communities against attack by counter-revolutionary bandits.

At the present stage of economic revival we are concerned, first of all, with whatever helps to improve the life of the Afghan people, of workers and peasants in particular. We have charted ways and means of improving working conditions in indus-

try and raising the pay of some categories of workers, for instance, miners. A new, progressive labor law is being drafted. The annual plan envisages an allocation of 500,000 million afghanis for the needs of the population of underdeveloped and suffering torn areas. For social development the government intends to spend over a million afghanis from internal resources.

The relations between the revolutionary government and Afghan entrepreneurs are growing closer. The latter welcomed the return of trade in some consumer goods to private hands. Meetings between government officials and businessmen have telescoped the business world's problems and helped to encourage a resumption of business activity. The theses of the PDPA Central Committee on the second anniversary of the Saur Revolution state: 'The PDPA Central Committee and the government of the DRA appreciate the big contribution that the private sector is making toward Afghanistan's economic development and are resolved to create the conditions for increasing the output of consumer goods. Steps will be taken to revive and develop home industries, modernize handicrafts, and encourage the voluntary formation of artisan cooperatives.' In order to establish permanent constructive and productive cooperation with the private sector, a consultative economic council composed of government officials and businessmen is to be set up under the Council of Ministers. This body will consider the projects for all government measures relating to home and foreign commerce, credit, industrial production and transport. The Planning Ministry has approved over 20 industrial projects in the private sector. These projects, costing over 260 million afghanis, are to be completed this year and will provide more than 1,200 jobs.

Our economy is developing by plan. After fulfilling this year's plan we will proceed to carry out the five-year plan. The public sector is to be expanded in industry, transport, commerce, and agriculture; the long-term aim is to create an economic structure with the light industry, which meets the requirements of the people holding an important place alongside the mainstay of industrialization, the heavy industry.

Economic and other transformations will continue to rest on assistance from friendly countries, primarily the socialist nations headed by the Soviet Union.

Afghan-Soviet relations have a history of more than 60 years. Soon after the October Revolution, the greatest event in human history under whose direct impact Afghanistan achieved independence, material and military assistance was extended to our country on direct instructions and guidance from Lenin. Relations between the two countries have always been friendly. But since the Saur Revolution, and more particularly since it entered its present, qualitatively new stage, these cordial relations have evolved into fraternal links.

Even in the past Soviet assistance accounted for between 60 and 70 per cent of the resources used for Afghanistan's socio-economic development. Our

people know that the formation and consolidation of the public sector of the economy are the result solely of comprehensive and disinterested Soviet assistance. Now as before, the varied assistance received by Afghanistan from the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union, is crucial to the stabilization of the economic situation.

During the past few months the massive supply of consumer goods from the Soviet Union has played a large part in meeting our people's day-to-day requirements. This supply includes petroleum, sugar, vegetable oil, and soap. We have received 100 million rubles' worth of garments and footwear as a grant-in-aid from the Soviet Union and they are being distributed free to our people under the supervision of party and government agencies. The people have responded warmly to this act. Where these goods failed to reach consumers, it was the handiwork of bandits and saboteurs. Shortly before this year's spring sowing, we received high-quality Soviet wheat and cotton seed; the importance of this aid hardly requires comment.

Many economic problems are being resolved by the steadily expanding Afghan-Soviet trade. It is to go up by 60 to 70 per cent this year. The facts show that this trade is equitable and benefits Afghanistan. For example, the price of Afghan natural gas exported to the Soviet Union was recently raised steeply once more. Over the past year the share of budget revenues from gas exports to the Soviet Union has increased from 21 to 39 per cent. Moreover, in terms of per 1,000 cubic metres the net profit is the world's highest.

It would be hard to name a sphere of our society's life where we do not benefit from Soviet support. Furthermore, this support is invariably disinterested and highly effective. To give an example, more than 140 big and medium industrial, agricultural, and building industry projects of vital importance to our people and our economy have been or are being built in Afghanistan with Soviet financial and technical aid. The largest of these include a nitrogen fertilizer plant near Mazar-i-Sharif, an automobile and machine repair plant, a house prefabrication plant, and a bakery complex in Kabul.

The government's realistic socio-economic policy, coupled with assistance from friendly socialist countries, has gone a long way toward changing the overall atmosphere in the country at the second stage of the revolution. At the same time, remembering the bitter experience of the recent past, the party leadership and the government gave special attention to restoring and advancing democracy, to ensuring the democratic rights of the people. This guideline is evident in all areas of our political, economic, and social work.

At the present new stage the task is from the outset to extirpate injustices and rectify the mistakes that were made in the course of revolutionary changes. We have released 15,000 political prisoners (victims of harassment under Amin), and made it clear that henceforth we would allow no transgression of civil rights. Even in the most tense situa-

tions, when counter-revolutionaries provoked riots in Kabul and elsewhere, the party leadership and the government did everything to protect innocent people who had been deceived by the reactionaries. They allowed these people to go home after brief questioning. The only ones jailed were counter-revolutionary ringleaders, foreign agents, and bandits.

The measures taken by the revolutionary government are aimed at providing citizens with reliable guarantees of personal and social rights. By way of illustration, here are two examples.

First, the state has recognized the title of peasants and landowners to the land used by them. Decrees are being drafted that will certify and formalize the right to own land. The peasants' right to own, transfer (to relatives or heirs), or buy or sell land is now guaranteed by law. This is bound to be particularly welcome to people who were allotted land under the land reform law. They will now have documents certifying their title to their land.

Second, a directive has been signed by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, President of the Revolutionary Council, and Prime Minister of the DRA, restoring all private and personal movable and real property to those who lost such property through confiscation under the Amin regime. It is a question of restoring houses, shops, and so on to their lawful owners. Many people, who were deprived of their property, have petitioned the relevant authorities for its restitution. However, this measure does not imply that the government plans to restore nationalized property to persons who have left the country and put in their lot with enemies of the revolution. Nor does the directive extend to members of the former royal family who have fled and are conspiring to restore monarchy in Afghanistan.

We want to build the new Afghanistan, and here we are guided by the general laws governing the building of a society free of oppression and exploitation. At the same time, we take the specific features of a Muslim country into account. This has been reiterated by the revolutionary leadership in the Fundamental Principles of the DRA, which include respect for Islam, national traditions and customs. Through our policies and practices we demonstrate our respect for freedom of conscience, for the religion professed by the Muslim people of Afghanistan. The government does not interfere in religious matters and people now have religious freedom in the true sense of the word.

An important goal of the Saur Revolution is to ensure real equality to the peoples and tribes of our country. To attain this goal, the PDPA Central Committee and the government intend to grant and guarantee all the peoples and tribes of Afghanistan, big and small alike, not only formal but actual equality: ample opportunities to develop the economy, their ancient, rich and distinctive culture, their languages, traditions, and literature, and instruction in their native language. The party and the government are doing everything to expedite the advancement of socially, economically, and

culturally backward areas inhabited by ethnic minorities and tribes.

In the context of a sharp class struggle between the forces of progress — the forces of the future — and the still influential circles upholding a reactionary, anti-popular order, our efforts are aimed at opening the people's eyes to the significance of the change brought to their country's destiny by the revolution.

The legitimate measures taken by the government to protect the people's interests and rights have aroused the fury of our enemies. They describe these measures as 'bait' to bring the Afghans under the 'head of the Kabul regime.' Added to this fabrication is the much-touted lie that 'terror tactics' are used in Afghanistan and that whole villages are 'wiped out' in an effort to 'break Muslim resistance' and 'establish peace on Soviet terms.' U.S. President Carter himself does not scruple to use calumnies of this nature.

This does not surprise us, of course. Through their agents in the country, imperialism and the Peking hegemonists, who are at one with them, have imposed two wars on Afghanistan: a shooting war of aggression involving tens of thousands of counter-revolutionary mercenaries, and a propaganda war intended to misrepresent the goals of the Saur Revolution, discredit the new system taking shape in the country, and thereby prevent revolutionary developments in other Muslim countries. Hence the imperialists' hypocritical 'concern' for Afghan and other Muslims; hence their lies about 'bloody terror' in our country.

Terror in Afghanistan is only practised by bandit units sent across our frontiers with U.S. and Chinese weapons. Indeed, the network of training camps on Pakistani soil is expanding. These camps are training a large attack force whose core is composed of the offspring of feudal lords, landed proprietors, usurers, compradores, and others whom the people's power has stripped of all privileges. They are situated in the Peshawar area, the North-West Frontier Province near the towns of Miram Shah, Bannu, Chitral, Parachinar, Kohat, and Jasin, the vicinity of the towns of Quetta, Pishin and Mushki in Baluchistan, and elsewhere. All operations are directed by a CIA man installed in Peshawar as a U.S. 'Consul.'

U.S. military advisers train Pakistani instructors who, in turn, train Afghan rebels. The instructors include graduates of the International Police Academy, Washington, and a school for saboteurs in Texas. In the camp near Jasin, training is supervised by Chinese military advisers and in the camps near Peshawar, by Egyptian advisers as well. Instructors are also trained in China. Their training is directed by, among others, Liao Chincheng, a Chinese intelligence officer who until recently was China's military attache in Kabul. Last May, a representative of the Pakistani authorities accompanied by a Chinese adviser conducted a meeting of bandit groups in Miram Shah. Bandit raiders are also trained in Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

There are reports of growing activity by Afghan

counter-revolutionaries in Iran, particularly in the Meshed area. These get their instructions from the CIA headquarters in Peshawar.

Arms, equipment, and food for the raiders are delivered through the Pakistani ports of Karachi and Gwadar, along the Karakoram highway from China, and by air. The United States is still the chief supplier; some of the supplies come from West Germany and Japan. China regularly ships anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns and rifles to Pakistan.

Naturally, we defend ourselves by resisting the invaders. We are compelled to do so. But everybody must know that for the Afghan people the chief goal is to restore peace, normalize the international situation in the region, and thereby have the opportunity of devoting all their energies to creative endeavor.

This is the purpose of the constructive program put forward by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on May 14. Our government proposed bilateral Afghan-Pakistani and Afghan-Iranian talks to normalize relations and work out bilateral agreements on the principles of goodneighborliness and cooperation, including specific commitments to prevent military or any other hostile action against each other.

Appropriate international guarantees, as proposed by us, should complement these bilateral agreements as part of a political settlement. Specifically, the United States would be expected to commit itself to conduct no subversion of any kind against Afghanistan either from its own territory or from third countries.

Discontinuation of all foreign interference in the domestic affairs of the DRA and guarantees of its non-recurrence would also pave the way for settling the issue of the further presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

In the light of the foregoing it should be clear that the so-called Afghan problem is being played up by foreign reaction, which is against any progressive change in any country or region and needs this 'problem' as the pretext for continued interference in Afghan affairs and as a propaganda cover for acts of aggression against our revolution. Stripped of its cloak of lies this is the actual policy pursued by the U.S. imperialists and Peking hegemonists. Indeed, they are now using the artificially created 'Afghan problem' for a global assault on the results of détente. They put the blame for the latest dangerous deterioration of the international climate on the Soviet Union, charging it with 'aggressive' intent and even on outright 'military interference' in Afghanistan.

But, if anybody, the Afghans know by experience where the truth lies. While the bands formed by the imperialists and Peking engage in terror and atrocities on our soil and reduce the fruits of the people's labor to ruin and ash, Soviet soldiers help us defend ourselves against aggressors.

Soviet-Afghan friendship, which dates from the October Revolution, is indestructible. It has stood the test of many decades and has always been in the national interest of Afghanistan. Today this friend-

ship dependably serves our country's social and economic progress. Babrak Karmal, leader of our party and state, voiced a great historic truth when he said: 'Afghanistan's traditional friendship with the Soviet Union, an expression of the free, independent and progressive will of the people of Afghanistan, has now entered a qualitatively new stage. This friendship will grow stronger and more lasting with the passage of time. No evil power on earth can shake it to even the slightest degree.'

We look to the future with a confidence made stronger by the fact that the Saur Revolution has never been alone, not even in the most trying days. It enjoys the solidarity of the socialist countries and is hailed by the progressive and democratic forces of many countries. This is only natural, for our revolution is part of the world revolutionary process begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

1. This historic change in the destiny of the Saur Revolution is discussed in WMR (April 1980) by Babrak Kar-

mal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, President of the Revolutionary Council, and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. — Ed.

2. After WMR received this article news came of the withdrawal — by agreement with the Afghan government — of some Soviet military units whose presence in Afghanistan was no longer necessary. This withdrawal was made possible by the defeat of large bands of invaders and by the resultant acceleration of the normalization process in Afghanistan. Progressive world opinion spoke highly of this move, seeing it as further evidence of the revolutionary authority's successful struggle against counter-revolutionary bands, as indication of the Afghan government's stability and the broad support it has among the people — Ed.

3. 43 afghanis=U.S.\$1. — Ed.

4. We plan the following increases: electric power by 100 million kwh; natural gas — 240 million cubic metres; condensed gas — 14,000 tons; cement — 8,500 tons; ferro-concrete prefabricated constructions — 1,800 cubic metres; cotton — 9,600 tons; cotton textiles — 20 million sq. metres; meat — 1,600 tons.

Who backs and who erodes détente

Pavel Auersperg
CC member, CP Czechoslovakia;
WMR Editorial Board member

Five years ago, the heads of state and government of 33 European countries and the United States and Canada met at the European Conference in Helsinki and mapped out realistic ways for eliminating international tension, strengthening security and mutual trust, and developing cooperation between states with different social systems.

The results of the conference, its Final Act, signed by all the participants, marked a major victory for the forces of peace and progress, for the policy of realism and good will. They dealt a palpable blow at the forces of cold war and reaction, laid a solid basis in international law for the ideals of the peaceful coexistence of states, accelerated the development of political détente and put in the order of the day the question of complementing it with détente in the military field.

There is no doubt that the important positive process of détente, which the Helsinki Meeting so well expressed and which was started on the initiative of the socialist countries and supported by the communist and working-class movement and all the other peace forces, paved the way for a resolute turn in the hard age-old history of relations between states. In Europe, the Helsinki Final Act entrenched the inviolability of the existing borders and the territorial integrity of states. That was of primary importance for the nations of the continent, which had repeatedly been victim of territorial claims that led to wars. But the importance of the Helsinki accords was not confined to the framework of

Europe. They made it easier to limit and eliminate dangerous conflicts, invigorated and enriched bilateral and multilateral cooperation between states and helped to shape a new international atmosphere. They also made it possible to switch resources and efforts from the arms race and preparation for war to the shaping of new and fair international economic relations, and the joint solution of vital regional and global problems. Finally, they set a valuable example for other regions of the globe, showing that the most complex problems can be solved by peaceful means, rationally and constructively.

There is good reason, therefore, why the successes of détente, the results of Helsinki, were met with satisfaction by the whole of progressive opinion, including the realistically-minded bourgeois politicians and statesmen who, like the U.S. politician Sergeant Shriver, recognized that while rivalry does remain in some fields there are, nevertheless, inevitable and growing imperatives for cooperation.¹

Why is it then that within five years and a few months before the meeting in Madrid of the Helsinki states the situation is once again reminiscent of the cold war period? Why have many of the Helsinki accords remained unrealized, why has the realization of some others been dragged out? What has changed in the world on the threshold of the 1980s, and why has the international climate grown harsher?

Propagandists and politicians in Washington try to explain the sharp departure of the United States and some of its allies from the principles of détente by an 'unexpected increase' of the alleged 'Soviet threat,' which is alternately linked with a 'threat to Europe,' with events in Afghanistan, with the revolution in Iran, and so on, and so forth. A propaganda campaign of unprecedented proportions is being carried on in order to undermine trust in the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, to drive a wedge between the socialist and developing countries, and to range against each other various contingents of the fighters for peace, democracy and social progress.

However, let us take a closer look at the so-called 'threat': when and how did it 'unexpectedly increase'?

Perhaps this 'threat' is connected with the USSR's decision to withdraw unilaterally in 1980 up to 20,000 of its military personnel and a corresponding quantity of military equipment from the territory of the GDR? That is not logical. Perhaps the new proposals on troop and arms cuts in Central Europe put forward by the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks tend to sharpen tensions on the continent? No, they do not. Never has a reduction in the number of troops posed a threat to peace.²

Or, perhaps, let us add, a threat to peace comes from the new Soviet proposal for negotiations on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe put forward during the meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the FRG in Moscow in June-July of this year? That is altogether absurd. After all, the substance of the new peace initiative is that the Soviet Union has importantly added to, elaborated and deepened the constructive proposals it had made earlier. What was the point earlier on? It was that such talks should be held after the re-establishment of the situation which had existed before the NATO decision on the manufacture of new U.S. medium-range missiles and their siting in Western Europe in addition to the U.S. theater of nuclear weapons already there. Another suggestion was that this question could be included within the framework of SALT III, the negotiations on the third stage of strategic arms limitation, but this was blocked because the United States postponed the ratification of SALT II indefinitely. What then is the point now? It is that talks should be held at which matters relating to medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and to the already existing U.S. theater-based nuclear weapons should be discussed *simultaneously and in an organic connection with each other*. These talks could be started before the ratification of SALT II, but any understandings that could be reached at these talks would enter into force after its ratification.

It is clear to everyone that the success of such negotiations would raise the level of European security, and this meets the vital interests of all the nations. Although FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt supports NATO's additional nuclear armament, in an interview with *Der Spiegel* after his meeting in Moscow with Soviet leaders he said:

'We are interested in living with our Eastern neighbors in good-neighbor relations, which rule out any repetition of the horrors of the Second World War. We here live in a potential battlefield of a third world war. The potential battlefield would not be in Canada or in North America, but here.³ The Chancellor noted that 'Brezhnev and his colleagues in the Soviet leadership are as apprehensive of war as we are over here. They do not want to run the risk of war and know that arms race could lead to the very worst.'⁴

Where, then, is that 'unexpectedly increased Soviet threat?' The real facts show that there is no such 'threat,' nor has one ever existed. What is more, over the five years since the Helsinki Meeting, the USSR and other socialist-community countries, the Warsaw Treaty Organization have taken a great many steps aimed to do away with the survivals of the cold war, to strengthen trust and mutual understanding in international relations, and to direct developments into a healthy peaceful channel.⁵ The meaning of the broad range of proposals being repeatedly put forward by the socialist powers adds up to the following: while maintaining equal and identical security and balance of forces, there should be an effort to reduce the danger of an outbreak of an armed conflict, to halt and reverse the arms race, and to determine ways for removing hotbeds of international tension. These proposals are realistic and concrete, and are permeated with profound concern for the future of the nations of the world.

As for the question concerning the grounds on which the Soviet Union is helping democratic Afghanistan to safeguard its sovereignty and its revolution against foreign interventions, that was described in detail in the pages of *WMR* by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The causes, roots, motive forces and tasks of the Iranian revolution were considered in an article by Nourreddin Kianouri, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran. This issue also carries reports on the actual situation and the causes of tension in that region.⁶ Let me add that the communists have never regarded détente as preservation of the social status quo, as abandonment of the class and national-liberation struggle, and that while they do not recognize the export of revolutions, they do not recognize the export of counter-revolutions either. That is why they have always believed that their duty is to render international assistance to the working people and nations standing up for their revolutionary gains against external interference.

There is only one answer to the key question of who is chiefly to blame for the worsening of international relations: the winds that are now cooling the international atmosphere have nothing in common with some 'Soviet threat.' Nor did they originate in the high-mountain passes of Afghanistan, or in the Iranian plateaus, but in the offices of the White

House and the Pentagon, in the back rooms of the behind-the-scenes centers of power in the United States and NATO's military offices. Let us add that they did not originate in December 1979, but very much earlier, namely, when President Carter repudiated the parity principle, which he had recognized at the Vienna meeting, and put forward the idea of additional armament for the United States and the NATO countries. The nutrient medium for the negative trends which are so pronounced in the policy of the United States and some of its allies at the beginning of the 1980s is provided by the class nature of militarism, which has been and remains 'the "vital expression" of capitalism' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 192). It is constantly present in imperialist policy now being intensified, now relaxed, depending on many objective and subjective factors. It appears that by the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s, the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, the failure of its attempts to stop and reverse the revolutionary anti-imperialist processes under way in the world produced among the ruling circles of some capitalist powers a class-panic syndrome and assumed the form of a crisis of political realism. It is this crisis that has affected the global political strategy of the United States, in the first place.

The following are the manifestations of this turnabout:

— disruption of the balance between political goals, means and potentialities;

— inability to make a sober assessment of the actual balance of forces in the world, unwillingness to reckon with the objective processes of world development, the urge to use military-political blackmail for renewing the hegemonistic dictatorship of imperialism, and illusory attempts to return the world to the cold war period;

— incompetence, lack of balance, and haphazard political decisions and acts, many of which pose a direct threat to peace and the very existence of mankind.

Let us recall some of these manifestations of the crisis of political realism in the recent period. A long-term program envisaging a considerable expansion and all-round qualitative modernization of the Atlantic Pact's armed systems was approved back in 1978 at a NATO Council Meeting in Washington. This was followed by the decision to site medium-range nuclear-armed missiles on the territory of a number of West European countries, the U.S. administration's delay in ratifying SALT II, and finally the dangerous attempts to 'globalize' NATO and to extend its sphere of operations well beyond the limits of the European continent. The plans for 'globalization' are also promoted by the decision of the Council of the West European Union lifting the Paris limitations on the tonnage of FRG warships, and the intention of Britain's Conservative Government to integrate Britain's nuclear-missile fleet with NATO.

The NATO generals and politicians no longer confine themselves to military preparations in Europe; they are looking to the oil-bearing regions

of the Middle East. They have laid claims to interference in the internal affairs of the countries in that region, which have but recently freed themselves from colonial oppression and which have taken the road of independent development. The NATO chiefs have openly spoken of their urge to re-establish the positions of their erstwhile imperial domination in other regions of the globe as well. At last year's mid-December meeting of the foreign ministers of ASEAN countries in South-East Asia and the Common Market countries at Kuala Lumpur, the British and FRG delegates, clearly acting on suggestions from Washington, tried to involve their Asian partners in the orbit of imperialist plans in that part of the world. The joint statement that was adopted at the meeting testifies to the attempts to use ASEAN in Washington's planned strategy of intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the states of Indochina. The architects of imperialist policy have also been trying very hard to involve Japan in the implementation of their aggressive schemes, which was declared unambiguously by U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown.

This extremely dangerous line is directly connected with Washington's subtle moves aimed to use Peking's hegemonism and establish a Washington-Peking axis. Nor is this only a matter of diplomacy. Carter's secret 'presidential memorandum No. 10,' adopted on Brzezinski's initiative, revises the U.S. projects for a nuclear war against the USSR. The positions of Soviet armed forces in the Far East are additionally included as targets for a nuclear strike. The meaning of this act is that the U.S. nuclear strikes should facilitate Peking's offensive operations against the Soviet Union.

The fact that the Chinese leadership and the United States have common anti-Soviet and anti-communist goals has been confirmed once again during Carter's meeting with Hua Guofeng in Tokyo last July. We find, therefore, a highly dangerous political game in progress. A dangerous game for one and all. We in Czechoslovakia well remember how the Western imperialist powers nurtured German fascism in the hope of using it in their anti-Soviet and anti-communist plans, and the consequences this had for the peoples of Europe and the world.

Such is far from a full list of the facts which show who is currently stepping up tensions in the world, and who wants to frustrate the process of détente. I think that in the light of these facts it is reasonable to say that the current political crisis shows up once again the historical incompetence of imperialism, and the incongruity between its global political aspirations and national and mankind's overall interests.

The line of 'anti-détente' which the imperialist circles of the United States and NATO have now adopted, clashes with the will of the peoples for peace and cooperation. But it is also clear that neither the aggressive statements nor the arms race will help imperialism to restore its lost positions or win for the United States the right to direct despotically the course of world developments. The tide of

history cannot be reversed. The objective prerequisites at the basis of the détente have not changed. For all its efforts, the Carter administration has failed — and will fail — to isolate the USSR and the other socialist-community countries. The economic embargo has produced nothing but losses for the Americans themselves. The Olympic Games boycott has proved to be a fiasco. Carter has failed to force his European partners to refuse to have meetings and talks with the Soviet leaders.

The French-Soviet summit meeting in Warsaw in May and the talks in Moscow between the leaders of the USSR and the FRG have, I think, reaffirmed two basic truths of our day. The first is that despite the present difficulties in the international atmosphere, it is possible, useful and necessary to preserve, stabilize and develop the process of détente. The second truth is that this goal can be achieved only if an open dialogue of all the forces concerned with preserving international stability and isolating the advocates of the cold war is started with a sense of responsibility and in a spirit of good will.

There is only one way out of the dead end into which the policy of Washington and NATO is being drawn ever deeper as time goes by. It is the way of responsible political acts, of decisions that would take into account the legitimate interests and equal security of all states. It is the way along which the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries have been perseveringly and consistently advancing.

Realism must gain the upper hand. Leonid Brezhnev declared in the course of Chancellor Schmidt's visit to the USSR: 'In the face of ever new attempts to whip up the arms race, we insistently urge the West to stop, to put aside various programs for "additional armament," and to abandon the development of new types and systems of weapons, whether missile, neutron, chemical or any other.' Such is the USSR's principled approach to détente both on the world's scale and in the individual regions of the world, including Europe, a stand which has once again been reaffirmed in the decisions of the June 1980 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and which is shared by the socialist-community countries and by all progressive public opinion.

Détente has struck deep roots in present-day international life. Many countries, European countries in the first place, have tangibly felt its benefits. The constructive principles of strengthening peace and security of nations, agreed upon and adopted five years ago at Helsinki, have become the alternative for the absurd notions of Washington and NATO politicians, who keep saying that international tension can be eased only 'on the reliable basis of deterrence.' To accept this would amount to remaining idle in face of imperialist threats, and to regarding tension as an invariable state of international relations. It would mean reconciling oneself to the constant build-up of the stockpiles of ever more destructive weapons which could be deto-

nated by any local dispute, by a false reckoning, or even by a mistake.⁷

Indeed, the situation in the world has been markedly complicated. But there are important and real possibilities for preventing the slide to another cold war, for developing normal peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The communists and all the other peace forces counter the philosophy of world politics based on universal fear with the effective philosophy of political reason, wise statesmanship and cool circumspection, for this will ensure genuine détente, a peaceful future and mankind's progress.

In the present situation, communists believe that one of their chief tasks is to resist the imperialist policy of stepping up tension, and urge the cohesion of the communist movement on a class basis in the struggle for peace and international security, and for détente and disarmament. They seek to strengthen their ties with all men of good will, with all democratic and peace-loving forces, parties, organizations and movements, and representatives of different political and religious views prepared to combat the war danger.

Communists actively expose the aggressive schemes of imperialism, the falsehood of anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda, spreading among broad masses of people the truth about the peace policy of the USSR and the whole socialist community.

The call adopted at the Paris meeting of the European communist and workers' parties says: 'We communists are advocates of peace, we want disarmament, cooperation and friendship among nations. Therefore we say: peace is our common cause, and our common actions will provide for its victory.'

1. *Congressional Digest*, October 1975, p. 248.
2. In July of this year, the USSR offered to reduce the numerical strength of its armed forces in Central Europe at the first stage by another 20,000 men, with a simultaneous withdrawal of 13,000 U.S. military personnel.
3. *Der Spiegel*, July 7, 1980.
4. *Ibid.*
5. For details on the policy of the socialist-community countries, see *WMR* Nos. 7 and 8 for 1980.
6. B. Karmal. 'The Afghan People Will Stand Firmly on Guard of the Revolution.' *WMR*, No. 4, 1980; Nourreddin Kianouri, 'Start of a New Stage of the People's Revolution,' No. 4, 1979; for an assessment of the latest events in Afghanistan and Iran see the article by A.S. Keshtmand and the dialogue between A. Havari and James West, both in this issue.
7. Let us recall that errors in U.S. control and radar systems have already brought the world to the brink of a thermonuclear explosion on several occasions: the U.S. strategic nuclear forces were put on full alert and mankind was only seconds away from the disaster. Some commentators assert that the latest of these 'errors,' at any rate, was specially programmed by the Pentagon to increase the fear of the 'Soviet threat' in the United States and to verify the Soviet response.



The right to a homeland

COMMUNISTS OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES ON THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

Nowadays, one of the gravest threats to international peace comes from the Middle East crisis. Its root cause and basis is the Palestinian problem, the problem of the Arab people of Palestine, which has been condemned by imperialism and Zionism to live the life of an exile without a homeland. The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Arab countries held in April 1978 emphasized in its main statement: 'Developments in the Middle East over three decades have shown that peace in this area cannot be established if the national rights of more than 3 million Palestinians are ignored, denied, trampled or evaded.'

Since the Palestinian question arose, the communists have always consistently and steadfastly stood for the cause of the Arab people of Palestine. The communists' stand in the fight for its just solution was the subject of an exchange of views sponsored by the WMR Commission on Problems of the National-Liberation Movement in Asian and African countries, with the following taking part in the discussion: Michel Kamel, Political Bureau member, Egyptian Communist Party; Adib Dimitry, veteran Egyptian communist and journalist; Albert Farhat, CC member, Lebanese Communist Party; Omar Al-Fassi, CC Political Bureau member, Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco; Naim Ashhab and Issa Mdanat, CC Political Bureau members, Jordanian Communist Party; Arabi Awwad, CC member, Jordanian Communist Party, and Varouge Saletan, CC alternate member, Syrian Communist Party.

Below is a summary of their statements in the exchange of opinion.

In his opening speech, Naim Ashhab, member of the WMR Editorial Council, said that there is now growing interest everywhere in the Palestinian problem and a growing understanding that its solution is the central element of a settlement of the Middle East conflict. Sadat's betrayal has once again demonstrated that surrender under pressure from U.S. imperialism and the Israeli rulers merely puts off the prospect for establishing a just and lasting peace and cannot in general lead to any peaceful solution whatsoever, even of the kind the imperialists and Zionists envisage. There is a growing conviction that any attempts to side-step the Palestinian problem are doomed to fail.

At the same time, a fairly large section of world opinion is still less than fully aware of the tragic condition of the Arab people of Palestine, which have been deprived of their homeland for over 30 years. Some also fail to understand the true substance of Zionism as an extreme reactionary and racist movement, whose aggressive acts pose a threat to peace not only in the Middle East, but throughout the world.

Ashhab then said that the Israeli rulers' policy of actual genocide with respect to the Arab people of Palestine has an ever more pronounced effect on Israeli society as well. This applies both to the socio-economic sphere, where there is a mounting drive on the working people's living standards, and to the sphere of politics. Fascist groupings and bands of raiders and killers have been stepping up their activity. They have been stockpiling weapons for use against the Arab population with a view to completely driving the Arabs from their native lands. The policy of the Zionist elite has turned the people of Israel into a hostage to world imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, and the country now also faces a looming threat of fascism. Life has shown once again that Engels was right when he said that no people oppressing other peoples can be free.

Another dangerous plot

Issa Mdanat said that the Palestinian problem was itself produced by imperialism, which for many years fanned friction among the Arab peoples in mandated Palestine, pursuing its policy of divide and rule. It encouraged the Zionists' aggressive aspirations, and in 1948 gave its blessings to the rulers of Israel and the Arab reactionary regimes for their gross infringement of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Let us recall that the UN General Assembly's Resolution of November 29, 1947, envisaged the establishment of two states in Palestine—a Jewish state and an Arab state. But as a result of the first Arab-Israeli war, the territory designated for the Arab state was divided between Israel, Jordan and Egypt. In this way the Arabs of Palestine were deprived of the right to self-determination and the establishment of their own state.

Just now attempts are being renewed to deprive—but in a new form—the Arab Palestinian people of its legitimate and inalienable rights. This is an effort to realize a plot, said Arabi Awwad, whose purpose is to isolate the Palestinian national

movement, to undermine it and wipe it out. One of the most dangerous manifestations of this plot is the Camp David deal, as a result of which a major Arab state, Egypt, has sided with the enemies of the Palestinian people.

At present, the participants in the Camp David deal are discussing a project for establishing an 'autonomous administration' on the Arab territories occupied by Israel, and have not given up their attempts to find among 'moderate' Palestinians potential traitors to the national cause prepared to cater for the realization of their schemes. This project has the purpose of obliterating the Palestinian problem, of taking it off the agenda as the national problem of a people deprived of the possibility of enjoying its legitimate rights. Simultaneously, the Israeli authorities have been putting through extensive measures to colonize the occupied Arab lands, have continued to drive the native population off these lands and to set up new militarized settlements on them, a practice which has been repeatedly condemned by the international community. Menachem Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, said that the question of 'Judaea and Samaria' (as Israel's Zionist rulers call the West bank of the Jordan River) is not subject to review, because that land is the homeland of the Israeli people and the presence of Israeli troops on it does not amount to occupation but to 'liberation.'

In Lebanon — now the main base of the Palestine Resistance Movement (PRM), the Israeli militarists have not ceased their aggressive acts, declaring that they want to wipe out the resistance forces, and to draw Lebanon into the Camp David alliance. Directly abetting this is the internal fascist-minded reaction and the right-wing Christian separatists in Lebanon. Making use of the Arab countries' inability to put up real resistance to this piracy, Michel Kamel said, the Israeli thugs seek to spread in the hearts of the population of this country, which has become an object of aggression, feelings of despair and despondency, and to incite them against the Palestinian contingents. At the same time, it is being suggested that some kind of 'new' and 'just' solutions are possible. One of these actually boils down to an attempt to 'exchange' the Palestine Resistance Movement for Haddad's 'state'² to eliminate the 'state' at the price of disarming the Palestinian fighters.

However, the participants in the discussion emphasized, the sponsors and executors of the plot have failed to attain their goals. The Camp David accords and their consequences have been strongly condemned and rejected by all the Arab peoples, the patriotic regimes in the Arab countries, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and all the progressive national forces. The Arab states-members of the Steadfastness and Rejection Front have adopted — notably at their meeting in Damascus — important decisions aimed at invigorating the struggle against the plot by the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The need for a strategic alliance with the USSR and the other socialist-

community countries was posed with greater clarity and definition than ever before.

At the Baghdad summit meeting, even Arab countries with reactionary, or so-called moderate regimes were forced, despite some attempts to maneuver, to bow to the unanimity of the Arab peoples and their progressive patriotic forces, and to condemn the Camp David deal. They had to agree to some political and economic sanctions against the Sadat regime and to mount an actual Arab boycott against it.

The Camp David and the Washington 'peace' treaty between Egypt and Israel have led to a fresh upswing in the Palestinians' mass struggle. A powerful tide of strikes, marches and manifestations has rolled across the occupied Arab lands, with their participants indignantly protesting against the fresh attempt to deny the Arab people of Palestine the restoration of its legitimate national rights. The veritable nation-wide storm of wrath has become an insuperable barrier to the attempts by the Camp David alliance to find individuals among the Palestinians who would agree openly and unconditionally to side with them as the traitor Sadat has done.

The resistance movement has been activated in Lebanon as well. According to Awwad, hundreds of enthusiastic volunteers from various Arab countries have arrived in Lebanon to take part in military operations on the side of the progressive patriotic forces and Palestine resistance contingents.

The participants in the discussion declared that the plot of imperialism, Zionism and reaction against the Arab people of Palestine poses an exceptional danger. But what is most important is that its main purpose has not been achieved. The plotters have failed to put an end to the Palestine national movement, to undermine and destroy the resistance forces, and to 'evade' the Palestinian problem, which continues to be pivotal to the ongoing confrontation, and the key issue of a Middle East settlement.

Schemes to split the movement

Speakers said that Camp David is not only a new attack by imperialism, Zionism and reaction against the Arab national-liberation movement, but is also evidence that their moves against it are running into an impasse. The sponsors of the Camp David deal have, of course, scored a major success by wresting Egypt from the united Arab front against the Zionist aggressor and winning it over to their side. But if this is not followed by further steps, if no new breach is made in pan-Arab solidarity, the situation could become dangerous for them, and they are aware of this.

The Arab world is now faced with another Camp David, that is, a continuation of the old Camp David line, but in a new, subtler and more camouflaged form. It is already being said that the first step along this way did, indeed, entail some mistakes and miscalculations, but that these can be overcome in the future and that the 'Palestinian people's' demands will be taken more fully into account.'

What does this mean in concrete terms?

Mdanat drew attention to the fact that there was good reason why after the Arab peoples indignantly rejected both the Camp David accords and the Washington 'peace' treaty between Egypt and Israel, and after the Sadat regime, which has taken the path of capitulation, found itself in profound isolation in the Arab world, the United States began to hint at some possible review of its foreign-policy line in the Middle East, and a more favorable attitude to the legitimate interests of the Arab people of Palestine. Awwad noted the emergence of statements about the 'impossibility of ignoring the Palestinian problems,' about 'the Palestinians' national aspirations' and even about a 'Palestinian homeland.' Some U.S. officials have even taken some action in an effort to convince the rest of the world that there is a trend among U.S. ruling circles to take a new approach to the whole complex of Middle East problems.

Speakers were unanimous that any talk about alleged changes in the U.S. stand is altogether groundless. Its purpose is to split the ranks of the Arab and Palestinian liberation movement, by producing among unstable elements inclined to conciliation illusions concerning the possibility of attaining the Palestinian people's national goals with the aid of U.S. imperialism, so suggesting that it is inexpedient to concentrate their fire against U.S. policy in the region. This talk is also aimed to encourage the capitulationists in the Arab ranks, who keep saying that the key to a settlement is in the hands of the United States, which is why its favorable attitude needs to be secured by any means.

U.S. imperialism, Awwad emphasized, has led and continues to lead the plot against the Arab national-liberation movement. It was the chief architect of the Camp David deal, and the inspirer and accomplice of Sadat's treachery. The United States has not repudiated Camp David or the project for establishing an 'autonomous administration' on the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel. It still refuses to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and has flatly rejected the idea of an independent Palestinian state. It is only the tremendous U.S. military-political assistance that has enabled Israel to retain the Arab lands it has seized, to colonize them and to mount ceaseless aggressive acts against neighboring states.

In this context, Kamel pointed to the great danger of the attempts by reactionary and right-wing forces to distract attention from U.S. imperialism as the arch-enemy of the Arab national-liberation movement, to ignore and sever the close organic connection between it and the Zionist state of Israel, and to reduce the whole matter to the personality of the traitor Sadat. These forces, while maintaining and even strengthening the relations with the United States, especially in the commercial and financial sphere, confine themselves to verbal attacks on Israel and, since Camp David, on Sadat. This approach was also reflected in the decisions of the Baghdad summit, which did not contain anything that was directed against U.S., notably oil, interests

in the region. The point is, speakers emphasized, that it is impossible to frustrate the plot of imperialism, Zionism and reaction without active resistance to U.S. policy, without undermining the economic, political, military and ideological positions of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

The participants in the discussion devoted much attention to the stand on the Palestinian problem taken by the West European states and by the social democratic parties of Western Europe which constitute the core of the Socialist International. Mdanat drew attention to the fact that hints about a 'new role' for Western Europe and the European Economic Community in the Middle East conflict began to appear simultaneously with attempts to substantiate a 'change' in the U.S. stance. But there is no hard evidence of such a change. Can one speak of a change in the stand of the Socialist International, when Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, the leader of the Austrian socialists, who is usually referred to in this context, gave only the most general mention to the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in his speech in the United Nations, without having come out clearly in support of its right to set up an independent national state?

Awwad said that the West European countries, while declaring their support for a just settlement of the Palestinian problem, in effect regard Camp David as a fait accompli and as a step toward the establishment of peace. They assert that there is a need to go on moving along the Camp David way, that is, to try to involve the Palestinians as well in the negotiations between the United States, Egypt and Israel.¹ The promises about the prospects for solving the Palestinian problem are invariably accompanied by statements about the need for 'moderation' and 'struggle against the extremists.' Thus Kreisky said that there were 'many communists among the Palestinians,' and then went on to emphasize that those who 'take a moderate stand' should be involved in the negotiations. The real purpose of these moves is to split the Palestinian ranks, to pit various Palestinian contingents against one another, and ultimately to undermine the Palestinian national movement as a whole.

In Saletan's opinion, many of the acts taken by the states and social democratic parties of Western Europe are covertly inspired by U.S. imperialism. There is a definite allocation of roles. The United States lays stress on the cajoling of Jordan in an effort to wrest it from the front of pan-Arab solidarity, to give up support for at least the minimum level of the accord that has been reached at Baghdad. Simultaneously, through the parties of the Socialist International, the United States seeks to influence the PLO in order to induce it to depart from the struggle against the Camp David deal and Sadat's treachery. The purpose here is to weaken the resistance faced by the Camp David alliance, to isolate Syria and subsequently to force it to capitulate, and ultimately to inflict a blow on the liberation movement in the whole Arab world.

Joining in the discussion of this question, Albert Farhat said that there was good reason for the

dangerous acts of the West European countries and the Socialist International parties. One should consider the time and the conditions in which these acts were first carried out. Are they not a reflection of the impasse into which the efforts of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East have run?

The social democrats and the communists are divided by very deep ideological differences. But the presence of the common threat from the most aggressive imperialist circles creates the possibility for their joint action in the international arena. This is exemplified by the meeting between a working group of the Socialist International on disarmament problems with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders.

One cannot, of course, regard the Socialist International as a reliable ally. One must have no illusions that it will be able to play the crucial role in a Middle East settlement and in the solution of the Palestinian problem. But it is not right either to see everything everywhere as expressions of a plot, Farhat said.

There have been many instances in modern history, Mdanat said, when U.S. imperialism, the striking force and outpost of world imperialism, has been forced to retreat. But it has never made concessions voluntarily. It has retreated only in defeat. Imperialism, Zionism, and reaction have started a fierce offensive against the Arab peoples and the liberation movement. This offensive has naturally come out against resistance and rebuffs, but it has not suffered a defeat. That being so, is it right to talk about a retreat of U.S. imperialism, and also of the imperialist states of Western Europe and the Socialist International parties, which act as a reserve of world imperialism and are frequently used by it for its purposes? Of course, not. That is why continued vigilance with respect to the moves by the West European powers and the Socialist International parties is justified and necessary.

The participants in the discussion reaffirmed their parties' assessment that U.S. imperialism is Enemy Number One of the Arab, including the Palestinian, national-liberation movement. They emphasized the importance of using any inter-imperialist contradictions in the interests of the Arabs' just cause. But it is altogether wrong and extremely harmful in practical political terms to present this as an alternative to stepping up the liberation struggle in all its forms, and to strengthening and developing the natural strategic alliance of the fighters for liberation with the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries.

Feasibility of program, unity of ranks

In the course of the discussion, much attention was given to the question of why the moves of imperialism, Zionism and reaction against the Palestinian national movement have run into an impasse. And this is a situation which cannot in any sense be regarded as unfavorable for the forces of national liberation in the Arab world.

Just as the destiny of the Arab people of Palestine

is closely connected with that of all the other Arab peoples, so its struggle for a restoration of its legitimate and inalienable national rights is a component part of the common liberation struggle. The Palestinian national movement is exerting a great influence on the Arab anti-imperialist movement as a whole, on the situation in all the Arab countries, and on the conditions in which the progressive patriotic forces have to fight. Omar Ali-Fassi said that the Palestinian problem also has an influence on the situation in his country, Morocco, despite its relative remoteness from the Arab East and the actual zone of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Lebanese representative emphasized that over a period of more than 30 years it has invariably had a revolutionizing effect, helping to deepen the anti-imperialist content of the Arab peoples' liberation movement and acting as a factor radicalizing the political and socio-economic transformations in the Arab countries since 1948.

Nor is this surprising. After all, it is specific to the Palestinian people's struggle that it has to fight against the bluntest and most savage forms of colonialism and occupation, against wild anti-Arab Zionist chauvinism, and against gross attempts to cast doubt on the very fact of the national existence of the Palestinian Arabs and to deprive them of the right to a homeland and the establishment of a state of their own. The Arab people of Palestine are in direct confrontation with imperialism and Zionism, its product, which Farhat described as an expansionist, racist movement, with a special role in the destiny of the Arab world as an instrument of neo-colonialism in Asia and Africa.

To this day, the plot against the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine has not yielded the desired results, Mdanat said, primarily because in contrast to the situation after the 1948 disaster, the struggle for national liberation has been taken up by broad masses of Palestinians as their own cause. They reject tutelage from the forces seeking to deprive them of the right to take independent political decisions. The Palestinian national movement has become a movement of the whole people. It is led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has been recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine and which in that capacity has won broad international recognition. It has won prestige because of its steadfastness in the struggle, because it is truly national and patriotic, and because all the Palestinian masses are rallied round it. The latter was demonstrated most unequivocally when the Arab population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip resolutely rejected every attempt to isolate it from the PLO.

What is highly important, speakers noted, is that, compared with 1948, the political program of the Palestinian national movement has undergone radical change: it has become much more mature and realistic. The time has passed when extremist declarations about the need to solve the Palestinian problem by 'driving the Jews into the sea' and liberating the lands 'from the river to the sea'⁴ provided fuel for Zionist propaganda. The new and

much more constructive approach⁵ helped world opinion to become more aware of the fact that the Palestinians do not demand anything unacceptable and that, on the contrary, their demands in the present situation are reasonable and can be met. Speakers noted in this context that in the recent period the PLO was also recognized by a number of West European countries, a new and important positive element in the development of the Middle East situation.

The strengthening of the unity of the Palestinian ranks is a key condition of success in their struggle. Only if it is united, can the Palestinian people mobilize all its forces and potentialities, give a resolute rebuff to the acts of the imperialist-Zionist adversary, and secure the realization of its legitimate and just national aspirations. There is a need, Al-Fassi said, to avoid contradictions and conflicts on secondary issues, by putting what is main and basic over and above what is superficial and insignificant. In this connection, speakers pointed to the great importance of the January 1979 session of the Palestine National Council, which adopted a program for national Palestinian unity.

Being an organic component of the Arab national-liberation movement, the Palestinian national movement has a direct stake in the utmost strengthening of cooperation and coordination of action with the progressive patriotic forces in the Arab world consistently backing the Palestinians in their just struggle.

In the present situation, much importance is attached to the solid alliance between the Palestinian national movement and the Lebanese patriotic movement, because the main bases of the Palestinian resistance movement are now located on the territory of Lebanon. Shoulder to shoulder with the fighters of the Palestinian contingents, Lebanese patriots and democrats have been beating back attacks by right-wing fascist-isolationist armed formations and the Israeli aggressor. The combat unity of the forces of the Lebanese patriotic movement and the Palestinian resistance movement served as a shield for the PRM in the civil war which flared up in the Lebanon and in the conditions of unceasing Israeli aggression.

Special attention was also given to the relations between the Palestinian national movement and the progressive patriotic regime in Syria. The attempts to remove the Palestinian problem from the agenda are now directed precisely against that country and its consistent line of rebuffing the imperialist-Zionist schemes in the Middle East and the capitulationist plans for an American-style settlement.

The Palestinian national movement is on the side of Egypt's progressive, patriotic forces, and regards itself as their ally. The Palestinians are aware that one of the goals of the traitor Sadat and those who have cleared the way for him was to deal a blow at these forces.

The communists play a prominent role in many sectors of the struggle, above all in the occupied territories. They are the most steadfast and consis-

tent champions of the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, whose victory will also be their own victory. Mdanat cited the example of the activity of the Palestinian communist organization in the West Bank, a branch of the Jordanian Communist Party. He specifically mentioned its work within the Palestinian National Front, a mass political organization set up in August 1973. On it are represented various organizations and forces: Al-Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and progressive patriotic leaders, including the mayors of several cities. The communists have a leading place within the front.

In Lebanon, communists are taking part, shoulder to shoulder with the resistance fighters, in the mass armed struggle, demonstrating their combat and ideological and political steadfastness in the most difficult sectors. The participation of the Syrian Communist Party in the activity of the Progressive National Front is a significant contribution to the common cause.

The stand taken by the overwhelming majority of Palestinian organizations on the persecution of the Iraqi Communist Party in its own country, provides an example of solidarity and cooperation between Palestinian liberation fighters and the communists of the Arab countries, Awwad said. These organizations sided with the Iraqi communists and offered asylum and various support to many of them who were forced to leave their country.

The strengthening and development of ties between the Palestinian national movement and the communists of the Arab countries create the conditions for enhancing their role in the struggle for a just solution of the Palestinian problem and meeting the legitimate national demands of the Arab people of Palestine.

It was said in the course of the discussion that the Palestinian national movement, which needs allies both for its consolidation and for attaining final victory, has been growing and gaining in strength by moving closer to other forces of the world revolutionary process. Of fundamental importance for the movement here is the utmost strengthening of various forms of cooperation with its natural ally: the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community states, because without their support it could not have withstood the direct attack from the united front of the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. That is why such a great danger is posed by the attempts to contrast the slogan of a strategic alliance with the socialist countries with other alternatives, or the attempts to regard the socialist states only as a source of material assistance and suppliers of arms.

The participants in the discussion said that all the achievements of the Palestinian national movement have resulted from the persevering and dedicated struggle by the Arab people of Palestine over the decades, the steadfastness of the Palestinian Resistance Movement, the masses of people in the occupied territories, the all-round and growing assistance from the allies of the Palestinian liberation fighters, primarily the Soviet Union and

the other countries of the socialist community. But although these achievements are incontestable, they are still only tactical, and have not developed into a strategic success, into a decisive victory over the imperialist-Zionist adversary.

Obstacle to success

Why has it been impossible up to now finally to frustrate the plot by the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and to take the decisive step toward a real solution of the Palestinian problem taking into account the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab people of Palestine?

Speakers were unanimous in the view that the root cause lay in the crisis of the Arab national-liberation movement. Farhat said that according to the conclusions drawn by the Fourth Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party, this crisis is essentially a crisis of leadership of the movement, a crisis of the monopolization of leadership by representatives of the petty bourgeoisie.

The progressive patriotic forces of the Arab world, including the ruling regimes taking an anti-imperialist stand, are not yet capable of uniting their ranks, wrenching the initiative from the hands of reaction and putting an end to its offensive. Adib Dimityr emphasized that the main thing that has enabled the Camp David deal to evade a total fiasco for such a long time, that has enabled Sadat and his ilk to conduct with impunity the ignominious and treacherous line is the incapability displayed by the national-patriotic authorities in the Arab countries to give a fitting rebuff to the plotters.

The progressive Arab forces are still divided, noted Al-Fassi, and there are contradictions between their contingents which are not always based on principle. These forces have yet to work out a sufficiently clear-cut common political line, to define the concrete tasks for the near future and the long term, and to formulate the relevant slogans that could rouse broad masses of people to action.

The weakness of the Arab national-liberation movement has an influence on the Palestinian national movement. With the present unfavorable alignment of forces in the Arab world, it is an illusion to hope for a truly just settlement of the Palestinian problem. To achieve such a settlement, there is a need above all to overcome the crisis of the Arab national-liberation movement.

Speakers said that the struggle to ensure and extend democracy in the Arab countries is an important aspect of these efforts. It is the policy of curtailing and suppressing democratic rights and freedoms that was one of the causes of the 1967 defeat, which started the crisis in the Arab national-liberation movement. The fact that masses of people, the progressive patriotic forces, parties and organizations cannot exercise their democratic rights does irreparable harm to the struggle to do away with the aftermath of the Israeli aggression, to liberate the occupied territories, to secure a just solution of the Palestinian problem, and to establish lasting peace in the Middle East. It is impossible to

defeat the imperialist-Zionist adversary without the active and direct support of the masses.

At the same time, recalled Kamel, after 1967, in the face of a rising tide of popular resistance to the aggressor and literally millions of volunteers flocking to the recruitment centers, even Nasser, undoubtedly an outstanding national leader, dissolved the armed resistance organizations in Egypt, so dampening down the mass élan. He held that it was up to the army to fight for liberation, and up to the people to work in production, and so in fact kept the broad masses from actual participation in the battle. Clarifying his idea, the speaker said: it is not a matter of substituting mass action for the regular army; but it is not right to regard the struggle against the adversary only as a task for the military, a task which the masses of people have nothing to do with.

The basis on which Sadat was able to commit his act of treachery, Mdanat said, was the absence of democracy in Egypt. The tragic events in Iraq, where repression was directed against the communists, who cooperated in the National Progressive Front with the ruling Baath Party, and against other democrats, also resulted from the absence of democracy. This could happen again in other Arab countries unless a persevering struggle is carried on to ensure democratic freedoms. This struggle strengthens the front of the progressive patriotic forces in each Arab country and on the scale of the whole Arab world.

At the same time, it is possible and necessary to insist on an extension of democracy within the Palestinian movement itself, within the PLO, on the need to have all the militant Palestinian forces, including the communists, represented on all its organs, especially, the Executive Committee. For a long time now, the Jordanian Communist Party has been working for this end. If the communists were represented on the Executive Committee, this would certainly narrow down the opportunities for moves by right-wing elements. On the other hand, it would help to do away with the suspicious attitude to the communists which one still finds even in the ranks of the patriotic forces in the Arab countries.

The participants in the discussion expressed profound concern over the crisis in the Arab national-liberation movement which has a negative effect on the Palestinians in realizing their just and noble goals. Conversely, unification in this struggle of all the progressive patriotic forces, both among the Palestinians and in the Arab world generally, and strengthening of relations with their natural allies — the Soviet Union and the other socialist states — create more favorable conditions for overcoming the crisis of the movement.

Contending trends

It was said in the course of the discussion that the Palestinian national movement reflects not only the basic contradiction between the Arab people's liberation struggle and the policy of imperialism in the Middle East, but also the class contradictions inherent in the Arab world. This creates the basis

for the contest of various trends within the movement involving social sections and groups which have a different class nature.

One such trend is the extremist deviation which, behind a screen of 'leftist' talk, has refused to set any real goals in the struggle and has reduced it to a single form, armed acts, which are frequently terrorist. Its spokesmen reject the idea of an independent Palestinian state on the territories liberated from the Israeli invaders, oppose political and diplomatic activity in the international arena and deny the need to cooperate with the progressive forces of Israel. All of this prevents a further rise in the Palestinian people's struggle and does it grave harm.

While stressing the need most resolutely to overcome this trend, speakers noted that the extremists are being weakened by the strengthening of the positions of the constructive forces in the Palestinian national movement. In this context, Awwad said that the Rejection Front⁶ is now actually no more than a name. Characteristically, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which had been a part of it and which had declared its withdrawal from the PLO Executive Committee, has now applied for readmission.

The other trend is right-capitulationist. Mdanat, agreeing with Farhat's view that as the contradictions between the Arab people of Palestine and the imperialist-Zionist bloc are acute and irreconcilable, the Palestinian bourgeoisie's possibilities for maneuvering were objectively narrower than those of the bourgeoisie in other Arab countries, said that this did not mean that it had no such opportunities at all. Some of its strata and spokesmen have shown an inclination to make a deal with imperialism, and their attempts to maneuver may assume the most diverse forms. Thus, after the conclusion of the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli 'peace' treaty, some Palestinians suggested that these were acceptable. Moreover, some, like the mayor of Gaza Rashad al-Shawa or the mayor of Bethlehem Ilias Frej, announced their readiness to join in the negotiations on the establishment of an 'autonomous administration.' It is true that they were later forced to repudiate such statements under powerful pressure from the Palestinian masses and the progressive patriotic forces, which unanimously condemned Sadat's traitorous and capitulationist line.

Conciliatory trends have also been in evidence within the PLO itself. One of its leaders tried, at a meeting with the West Bank mayors, to induce them to collaborate with persons like Rashad al-Shawa and Ilias Frej. The existence of such trends will also be seen from the attempts — with the growth of the PLO's international recognition — to confine its activity to the political and diplomatic field.

In view of the tough stand taken by Israel's Zionist rulers, who flatly reject even the consideration of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state, some circles have once

again started to talk about the possibility of returning to the project for a United Arab Kingdom in some form.⁷ The problem is posed as follows: what is better for the West Bank Palestinians: life under Israel's administration or under the Jordanian monarchy?

Speakers emphasized that there is no question here at all of any 'preference' for this or that type of national oppression. There is a need not to choose 'the best' oppressor, but firmly and consistently to stand up in defense of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Considering the dangers arising from the use of the Palestinian problem to fan nationalism, Kamel said that it was not only progressive patriotic but also right-wing, conservative and even reactionary forces that sided with the Palestinian national movement. They are doing so under pressure from the masses and public opinion in each country and in the Arab world as a whole, but also in the light of their own interests. By bringing the Palestinian problem to the fore, they want to divert attention from the social struggle in their own countries and to get a free hand in conducting their line against those who want a change of the existing social system. In the same way, the right-wing and reactionary forces seek to justify their repression, the maintenance of the state of emergency and the curbs on democracy, thereby receiving dividends from nationalism, if one could put it that way.

The participants in the discussion agreed that the right-capitulationist trend now presents the main danger and pointed to the need for the most uncompromising struggle against it. At the same time, they stressed that the healthy patriotic trend undoubtedly prevails within the Palestinian national movement, that it is led by forces which on the whole take a progressive and consistently anti-imperialist stand, and that it is the vanguard combat contingent of the Arab national-liberation movement.

Preparing the future victory

The participants in the discussion also considered the ways and means for enhancing the communists' role in the national-liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, including the people of Palestine. They accentuated the need for a creative approach to working out a positive position resting on an in-depth study of the fundamental problems of the national-liberation movement, and of the place and role in it of the working class and its parties.

In this context, Farhat urged the need for a critical evaluation by the communists of their positions, stressing that a study of the concrete political situation alone, without an elaboration of strategic problems could — and this is most dangerous — make the communists' participation in tackling current issues qualitatively inadequate and limited.

Among the key problems requiring such an approach was above all the problem of strategy and tactics of the communist parties on class and political alliances.

Dimitry said that the question of alliances became

especially acute after the June 1967 aggression, which showed the inability of the progressive patriotic regimes in the Arab countries to stand up to the imperialist-Zionist adversary. At that time, the slogan of Arab solidarity was directly embodied in the convocation of the Khartoum summit meeting in August-September 1976.

This was not, of course, a mistake in tactical terms. The meeting yielded important positive results within the limits of the potentialities which existed after such a grave defeat. However, because strategic problems were not considered in adequate depth, the slogan of Arab solidarity was used to smuggle in ideas of a coalescence with Arab reaction and these ultimately led to Sadat's betrayal. These ideas were not met with sufficient resistance because of the absence of any mature counter-concepts. There were only the most general formulas like 'protracted liberation war,' 'struggle arms in hand,' etc.

By now, Kamel said, such ideas have, in effect, taken shape as a full-fledged action program enjoying the support of sufficiently influential forces in various Arab countries. Among these forces one will also find once progressive-minded intellectuals who, while urging 'realistic' thinking, are engaged in spreading illusions about the possibility of Arab reaction switching to anti-imperialist positions and even persistently advertising Saudi Arabia's role as the leader of the Arab national-liberation movement. An example is offered by Lufti el-Kholi's articles in the journal *Al Watan al Araby*.

In face of the dangerous plot, conceived and implemented by the Camp David alliance, the problem of Arab solidarity, Dimitry said, becomes even more important. The Baghdad summit meeting was marked by solidarity. From the tactical standpoint one has to recognize that its decisions were limited. But one should not lose sight of the fact that at the meeting attempts were made to prevent any far-reaching steps and to impede the radicalization of the Arab positions.

Arab patriots now have to operate in a very complicated situation. On the one hand, the dangerous offensive by imperialism, Zionism and reaction and the growing fascist threat increase the need to establish fronts and alliances of the broadest spectrum of political and class forces. But the differentiation and polarization of these forces is simultaneously intensified. To determine the line of action in these conditions, there is a need to comprehend and elaborate creatively the problem of the allies of the working class and the communist movement. Attention was also drawn to the importance of a more profound study of the socio-historical nature and class substance of international Zionism. Up to now, the progressive forces in the Arab world laid stress on exposing the aggressive practices of Zionism and showing the organic ties between the state

of Israel and imperialism. But a sizable part of world public opinion still has some sympathy for the present-day Zionist movement, being under the impression of the memories of the savage persecution of the Jews in the fascist period. This creates definite difficulties in winning over world public opinion for the Arab peoples' just cause. It is all the more necessary to expose the real roots of Zionism and to bare its true substance as a movement representing one of the forms of racism, which makes it akin to fascism.

There is a need, Mdanat remarked, to continue the exposure of China's subversive anti-Arab acts in the Middle East. That is not to say, of course, that China enjoys great influence in the Arab world or that many contingents of the Arab national-liberation movement are oriented upon it. Not at all. But there are still some illusions about Peking's policy with respect to the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples in general and the people of Palestine in particular. That is why it is necessary to expose the reactionary pro-imperialist substance of the Chinese leadership's line, and its hostility to all forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Summing up the exchange of views, its participants emphasized that, despite the danger of a plot threatening the Arab people of Palestine, it can be thwarted. Evidence of this is provided by the remarkable victories scored by the revolutionary and national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa over the recent period. Unity of the progressive patriotic forces, their steadfastness in the struggle, and their solid alliance with world socialism and all the other democratic forces are a reliable guarantee of victory over the united front of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

1. Egypt established its administrative control over the Gaza Strip. — Ed.

2. A narrow strip of territory in the south of Lebanon controlled by troops under the command of Saad Haddad, a former major of the Lebanese army, who has proclaimed a 'state' of his own in the area. Haddad's units operate in direct contact and collaboration with the Israeli army and are actually being supplied by it.

3. The results of the EEC summit in Venice in June 1980 made no difference to this assessment. Their declaration on the Middle East was seen by the PLO and progressive Arab countries as support for Camp David.

4. Meaning the Jordan and the Mediterranean — Ed.

5. Thus, the political program of the Palestinian Resistance Movement adopted at the 12th session of the Palestine National Council, recorded the principle of the need to establish a Palestinian national entity on territories freed from the Israeli occupation as the aggressor pulls out its troops from the occupied Arab lands. — Ed.

6. Founded in 1974 after the 12th session of the Palestinian National Council. — Ed.

7. Put forward in March 1972. It provided for the unification of the West Bank and Trans-Jordan under the Hashimite monarchy. — Ed.

Capitalism on the eve of new upheavals

A SURVEY OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TWO CRISES

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the 1929-33 economic crisis, the *WMR* Commission on Class Struggle in Developed Capitalist Countries held an international symposium in Prague for a comparative analysis of the major capitalist crises of the 1930s and the 1970s. The participants in the symposium examined the specific features of the current cycle from the standpoint of the prospects for its development, gave a critical assessment of the anti-crisis policies of the monopolies and the bourgeois state; and discussed the specific impact of crisis phenomena on the conditions of the class struggle and the tasks before the communists.

Among the speakers at the symposium were Marxist scientists: *Ben Fine*, member of the Economic Commission of the CPGB Executive Committee, Great Britain; *Dr. Max Schmidt*, Director of the Institute of International Politics and Economics, GDR; *Giancarlo Olmeda* of the Center for Economic Policy Studies, Italy; Professor *Alexander Galkin*, D. Sc. (Hist.), department head at the Institute of the International Working Class Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR; *Jean Louis Gombaud*, a functionary of the FCP CC, France; *Jörg Goldberg* of the Institute of Marxist Studies at Frankfurt-on-Main, FRG; *Vaclav Zofa* and *Vaclav Sedivec*, Assistant Professors at the Higher Party School under the CPCz Central Committee, Czechoslovakia. The symposium was also attended by several representatives of fraternal parties on *WMR*.

Their speeches are presented below in abridged form and grouped according to the key problems discussed.

Two crises: the general and the specific

The great stock-market crash in New York on October 29, 1929, was the first cataclysm of the gravest cyclical crisis. After the Second World War, and especially in the 1950s and the 1960s, many bourgeois politicians and ideologists sought to stamp out from the public memory any recollection of the crisis, along with the fact that generally crisis upheavals in the capitalist economy are law-governed. But life showed these constructs to be pseudo-scientific. The 1974-75 crisis, despite the fundamental distinctions in the historical, political and economic situation, had many features that were reminiscent of the Great Depression. It proved to be the longest, deepest, gravest and most exten-

sive economic upheaval since the 1929-33 period.

The GDR Institute of International Political and Economic Studies has calculated that at the most acute phase of the crisis in the mid-1970s, industrial output in the developed capitalist countries shrank by an average of 11.6 per cent (United States — 13.8; FRG — 12.3; Japan — 22.8; Great Britain — 11.2; France — 16.3; and Italy — 19.3 per cent). The crisis variously hit all the capitalist countries and all the sectors of the economy. The fold-up of industrial production continued for an average of 12 months, and the crisis processes in some industries for several years, partially being in evidence even today.

Because the crisis flared up simultaneously in the chief imperialist countries there was, for the first time in three decades, a decline in world capitalist trade (in 12 months of the crisis exports on the whole dropped by 7.2 per cent and imports by 11.6 per cent). There was a sharp growth of unemployment. Under the impact of the snowballing growth of the prices of oil, mineral raw materials and foodstuffs (from 1970 to 1975, respectively, 551, 394 and 119 per cent) the processes of capital reproduction were substantially disrupted. State-monopoly measures proved to be incapable of checking the haphazardly operating forces of the capitalist economy. In 1974-1975, economic crisis phenomena also had a faster and more immediate effect on the political sphere than ever before.

Because the major crises of the 1930s and the 1970s, *Schmidt* said, sprang from contradictions which are organic to capitalism, a comparative analysis of these two upheavals of the social system based on economic exploitation and social oppression helps to bring out some identical elements in their prerequisites, development and consequences. Both broke out after a period of economic upswing in most capitalist countries and took the form of a protracted and deep decline in production, led to mass unemployment, effected a break in the subsequent development of the economic cycle, produced the need for comprehensive structural reforms, and showed up the incompetence of bourgeois economics.

Of crucial importance for the subsequent stage in the development of the capitalist economy, *Zofa* and *Sedivec* said, was that the Great Depression had not been merely another capitalist crisis of reproduction. Under the impact of the overall changes in the reproduction of social capital, which were in evidence between the two world wars, the cycle was modified. Thus, by the end of the 1920s, cyclical crises in the developed capitalist countries assumed a scale which made it necessary to stimulate the market mechanism by means of government intervention in economic processes.

The economic crash which marked the end of that period provided the starting point for the accelerated development of monopoly capital into state-monopoly capital. That was when the prerequisites were created for the further modification of cycles, and this ultimately led to the upheavals of the mid-1970s. The 1974-75 crisis being the result of capitalism's entry into the qualitatively new stage, it became a milestone like the cyclical over-production crisis of the 1930s.

However, participants in the discussion said, in order to discover the origins of the crisis it is not enough to analyze the purely economic factors alone. Of much importance are the trends in global political development and the level and intensity of the class contest. There is no doubt at all that it is the radical change in the conditions in which imperialism has had to exist over the past half-century, under the influence of the strengthening positions of world socialism that predetermined the specific features of the 1974-75 crisis, which distinguish it from the Great Depression:

— Imperialism has lost its monopoly position in international relations. Its political and economic positions have been largely undermined. The practice of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems has curbed the ability of imperialism to seek solution to its internal contradictions in armed conflicts, including inter-imperialist conflicts.

— The actual elimination of the colonial system has determined the gradual loss by imperialism of its control over the chief sources of raw and energy resources and deprived the leading capitalist countries of the possibility of dictating prices in the world market.

— The growing internationalization of the capitalist economy and the emergence of a new form like the transnational concerns produced new forces of contradictions which are mainly focussed on the contest between the three centers of imperialist rivalry: the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

— The arms race and militarization of the economy tend increasingly to sharpen the economic and political problems of capitalism.

— The monopoly methods of using the results of the scientific and technological revolution compound the effect of the main contradiction of capitalism and generate new hotbeds of socio-economic conflict.

— The economic and political struggle of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries has assumed extensive proportions, has become sharper and more effective, narrowing down the possibilities for switching on to the shoulders of the working people the burdens of the crisis and efforts to emerge from it.

Referring to the present situation in the United States, John Pittman (CPUSA) showed the harmful effect of the military-industrial complex on the country's socio-economic life. The ugly nature of state-monopoly capitalism in the United States and the acuteness of the crisis phenomena in the mid-

1970s, and also the dark prospects for the 1980s, he said, were predetermined above all by the world's highest level of militarization in the United States, a level which bears no comparison with that of the 1930s. That should be seen as one of the main reasons why crises were more frequent in the United States since the Second World War than in any other capitalist country.

Some say that arms expenditures stimulate production activity and so help to increase employment. But, the experience of the United States shows, that is a temporary factor, and its effect is rapidly nullified by the reduction in civilian consumption as a result of the increase in taxes and prices for the purposes of financing the arms drive.

In the postwar decades, the process of monopolization in industry has been so accelerated that not more than 100 giant monopolies account for one-half of business activity in the United States. At the same time, the concentration of capital in the banking sphere is accelerated. The financial oligarchy, represented by 20 leading banks, now controls dozens of corporations, including giant agro-industrial complexes. The leading banks have assets running to hundreds of billions of dollars. Resorting to financial pressure, the banks secure the merger of large numbers of enterprises which are not in any way connected with each other into industrial conglomerates, thereby securing monopoly control over the economy.

There is also the effect on the economic cycle exerted by super-exploitation based on national and racial oppression. In the United States, its victims come to nearly one-fifth of the population. The monopolies make billions of dollars in additional profits on the differentials in wages and working and living conditions available to non-white and white Americans. It is easier for capital to attack the social and economic rights of all the working people in the presence of a large army of cheaper manpower deprived of all rights.

Analyzing the factors which made for the unusual sharpness of the crisis of the mid-1970s, and the non-specific form of its development, as compared with that of the 1930s, the participants in the symposium closely examined two phenomena which are new for the world capitalist economy: the weakening of the dollar's role as a reserve currency, a process which has been under way since the first half of the previous decade, and the sharp increase in the prices of oil since the second half of 1973. Speakers gave different interpretations of these phenomena, but they all emphasized their profound and long-term impact on the economic outlook in the world capitalist system.

The U.S. decision in the summer of 1971 to end the exchange of dollars into gold, *Olmeda* recalled, led to a virtual break-up of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates set up in 1944. This, in a sense, sanctioned the devaluation of the dollar and marked the beginning of its decline as a reserve currency.

The depreciation of the dollar is the direct outcome of the difficulties under which the U.S.

economy has been laboring. A low level of investments led, in particular, to a situation in which the competitiveness of U.S. goods on the world markets was undermined. Seeking to expand exports by reducing the cost of imports, Washington was forced to devalue the dollar.

The marked decline in the U.S. gold stock was also an important factor. Finally, the outflow of dollars was also stimulated by their use to cover the balance-of-payments deficit which had markedly increased owing to the expenditures on the war of aggression in Vietnam.

Analyzing the effects of the crisis of the dollar, J.L. Gombot drew attention to its active use by West German banks which benefit from speculation on the difference between market quotations. It is true that the FRG government's policy is aimed at supporting the dollar, but West German capitalism as a whole has to pay a high price for this, which is why Bonn politicians were among those who insisted on the establishment of a West European monetary system in order to share out the burden of supporting the dollar among all the capitalist countries of Europe. One should not exclude the prospect of the dollar being gradually ousted from the position of dominant currency by the West German mark or some other currency.

However, Schmidt expressed the view that one could hardly expect the dollar to lose completely its role of reserve currency in the near future. The fact is that the other currencies are simply incapable of substituting for it. Besides, hardly any capitalist country is now prepared to assume such a function, in view of the tremendous difficulties that this could produce for its external economic efforts.

The West European countries' attitude to the dollar, Bert Ramelson (CPGB) said, is determined by the fact that, having accumulated vast amounts in dollars, they would all have to suffer tremendous losses in the event of its collapse. But their support for the dollar is very peculiar. The main thing for them is gradually to whittle down the dollar basis of their own foreign exchange reserves. At the same time, Ramelson voiced his disagreement with the view that the dollar could not be replaced by the currency of another capitalist country whose economy will prove to be stronger.

The participants in the discussion reached the conclusion that the establishment of the European monetary system sprang from the urge to prevent the depreciation of the foreign exchange reserves of the European capitalist countries and to enable them gradually to get rid of their dollar reserves. At the same time Washington's partners seek to avert a final collapse of the international monetary system which could have the most undesirable consequences for the capitalist world at a time when international trade is not confined to trade between a handful of major exporters, on the one hand, and all the other states — importers — on the other. In our days every industrialized country is simultaneously an exporter and an importer, and this makes the stability of the international medium of exchange exceptionally important.

There was then a consideration of the impact on the overall economic outlook by the sharp growth in the world prices of raw materials, notably oil. This has led to serious upheavals in the economy of all the capitalist countries and has engendered long-term factors which have an effect on the specific features of the current economic cycle.

The growth of prices for oil products, Olmeda said, enabled the developing countries within OPEC to make up in a fairly short time their losses arising from the gap between the low prices of liquid fuel and the high cost of their imports from the developed capitalist countries, a gap that had been growing since the Second World War. But the sharp increase in the price of oil fell as a heavy burden both on the developing countries and on developed capitalist countries without oil resources of their own.

The oil problem, Gombot said, is an important one in the ideological struggle under way in France over the causes of the economic crisis. Spokesmen for the ruling class claim that the OPEC countries are to blame for its origin. But the economic difficulties did not emerge in 1973, i.e., not after the increase in the price of oil, but much earlier, back in the 1960s.

The whole point is that the transnationals intend to use the new prices to get oil consumers to shoulder the burden of their losses in the developing countries. Is it, after all, not a fact that four-fifths of the oil extracted in the OPEC countries is marketed by the U.S. corporations? Consequently, the developed capitalist countries' deficit in their trade with the oil producing countries is, in fact, a deficit in deals with the oil monopolies, which have been making vast profits and which use the raw-materials crises for establishing the market prices they want, and frequently cause such crises artificially.

Fine sharply criticized the bourgeois economists and politicians who were trying to intimidate the public by claiming that the oil-exporting countries' vast revenues enable them to destabilize the world capitalist financial system and cause 'economic chaos.' In view of the available natural resources, there is, in fact, no shortage of raw materials. The present difficulties are rooted in the fact that oil and other raw materials are produced under the capitalist social relations, which are based on the profit motive, on capital's insatiable urge to control natural resources.

One general conclusion was that it was wrong to try to reduce the causes of the crisis to the growth of oil prices. These lie much deeper and are of a fundamental nature. Oil prices are important, but they add up to only one factor behind the economic difficulties of the developed capitalist countries. The OPEC countries' stand should be seen as a first major step by states, once sources of cheap raw materials, toward an irreversible change in the nature of their relations with the developed capitalist countries.

There was a lively exchange of views on the role of over-accumulation of capital in cyclical

development. In France, for instance, Gombot said, since the mid-1960s, fixed capital has been growing at an extremely fast rate, and this has brought about unfavorable changes in the organic composition of capital which determines the rate of profit. The mass of capital has increased to such an extent that it has become impossible to find reliable ways of ensuring its profitability. An analysis of capital over-accumulation, he said, helps to bring out the stages in the development of capitalist production and also the causes which impel monopoly capital to make structural reforms.

Goldberg agreed that crisis processes could in principle be explained in the light of the important economic process of capital accumulation, but gave facts to show that in the FRG there is a trend toward a decline in the cost of the means of production in some technologically developed industries under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, and this improves the organic composition of capital. That is why it would be wrong to take the absolute view that the crisis springs exclusively from the over-accumulation of capital. Crises, including cyclical crises, result from a host of contradictions. One should not forget about spheres like distribution, exchange and consumption, i.e., there is a need to analyze the process of reproduction in its entirety.

Olmeda also disagreed with the view that the 1970s crisis sprang only from capital over-accumulation. In his view, there was a reverse process underway in the United States. The cause of the crisis lay in the fact that instead of encouraging the growth of investments by cutbacks primarily in government spending — military spending in particular — U.S. economic strategists sharply increased the issue of dollars, and this merely went further to intensify inflation. Consequently, the 1970s recession is connected with Washington's profoundly erroneous political decisions, and not with capital over-accumulation.

In the second half of the present century, in which the conditions are totally different from those of the 1930s, Schmidt said, a special type of interlaced general and cyclical crises has begun to take shape. What was crucial there was the growing importance of chronic and frequently irreversible processes which have a predominant influence on the course of cycles. Among these are the profound structural crisis on the scale of the whole economy, chiefly in the sphere of raw materials and energy supply, and in leading industries like steel, shipbuilding, and construction, and also outside the framework of material production: in education, environmental protection, public health and social security. In this series, one could also mention the protracted disorders in economic processes due, in particular, to the sharpening competitive struggle between the imperialist powers and also the explosion of contradictions in the relations between the imperialist and developing countries. The mechanism of state-monopoly regulation, set up after the Great Depression and under its influence, has not only failed to cope with the large-scale crisis

phenomena, but has also become a factor serving to aggravate the economic difficulties, which have taken the shape of, say, inflation, a high level of public debt and acute and deep-going monetary crises.

In the mid-1970s, these factors exerted a tangible influence on the classical mechanism of the crises, producing some hitherto unknown distortions in the cycle:

— The upswing runs an uneven course and is punctuated with relapses into recession. Accordingly, once the culminating point of the crisis has been passed, the course of cyclical development in the major capitalist countries tends repeatedly and most rapidly to change.

— The boundaries between the two classical phases of the cycle — revival and upswing gradually tend to be obliterated. Whereas in the past, the phase of revival following recession and depression tended to be very short (now and again being absent altogether) with the period of marked production growth starting fairly rapidly, just now the post-crisis upswing has still failed to grow beyond the framework of what once used to be regarded as the phase of revival. Besides, some important industries continue to be in a state of crisis and stagnation.

— Not only has inflation acquired proportions unprecedented for peace time, it has become totally different. The specific thing about it is that the upward inflationary spiral is in evidence at every cyclical phase. The intertwining of the overproduction crisis and inflation is a fundamentally new phenomenon in the history of crises.

— The cyclical trends in the growth of production, investments, and foreign trade, and the intensification of other economic activity have entailed phenomena once characteristic only for the phase of acute crisis. This will be seen, for instance, from the case of unemployment, which in the post-crisis period continued to be massive and continues to grow in many countries.

— The post-crisis growth of investment activity tends to be slowed down markedly.

— The worsening conditions for the application of capital, which results in a decline in the rate of profit, induces business to use scientific and technological achievements to make production more efficient above all in forms that directly boost profits, without any concern for reducing the excess labor force. Such rationalization results not only in a reduction in the number of jobs at the enterprises being modernized, but also in an absolute reduction of employment. The scale of the process is further amplified by the haphazard application of scientific and technological achievements, without any effort to maintain proportions, and this produces structural distortions.

The combined effect of these phenomena, participants in the symposium said, prevented the mid-1970s crisis from fulfilling the 'restorative' function which its predecessors, including the Great Depression, were able to. This time traditional means of forcibly resolving the contradictions

underlying the crisis phenomena like cutbacks in production, depreciation of large masses of capital, and more intense exploitation of the working people, failed to work. None of these measures helped to improve the conditions for the use of capital following the down phase and the depression. Production and the market did not become stable. It turned out that the disproportions had not been overcome.

Some bourgeois economists refer to the fact that a comparison of the basic indicators of the 1929-33 and 1974-75 crises does not produce such a disastrous picture of the events of the mid-1970s. Indeed, at first sight, the data seem to bear out this claim. Thus, at the height of the 1930s crisis, industrial output was down 46 per cent and 26 million people were unemployed, as compared with the 11.6 per cent and 16.5 million in the 1970s.

However, a deeper analysis shows that these optimistic assessments are altogether groundless. Is it right, for instance, to forget, when considering the drop in production that in the postwar period the material content of each percentage point has greatly increased? Nor does unemployment present such a joyous picture. After all, in the 1930s it reached its peak in roughly three years. In the 1970s, it took only 12 months to put over 15 million people out of work. Besides, while unemployment disappeared fairly rapidly after the pre-war crisis, it now continues to grow.

Consequently, considering the economic indicators as an aggregate and in the light of the overall outlook, one has to agree with those who have drawn attention to the fact that the capitalist economy did not, after all, reach a post-crisis high and is once again on the downgrade. The slump which many bourgeois experts predict could turn out to be even worse than the Great Depression.

The capitalist world is gradually creeping into another crisis, whose early symptoms are in evidence in the U.S. economy. The extreme instability of the dollar's exchange rate, the unprecedented rise in the price of gold, the rise in interest rates, the growth of unemployment, the increasing pressure on paid-up demand and the aggravation of energy problems show that, contrary to the prognostications of some bourgeois economists, the crisis will hardly proceed in the relatively weak form.

Although by the beginning of 1980 the upward trend in the economy of Japan, the FRG and several other developed capitalist countries still prevailed, the tremendous weight of the United States in the capitalist economy and the interdependence of the countries in the capitalist world, which has increased immensely since the 1930s, will lead to a situation in which the fever that has gripped the U.S. economy is bound to spread to other regions.

The participants in the symposium were unanimous in the following conclusion: *the special form of interlacing of the general and cyclical crises of capitalism which emerged in the mid-1970s and which has been intensified in the second half of the 1970s marks the start of a new stage in its economic and social decline.*

'Regulation' dead ends

State-monopoly regulation, whose mechanisms were worked out after the 1929-33 crisis, is one of the central problems in the development of present-day capitalism. The participants in the symposium analyzed the reasons for which the flare-up of the world crisis was not averted in the mid-1970s, and why it proved impossible to tone it down when it broke and to pave the way for a new post-crisis upswing in the economy. That was a noteworthy phenomenon, speakers stressed, because on that occasion the incapacity of bourgeois economics and the ineffectiveness of the protective measures it proposed were most fully brought out for the first time since the Great Depression.

Fine recalled that the transformation of state-monopoly capitalism in the second half of the 1930s into an integrated system carried bourgeois economics beyond the framework of pure theory and gave it an increasingly pragmatic role.

Keynesianism should be regarded as the most consistent attempt to produce a theoretical comprehension of the consequences arising from the trend which is inherent in state-monopoly capitalism toward a socialization of production and to formulate on that basis the main elements of anti-crisis policy. This full-scale conception of a 'regulated capitalism' was named after the British bourgeois economist John Maynard Keynes, who suggested that the play of market forces should be limited through the control of the economy by the bourgeois state.

The development of capitalism in the 1950s and the 1960s was marked by faster growth of production, less pronounced cyclical fluctuations, and a shrinking of unemployment, all of which was set to bear out Keynes's ideas. At that time, many bourgeois economists altogether denied the possibility of recessions or other economic upheavals and tried to refute the Marxist model of the economic dynamic of capitalism, substituting for it a 'growth model' oriented upon long term and extensive economic growth.

But these radiant hopes of the ideologists of monopoly capital were dashed by the reality. The mid-1970s showed that a new world crisis had been sparked off chiefly by the application of Keynes's recipes (utmost increase of government spending through large-scale public works and militarization of the economy, inflationary and cyclical tax policies, curbs on wages, etc.). They failed either to support effective demand or to ensure full employment. Meanwhile, inflationary processes altogether became unbridled. The phenomenon of 'stagflation,' that is, a combination of stagnation, which produces unemployment, and inflation, which leads to a run-away-growth of prices, could not be explained by any of the Keynesian theoretical constructs. Let us bear in mind the Keynesian assertion that a reduction in unemployment is connected with a reduction in effective demand, and growth of prices, with excessive demand, that is they refer to phenomena which are not just contraries but are mutually exclusive. However, the

Keynesians cannot, of course, admit the incontrovertible fact that 'stagflation' reflects the inability of state-monopoly methods of regulation to keep the elemental sway of capitalist regulation of production in check.

Fine said that the failure of Keynesianism was exemplified by the failure of the attempt to stimulate the capitalist economy by intensifying inter-imperialist cooperation. Nor was there any substance to the assumptions that Keynes's ideas may have been ineffective on the national level but could work when applied on a global scale under the growing internationalization of the economy.

Experiments in this sphere are still being staged, but it is now generally recognized that no effective international reflationary policies can be worked out.* This is blocked by the rivalry of the capitalist states and the ever fiercer competitive fights between the transnational monopolies. That is why the more level-headed advocates of inter-state economic cooperation among the imperialist countries now prefer not to issue anything like optimistic forecasts and concentrate in their practical policies on trying to maintain the world capitalist economy, even if only at the depression level, to prevent it from falling apart.

The failure of Keynesianism, speakers said, lies in its defective premises. Let us recall that Keynesianism operates with aggregated macro-economic magnitudes, that is, synthetic indicators (like total consumption and total investments). Its theorists and practitioners proceed from the assumption that by manipulating these variables the state is capable of controlling and directing economic processes.

But experience shows that it is impossible to exert a positive effect on economic mechanisms by merely regulating macro-economic magnitudes, because this does not affect a chief ganglion of the capitalist mode of production: accumulation and centralization of capital for maximizing surplus-value. And no Keynesian — whether right or 'left' — dares to encroach on this holy of holies of private enterprise.

The declining confidence in Keynesianism, which had been regarded as a cure-all for economic ills for nearly a half-century, has impelled the ruling circles of the capitalist countries to seek ways of enhancing the efficiency of economic regulation in the present conditions. But, as Zofa and Sedivec said, bourgeois economics proved to be incapable of formulating acceptable principles for the policy of state-monopoly capital. Evidence of this comes from the growing discord in the ranks of bourgeois ideologists who frequently propose diametrically opposite conceptual approaches.

Thus, alongside the theories insisting on the utmost limitation of state interference in the economy and the utmost freedom for market relations, proposals are made for socio-economic reforms to deepen state regulation while democratizing it. There have been suggestions, for instance, of price

*A reflationary policy consists of a set of measures designed to liven up a stagnant economy. — Ed.

and income controls, broader social measures, a curb on the power of the monopolies, full employment and protection of the environment. It is true, the two Czechoslovak scientists said, that 'left' bourgeois economists have failed to show how these ideas are to be translated into practice in a society where private-property relations are sacrosanct.

While accepting the discord in bourgeois economics in principle, as described by Zofa and Sedivec, Fine said that by now two main models determining the practice of state-monopoly regulation have crystallized. Simply put, one could say that these were proposals to use fiscal or monetary instruments to direct economic processes. The former are advocated by Keynesians of every stripe, and the latter by those who accept the theory of the U.S. economist Milton Friedman.

In contrast to the Keynesians who emphasized budget and financial policy, by means of which they seek to balance the rate of economic growth and inflationary processes, the monetarists concentrate on manipulating the money supply. They regard any form of government interference in the economy as superfluous and even harmful. They claim that the normal course of reproduction can and must be ensured by free enterprise and the uncontrolled mechanism of the capitalist market.

But for all their differences on practical solutions, the monetarists and Keynesianists have a common theoretical basis, because both concepts start from the need for state intervention in the economy by influencing aggregated economic indicators like the money, commodity and investment markets, and credit policy. They differ only on the pace, scale and sequence of the regulation measures. Consequently, he said, monetarism could be regarded as a version of Keynesianism.

The exchange of views showed that Keynesianism is very rarely used in the 'pure' form. As a method of regulation it is most broadly accepted only in the United States and Britain. In the other capitalist countries, government interference took the form of various types of economic planning and other forms of industrial policy, with fiscal measures being the result of such interference in the economy rather than of its motive force.

Conservative trends in bourgeois economics, including the monetarists, Schmidt said, also eventually look to assistance from the state. That is why a comparison of Keynesianism and monetarism makes it obvious that they are not in principle opposed to each other. Although monetarism is presented as a practical embodiment of the ideology of private enterprise, actually it is an instrument for highly subtle state-monopoly intervention.

Still, Fine said, the controversy between the monetarists and the Keynesians is of great political and ideological importance because monetarism is traditionally linked with right-wing and Keynesianism with left-wing political trends. This interpretation may now and again produce confusion. That is why the communists, while they do not reject some methods of the left-wing Keynesians,

invariably insist that on the whole their ideas are fraught with dangerous consequences for the working people.

The 'left-wing' Keynesians often take an anti-labor stand because they do not regard the economy as a class category and reduce everything to the purely technical problem of control. Thus, when trying to bring about full employment by methods that would not pose the danger of sharp inflationary trends, they propose rigid curbs on wages, so acting on the side of the avowed champions of monopoly interests.

The British Conservative government, *Ramelson* said, has outdone the monetarists. It wants unlimited freedom for the market forces, claiming that any form of government intervention in economic life tends to fetter private initiative. In practical terms, this means stimulating private enterprise by reducing income tax; closing of 'unprofitable' government-owned enterprises (above all in steel and automobile-making); denationalization of some sectors of the economy (like ship-building, civil aviation); cuts in appropriations for education, public health, social security, public utility and housing construction; and a whittling down of trade-union rights through legislation. Actually, this means depriving the British working people even of limited social gains they have won over long years of struggle, under the pretext of returning to the dogmas of 'classical capitalism.'

Referring to the FRG's experience, *Goldberg* analyzed yet another, 'private-monopoly' version of capitalist regulation, whose main task is to relax the government brakes which hamper the functioning of private capital. Under this model, abandonment of the Keynesian idea of constantly increasing government expenditures and taxes should simultaneously avert any further sharpening of social conflicts, notably on wages and wage rates. But one could assume that in the relatively near future this 'model' will clash with the trend toward socialization, which is inherent in capitalism, because it creates an objective requirement not for a reduction but for government intervention.

Schmidt and *Galkin* agreed with this approach but cast doubt on the correctness of the term 'private monopoly version.' First, state-monopoly capitalism is, by its very nature, designed to ensure the interests of the private monopolies, so that in any case the activity of the bourgeois state helps to strengthen their power. Second, the growing role of the state is an irreversible process in the development of capitalism today. Although in the conditions of crisis, private capital may seek to get its own back, the main trend boils down to a quest for further improvement of the instruments of state-monopoly regulation.

A comparison of the situation in the capitalist countries shows that the ruling classes have ever fewer potentialities for seeking a way out of the crisis by imposing their line on the working people (say, by getting them to accept voluntary wage freezes). As for the idea of stimulating economic development by stepping up the arms drive, the

economy can be militarized only up to a certain point: apart from posing a general threat to mankind, the build-up of military expenditures tends to increase the danger of a sharpening of crisis phenomena like inflation, the raw materials and energy shortage, and creates the prerequisites for a decline in employment.

Intensive exploitation of the working class and other non-monopoly strata of society tends to become the main method by means of which capital seeks to safeguard its profits in face of the economic instability. But the growing strength of the working-class movement is an important obstacle in the way. In the mid-1970s, it helped to frustrate a major offensive on the working people's economic and social rights, an offensive similar to the one the monopolies successfully carried out during the 1929-33 crisis.

The apologists of capitalism refuse to admit that this system of exploitation and oppression has organic defects which keep generating crises, and have sought to present its difficulties as resulting from 'uncoordinated' government, 'bad luck' and various assorted accidents. Such views, speakers at the symposium said, must be resolutely rejected, because from them it logically follows that the decline in the world capitalist economy can allegedly be halted and then reversed by means of 'more effective' use of the recommendations of bourgeois economics. These hopes are illusory.

The general weakening of the positions of world imperialism in the 1970s, as compared with the 1930s, the participants in the symposium concluded, makes the traditional methods of economic regulation ineffective. The field for maneuver in this area in the developed capitalist countries is being gradually narrowed down. It is ever more difficult to work out and realize new variants of anti-crisis policy. No one is capable of preventing the further aggravation of the internal contradictions of capitalism and its historically inevitable decline.

New lines of class contest

A half-century ago the Great Depression set in motion the classical mechanism by means of which the crises have an effect on the conditions of the class struggle. The drop in production became an important element for increasing pressure on wages, because the presence of a mass reserve labor army made strikes or the threat of strikes less effective. The ideological brainwashing of public opinion was stepped up in a spirit hostile to the fighting proletariat, and this created additional obstacles for arranging alliances between the working class and other strata of the working people. These and similar other factors explain why in that period the resistance to big capital was not as strong as was required by the scale on which the bourgeoisie applied pressure against the living standards of the masses, and why it was weaker than in the pre-crisis period.

But by the mid-1970s, *Galkin* said, these factors have undergone considerable and frequently fun-

damental changes. The working class is more organized. New contingents of working people are joining in the struggle. As compared with the 1930s, workers by brain have a greater social role to play with the growth of their share in modern industries. Under the impact of the negative consequences of capitalist rationalization they are becoming aware that their vital interests are inseparable from the outcome of the anti-monopoly struggle.

Nowadays, living labor is economized above all at the expense of the least skilled section of the labor force. Meanwhile the technological remodelling of production produces a constantly growing need for skilled specialists. That is why in the leading capitalist countries with an overall excess of workers and employees there is usually an acute shortage of highly skilled personnel. This reduces the employers' opportunities for using the state of the labor market in their relations with the most valuable manpower (from the employers' standpoint) and so gives the working people's organizations additional weapons.

The balance of class forces is increasingly influenced by the general political, including international, situation taking shape under the impact of the growing might of world socialism. In recent decades, the working class in the zone of developed capitalism has won important political positions. In many states, the power of the bourgeoisie is now not as absolute as it used to be in the 1930s. In the 1970s, capital had to reckon with the fact that excessive pressure on the working class in the economic and social spheres could lead to political changes jeopardizing the pillars of the social system.

All of this created during the 1974-75 crisis conditions in which the working class in most developed capitalist countries put up highly effective resistance to the attempts to force it to pay for the ills of capitalism. The working people managed almost everywhere to maintain the pre-crisis level not only of nominal but also of real wages.

At the same time, *Galkin* said, it would be wrong to assert that the positions won by the working class will help successfully to beat back the capitalist offensive in the course of looming economic upheavals, whatever the conditions. Because the cyclical recession is closely intertwined with the ever sharpening raw materials, energy and structural crises, the monopolies will have to make much greater outlays than they did in 1974-75 to advance to the next round of economic development, which means that the motives for putting pressure on the working class will be so much greater.

In anticipation of the coming battles against the working people, capital continued to build up its strength in the second half of the 1970s. Its further concentration and monopolization created fresh potentialities for fighting the working people. An example is offered by the monopolies' much greater maneuverability, which enables them to use the instruments of unemployment not only on a national scale but also within the region of industrialized capitalism as a whole, and also in some developing countries with sufficiently large reserves of cheap

manpower. By threatening to transfer an enterprise into a country where the working class is less organized and the working-class movement is weaker, while wages are lower, the transnational corporations seek to impose their own terms on the working people.

Ramelson agreed with this assessment of the effects that the internationalization of the economy is having on the class contest, and expressed the view that the consequences of this were far from simple. The new character of the international division of labor under which the manufacture of various items is fragmented and located by the monopolies in a number of countries makes it possible to paralyze the operation of such a transnational concern entirely by declaring a strike at only one enterprise. As the experience of the labor movement shows it is quite possible to organize concerted action by working people in several countries. Thus, the strike at the Ford Motor Company's works in Britain was supported by the workers and employees at Ford enterprises in the FRG, France and Belgium.

Success in the struggle against the transnational monopolies can, naturally, be achieved only with a sufficiently high level of class consciousness among the working people, and requires stronger international solidarity on a continental scale and even on a global level. However that may be, for all its negative consequences, capitalist internationalization of production objectively goes to strengthen the positions of the working class. And that is a new element as compared with the conditions in which the social contest had to be fought in the 1930s.

The step-up of war hysteria was repeatedly stressed as a special element in the offensive against democratic rights. The artificial build-up of tensions in relations between states with different social systems is a means for increasing pressure on the working people on the plea of a need for 'national unity' in face of some 'external threat.' The effort to revive the cold war spirit is designed to spread anti-communist and anti-Soviet attitudes, to make it easier to divide anti-monopoly movements and to attack the social and economic rights of the masses. In an atmosphere of militaristic hysteria it is easier to make use of legislative and administrative instruments to pressure the trade unions for the benefit of the monopolies, and to deprive the working class of the right to engage in the most effective and acute forms of struggle.

Having noted the recent rightward trend in some citadels of capitalism, some participants in the discussion decided that this factor should not be overrated. Electoral arithmetic is not always a criterion for judging the state of social consciousness.

The heated social battles fought in the mid-1970s and continuing in the new phase of the crisis show that, as compared with the 1930s, the working people have many more opportunities for fighting against capital, and that they have been making ever more active use of them. Nowadays, the strike movement does not decline in the period of crisis, but actually grows: in the developed capitalist

countries the annual average number of strikers went up from 19 mln. in 1965 to 50 mln. in the crisis year of 1975. In some countries (France, Italy, Britain), the working-class battles have produced socio-political crises posing grave difficulties to the capitalist system.

Galkin said that it was highly important to reckon with the socio-psychological consequences of economic upheavals. In periods of industrial upswing, bourgeois ideological influence tends to engender in public circles hopes that the capitalist system is capable of keeping its economic mechanisms functioning without interruption and of solving the basic social problems. Such views penetrate into the ranks of the working class and help to spread reformist ideas. That is what happened on the eve of the world economic crisis of 1929-33, when there was a wide acceptance of the theory of 'organized capitalism' and a 'harmony of interests' between labor and capital.

A similar situation arose in the early post-war decades. The toning down of the typical picture of the crisis enabled the ideologists of the bourgeoisie to claim that the capitalist system had been 'transformed,' and that it allegedly accorded most fully with the requirements of the 'industrial society.' It was asserted that capitalism in its present form was capable of ensuring a high rate of production growth, the maximum possible of social justice and the most favorable conditions for the 'free development of the individual.'

However, the 1974-75 crisis dealt a heavy blow to these concepts and shook the faith that capitalism had good prospects as a social system. While its champions may have managed somewhat to dull the edge of the criticism, the psychological and ideological effects of the upheavals have remained in the public mind, so seriously undermining the hope that capitalism could cope with its difficulties.

The re-appraisal of ideological views by a part of the public which had been under the influence of capitalist apologetics varies in time, depth and direction, depending on the social group, country, region and other circumstances. Still, it is generally expressed as a growth in the anti-monopoly tenor of program documents adopted by some social democratic parties, and also of the Socialist International as a whole. Such accents are more pronounced in the stand taken by trade unions and in statements by spokesmen for left-Catholic or other left-religious trends.

At the same time, the growth of the critical attitude to present-day capitalism among those who once used to give it unconditional support, which has turned out to be superimposed on the socio-psychological stereotypes produced by the petty-bourgeois environment has also resulted in some negative trends. The ills of present-day capitalism and the growing acuteness of mankind's vital problems have come to be seen as the inevitable result of social and scientific progress.

The crisis-induced instability of the economic and social positions of the middle classes of town and country and groups close to them heightened

their interest in the state as a guarantor of stable existence providing defense against the 'self-seeking monopolies' on the one hand, and the 'trade-union dictatorship' on the other. The declining effectiveness of the mechanisms of state regulation caused their disappointment in parliamentary institutions and produced an urge for 'strong power' capable of taking 'simple decisions' to put things in order. This gradually produced the soil from which not only traditional-conservative but also patently fascist 'weeds' could sprout.

The 1929-33 crisis engendered such trends in the consciousness of some social groups and enabled fascist and semi-fascist groups to establish their dictatorship in a number of countries. The economic upheavals of 1974-75 also helped markedly to activate right-radical groups.

But with the new balance of social forces in the world they did not, after all, succeed in making their way to power or even becoming an influential political factor in any of the developed capitalist countries.

It is natural to assume that the slump predicted for the 1980s could generate similar processes. Their intensity will, naturally, be determined by a multiplicity of circumstances, above all by the strength of the resistance put up by the democratic sections, the working-class movement in the first place.

Having analyzed the possible political strategy of the bourgeoisie in the fight to maintain and consolidate its power, the participants in the symposium reached the conclusion that this strategy boils down to two alternative lines. One is designed for a relatively stable situation, and envisages the use of large-scale social and political maneuvering in order to get the working people 'voluntarily' to integrate into capitalist society. The form of power according with this policy is bourgeois-parliamentary democracy. The method of action consists of socio-economic transformations which do not affect the substance of capitalist social relations. The political instrument consists of mass reformist parties of the social-democratic or bourgeois type.

The ruling circles of bourgeois states can resort to the second alternative in the event of extremely acute situations. Its task is to roll back the tide of discontent, to channel the working people's indignation against parliamentary institutions, and to make the bulk of the population accept the bourgeois system of power. The form of power according with this line is an authoritarian, dictatorial regime. The method of action consists of a combination of minor economic concessions with suppression of any form of social activity, above all of the organized working-class movement. The instruments of power are right-radical, and fascist groups.

Analyzing the 1929-33 crisis, the participants in the discussion pointed to the diversity of the tactics used by the ruling circles in the leading capitalist countries. Thus, the most reactionary, aggressive factions of German monopoly capital, making use

of the split in the working-class movement and the democratic camp as a whole, got power transferred to the nazis. In France, on the other hand, the cohesion of the democratic forces became a barrier in the way of a fascist take-over, and so the monopoly bourgeoisie had to make concessions. In the United States, the leading groups of the ruling class opted for the former strategic alternative in the form of Roosevelt's New Deal, and managed to avoid dangerous upheavals.

After the Second World War, the situation was different. Because the authoritarian fascist regimes were not only routed militarily but also ideologically and politically, the ruling circles of all the leading industrialized capitalist countries had to put their stake on parliamentary forms of government. Still, at the most acute moments of the 1974-75 crisis, the most reactionary groupings of the monopoly bourgeoisie sought the support of the ultra-rightist political forces.

Of course, the attempts to use in practice some of the recommendations suggested by the tough-line advocates did not acquire the scale for the time being, as they did in the inter-war period. This is due to the specifics of the present situation, when the bourgeoisie cannot allow itself to engage in experiments that are too risky. The real possibility that such attempts could accelerate the ideological maturing of the working people, so ultimately undermining the capacity of the political system of capitalism to safeguard the interests of the bourgeoisie frequently restrains even the most rabid advocates of oligarchic power.

In contrast to the crisis of the 1930s, *Emile Habibi* (CC Israel) said, the present situation is also determined above all by the fact that the proletariat has triumphed in a large part of the world. The socialist countries exert the decisive influence on the development of the international situation, so narrowing down the field for monopoly capital's maneuvering and limiting its choice of instruments to which it could resort without mortally jeopardizing its very existence.

One must agree with the assertions, *Polychronis Vais* (CP Greece) said, that the current upswing in the class struggle tends to limit the bourgeoisie's potentialities for setting up 'hard' regimes. But it is unreasonable and dangerous to fully deny the probability of such a development even in some West European countries, to say nothing of states on other continents. Thus, the situation in Greece causes some alarm. The Greek communists believe that the authoritarian character of the right-wing government tends to grow. It has not only enacted a law limiting the working people's right to strike, but has also backed it up by special army units to fight against strikers. The Greek communists seek to induce in the masses a sense of the danger which is latent in the policy of the country's ruling circles, which have the support of international imperialism.

In the present condition, *Gombot* declared, expressing a somewhat different view, the ruling classes of the capitalist countries cannot use fascism as

an instrument for resolving the crisis. That would amount to such an encroachment of the interests of the working class that it would start a resolute struggle in defense of these rights. The socio-political consequences of the mid-1970s crisis show that working people are now fully capable of suppressing at root any attempts to impose blatantly reactionary regimes on them.

It is highly dangerous, *Ramelson* objected, to hope for an inevitable and easy victory of the working class in the event the monopolies try to impose fascism or any other authoritarian regime. Such an approach could result in grave errors in the policy and strategy of the working class. In some countries, it is not yet prepared to stand up for its democratic rights. But a breach in the working people's front in one country could have a strong influence on the whole capitalist world and impel the bourgeoisie to try to establish authoritarian power in other countries as well.

The situation in the individual countries, *Samuel Behak* (CP Uruguay) stressed, is specific and therefore only a concrete analysis of the concrete situation could yield the correct answer. The Latin American communists, for instance, have to reckon with the potential danger of authoritarianism. Moreover, in some countries of this region fascism has become a reality. But one should not engage in fanaticism. After all, reactionary governments have been overthrown in a number of Latin American countries. The last few fascist regimes have been toppled in Europe. This means that the forces now opposing fascism are so large that they are capable of averting its revival, and of striking at it if it rears its head. In contrast to the 1930s, more and more people are taking the anti-fascist attitude.

It was repeatedly emphasized in the course of the discussion that the monopolies' offensive, the step-up of right-wing activity, the threat of militarism, and the attempts to frustrate détente bear on the interests not only of the working class but of other strata of the population as well. This lays the foundation for a broad front of struggle to maintain and extend democratic rights, which the people have won, and for peace and social progress. The unification of all the progressive forces is an exceptionally important task before the working class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries. Its solution could help to foil the attempts by the ruling class to have the working people shoulder the burden of the crisis.

Comparing the present socio-economic situation in the capitalist countries and that in the 1930s, *Robert Francis* (CP Belgium) said that in the last quarter of the 20th century fewer and fewer people continue to believe in the 'virtues' of the capitalist system. But one has to admit with regret that not all those who are disappointed in capitalism are prepared to accept socialism as the alternative. This is due, in particular, to the fact the communists have not yet managed to provide an exhaustive and convincing answer to some of the problems which have emerged under the impact of the crisis that has gripped every sphere of social life.

To find such an answer and bring it home to broad sections of the working people — that is the task which the CP Belgium believes should be fulfilled on the eve of yet another flare-up of the crisis. Its assumption is that the capitalist system is being criticized by broader social sections than ever before, including movements like the women's and youth movements, organizations advocating protection of the environment, etc. The communists are not, of course, always in agreement with their ideology or some concrete acts. However, the anti-capitalist tenor of these movements allows a fresh approach to the involvement of broad social circles in democratic alliances designed to bring about the fundamental change in social and economic structures.

Joint action by communists and social democrats, it was stressed in the course of the discussion, is one of the central problems arising in the establishment of united anti-imperialist fronts. Such action helps to develop working-class unity and to enhance its influence in the whole of society. Accordingly, much importance is attached to determining the stand of social democrats today.

In the capitalist countries of Europe, Galkin said, social democratic parties are now an inalienable part of the mechanism of political power. This frequently results in the coalescence of the social democratic leadership with the bourgeois state, as a result of which the working people's interests are identified with those of the monopolies in the form of concepts like 'social partnership,' 'class cooperation,' and the like.

However, a majority of the ruling class views the social democrats with suspicion, because their coming to power usually means social concessions for the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is also apprehensive of the social democratic leaders' inclination to give in to pressure from the working class and other groups of wage workers because these leaders want to maintain ties with their social basis.

That is why the monopoly bourgeoisie pushes the social democrats away from the instruments of power into the roadside of the political system as soon as the most acute need for turning to them disappears. This trend was most pronounced during the 1929-33 economic crisis. But even in 1974-75, and in the period after the cyclical recession the top leadership in many European capitalist countries made highly active efforts to turn the social democrats into a scapegoat for the sins of capitalism, to compromise them politically and, having weakened them substantially, to push them into the background. In some cases (as in Britain and Sweden) this plan was carried out.

Rodny Öhman (Left Party — Communists of Sweden) assessed the development of the political situation in her country where the social democrats had been in power for decades, and drew attention to the weakening of their influence. The working class and other sections of the working people, she said, are disappointed in social democratic policy. One could say that the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism in Sweden has also turned out to be a

crisis of the ideology and practice of the social democrats. But it does not follow from this that they have lost the support of the working class. In view of this, the communists seek to mobilize the masses for struggle for meaningful demands and to work for a shift to the left of the working people as a whole, and of social democrats.

The struggle against the fascist dictatorships throws a specific light on the question of social democracy in the Latin American countries, Behak said. Imperialism and the local oligarchy are the archenemies of the working people and when fighting them the communists enter into an alliance with the social democrats, an alliance whose viability was borne out, for instance, in Nicaragua. The task is to make it long-term in the struggle against the external imperialist forces and internal right-fascist elements.

Under the impact of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system, participants in the symposium said, intricate differentiation processes are under way within the social democratic movement, and this makes it possible to invigorate efforts for joint solution by the communists and socialists of the most urgent tasks of the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle. In favoring the development of ties with the socialists, the communists do not seek any unilateral advantages for themselves. Their only purpose is to act together with them for the benefit of the working people, while maintaining their own ideological and political independence.

The communist parties of the developed capitalist countries have clearly defined guidelines formulated in their anti-crisis programs. For all these specific features, which are determined by each country's concrete conditions, what these programs have in common is a resolute refusal to 'share the burdens' with the exploiters, as bourgeois ideologists and social reformists want the working people to do.

The communists believe that a way out of the crisis should be found at the expense of those who are to blame for it, those who are making fortunes on the working people's adversities, namely, monopoly capital. The way lies through the safeguarding and raising of the living standards of the masses, a struggle against inflation, and for full employment, better social security and extension of civil rights. A key line of the working people's efforts is to frustrate the attempts by reactionary imperialist circles to undermine détente and start on a new twist of the arms spiral. That is the only way, the communists say, the growing threat of another world war can be averted and the consequences of the current recession overcome in the least painful way for the masses.

In formulating their anti-crisis programs, the communists bear in mind that the only way to put an end to the economic upheavals once and for all is to do away with the system which inevitably keeps producing them. That is why they constantly align their tactical plans with the requirements of the strategic tasks, that of creating the conditions for advancing to socialism. In other words, the com-

munists believe that it is necessary to use the crisis situation for further unhinging the obsolescent capitalist system and pushing it closer to its collapse.

The working class will be able to overthrow the power of the monopolies and restructure society on socialist lines, it was emphasized in the exchange of opinion, only by mobilizing all its forces. This will require a higher level of unity of action by various contingents of the proletariat on the national and international levels, and the rallying of all the anti-monopoly, progressive and democratic forces round the working class and its vanguard, the communist parties.

Ahead lie hard battles against capital, the participants in the seminar said. The final outcome of the struggle will depend on the ability of the working class to stand up for its gains and move over from defense to an offensive.

Summing up the results of the discussion, the participants in the symposium reached the following main conclusions:

— The difference between the cycle of the mid-1970s and the 1929-33 crisis shows that the general and cyclical crises of capitalism have been interlaced in a special form, a fact which heralds a fresh aggravation of its contradictions.

— The crisis of the 1970s has clearly brought out the ineffectiveness of the methods of state-

monopoly regulation worked out since the Great Depression. The overall weakening of the positions of the world capitalist system has led bourgeois economics into an impasse in its search for a new policy capable of easing the current economic recession.

The continued change in the balance of forces in every sphere of social life in favor of socialism creates favorable objective conditions for resolutely rebuffing the attempts by monopoly capital to get the working people to shoulder the heavy economic and social burdens of the crisis. The success of the policy formulated by the communist parties for moving out of the crisis in a democratic way, at the expense of the monopolies, can and must be backed up by the joint actions of the working people united in broad anti-monopoly alliances.

Consequently, like the world crisis of the 1930s, the economic upheavals of the 1970s have brought about a qualitative change in the process of capitalist reproduction and have deepened the general crisis of capitalism. This has fully confirmed the conclusion drawn by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which said that state-monopoly capitalism 'cannot check the elemental forces of the capitalist market.' That is why the system based on the economic and social oppression of the working people is historically doomed.

Demographic reflection of social problems

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The present demographic situation has very many aspects. In some countries it is determined by an accelerated, and in others, by a slowed-down growth of population; in some serious difficulties arise from the 'young' age structure and in others from the 'aging' population, etc. But when considering the dynamic of the population of the world as a whole, from the global aspect, a number of specific features may be brought out.

The first of these is the trend toward a faster growth of mankind. Three decades ago, this growth became so intense that there was talk of a 'population explosion.' Indeed, the population of the world reached the first billion since the origin of the human race in 1825; the second billion, over the next 110 years; the third, in another 30 years, in about 1960; and took only 15 years to reach the fourth billion! By the year 2000, UN experts forecast, the world could have a population of at least 6.5 billion and something like a stable 12-13 billion people by the end of the 21st century. Consequently the trend toward a relatively rapid growth in the

population of the Earth will be maintained over the long term, and this is bound to influence the most diverse aspects of mankind's socio-economic, political and cultural development.

Uneven growth of the population in various countries and regions is another characteristic feature of the present demographic situation. While the population of the world doubled in the first two-thirds of this century, Africa's population nearly tripled and America's (above all Latin America's) increased 3.5-fold. Asia now has a population of 2.5 billion, that is, the same figure that the whole globe had in 1950. The population of Central America, Southwest Asia and North Africa has been growing by 2.8-3.2 per cent a year (by 3.4 per cent a year in some countries), and by 2.2 per cent a year in other regions of the third world.¹

Over the past few years the epicenter of the 'population explosion' has been shifting from Latin America to the countries of Asia and Africa. In Europe and North America the growth rate does not, as a rule, exceed one per cent. There, the

population tends to grow slowly or even virtually to stabilize. In other words, it is the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that determine the trend toward the accelerated growth of the world's population.

Another specific feature is that the present population growth depends not on a rise in the birth rate but on the decline in the death rate. Over the past decades, the death rate in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been brought down from 35-40 per cent to 10-20 per cent (per 1,000 of the population). The average life-span increased (chiefly because of the drop in child mortality) from 25-30 years to 60 years in Latin America and in East Asia, to 50-60 years in South Asia and North Africa, and to 40-45 years in Tropical Africa.² Standard demographic behavior continues to include early marriage, virtually 100 per cent marriageability and a high birth rate (the average number of children born of one woman over the reproductive period of life in the Asia, African and Latin American countries comes to 5.6, the still-born apart).³

There have been 'population explosions' in the past. In the 19th century there was such an 'explosion' in Europe and North America. Although at that time these regions were inhabited by less than one-third of the world's population, they accounted for nearly 60 per cent of its global increase.

But, as the same example shows, accelerated population growth cannot be a constant trend. In the 19th century, industrialization brought out the contradictions between the traditional big family adapted to the pre-capitalist archaic forms of the social division of labor and the new economic conditions. These contradictions were resolved under the impact of capitalist development stemming from the industrial revolution (the involvement of women in social production, the heightened demand for female and child labor, that changed relations in the family and its status in society, the growth of education and culture, the spread of medical knowledge, etc.). The development of large-scale industry, proletarianization and urbanization created a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family,⁴ and eliminated the economic need for large families. This produced a new type of demographic behavior among whose necessary elements were the notion about the 'desirable' number of children in the family (with a clear trend toward a reduction in their number) and conscious birth control within the family. But the mechanisms of population reproduction were restructured unevenly and in a contradictory manner. Under capitalism, entire generations are doomed to physical and moral suffering; in the most developed capitalist countries, the incidence of disease and the death rate, the marriage and the birth rate still depend on the social condition.

There are many similarities to the present and the past population explosion. First of all, there is the universal introduction of the advances in medicine, sanitation and hygiene which have helped to reduce the death rate caused by factors external to the

organism, mainly by contagious diseases. However, even today the death rate in the developing countries is determined by the prevalence of exogenic factors, and this in particular, determines the infant mortality, which is very much higher than it is in the economically developed countries. In the 19th and the 20th century, accelerated population growth has been caused by the switch from a predominantly agrarian economy to an economy in which industry has an ever greater role to play. Meanwhile, in the developing countries the type of family mainly proper to the agrarian economy is retained, together with the type of reproduction which oriented the family upon the greatest possible number of children and which objectively resulted in large families.

One consequence of the 'demographic explosion' is a rejuvenation of the population, as young people and children come to predominate within its structure. The 'young' age structure not only reduces the overall death rate by itself, but also tends to increase the number of women of child-bearing age in the population, so building up a demographic potential for population growth in the future.

The present 'population explosion' also differs from the earlier one in statistical data. The 19th-century 'explosion' was characterized by an increase of the annual growth rate from 0.4 to 1 per cent and took virtually the whole century to achieve. At the same time, from the standpoint of the world's population dynamic, this growth was of limited and local importance: it essentially compensated for some decline in the population growth rates in the rest of the world and 'supported' the overall world rate at the level of 0.5 per cent until the beginning of the 20th century. Today, because of the substantial reduction in mortality rates, over no more than one or two decades the population increase in the centers of 'demographic activity' is more than double the maximum level that was attained in Europe and North America, and ensures a doubling of the population in Asia, Africa and Latin America every 25-30 years.

The present 'population explosion' is on a much greater scale than the previous one. Its scope and intensity have posed a number of complex social problems demanding a comprehensive solution one of whose aspects is the formulation of an active demographic policy for social progress.

The present demographic situation has become an acute issue in the ideological struggle, which is centered on the question of whether or not the present demographic trends pose the danger of absolute overpopulation. Over the past few decades, numerous calculations have been done to determine the maximum population which the Earth could feed. The figures are all different. But most analysts agree that the reserves have not been exhausted, and that there are no grounds to speak of 'absolute overpopulation.'

From the concept of global and absolute overpopulation it follows that if the world is 'overpopulated', if its resources and production potentialities are inadequate to providing the

'excessive population' with the means of subsistence, no social organization is capable of changing this state of things.

But the point is that overpopulation is socially determined. There is the problem not of absolute but of relative overpopulation. Relative in the sense that sizable masses of people become superfluous: the capitalist society fails to provide them with jobs and the means of subsistence. Capitalist relations of production, as Marx proved in *Capital*, lead to the emergence and constant reproduction of a relative overpopulation, whose dynamic is not connected with the demographic situation. In some cases, there is overpopulation even with a marked reduction in population size (Ireland provides the example which has become classical not only in Marxist but also in bourgeois writings). Even when rapid population growth leads to serious negative consequences, social conditions have the crucial role to play. The economic backwardness of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is determined, above all, by neo-colonialist capitalist exploitation, which markedly reduces the potentialities for internal accumulation and consumption. Under a non-capitalist organization of society it would be possible to avoid many of the negative consequences of the 'population explosion.'

Although the geographic boundaries of this 'explosion' are more or less clearly delineated, it is not just a local or regional phenomenon, but a global one. There is general recognition of such world problems which in one way or another spring from the 'population explosion' as the need for a further vast growth of mankind's productive forces, the easing of its supply with raw-material resources, energy and food, and the maintenance of the ecological equilibrium. There are three aspects to the demographic problem which make it especially acute on a world scale.

First, although the 'demographic explosion' is not the cause of the economic backwardness of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it does create in various countries additional difficulties in overcoming it, sharpening socio-economic problems and increasing their proportions. In the world capitalist economy there is a growing gap between the levels of economic development as expressed in per head indicators, between the developed capitalist and developing countries. Rapid population growth in the developing countries is a factor which makes it more difficult to change this trend. The experience of some countries shows that an increase in the rate of accumulation and sizable foreign investments, even if they improve the national-income dynamic, do not help to overcome underdevelopment under capitalism.

Second, the demographic problem is closely connected with the problem of hunger. The growth of agricultural output in the world is on the whole higher than the growth of the population, although this relationship is not stable, adequate or universal. Thus, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America the embryonic development of the material and technical basis of production and the ar-

chaic social relations in the agrarian sector of the economy are a basic cause of the low productivity, which fails adequately to provide for their food requirements. The one-crop character of agriculture in many countries imposed by capitalism markedly reduces their potentialities for growing foodstuffs. The acuteness of the food problem in Asia, Africa and Latin America emphasizes the need to orient socio-economic and agro-technical transformations in agriculture upon land improvement. All of this implies a tremendous effort by the countries seeking to overcome the inherited backwardness.

Third, the problem of relative overpopulation has grown more acute. Between one-quarter and one-third of the able-bodied population in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is now not employed in production. In agriculture, surplus manpower resources come to between one-third and one-half, and in some countries to as much as 70 per cent. The relatively surplus population tends to increase with the transition from the pre-capitalist order to capitalism which entails a destruction of communal structures and the expulsion of sizable masses of people from agriculture. The specific feature of the present relative overpopulation in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is that the expulsion of the surplus agrarian population into the towns leads to the formation of marginal groups: the emergence of a sizable section of people who come from the countryside and who are doomed to chronic unemployment because of the narrowness of the labor market and because they lack skills.

But on the whole, present-day demographic trends are among the objective factors which predetermine capitalism's lack of historical perspective.

Bourgeois science responded with a series of conceptions to the aggravation of socio-economic problems in the world capitalist system arising from the 'population explosion.' Methodologically, many of these are based on the Malthusian thesis that social calamities are demographically determined. According to Malthus's 'natural law of population,' it tends to increase at a geometric rate and the means of subsistence at an arithmetic rate. In this way, Malthus sought to prove that overpopulation did not spring from social causes but from the eternal laws of nature. The working people's calamities were allegedly due to their frivolous behavior which led to unreasonable reproduction. The present-day followers of Malthus, considering the discovery of the interconnection between demographic processes and some economic-development factors, regard as the negative factor the potentialities of the population to reproduce, which are allegedly not only greater than the potentialities of the development of production, but which also tend to deplete natural resources and pollute the environment.

When Malthus's followers switch from his primitive comparison of arithmetic and geometric ratios and use modern methods for modelling global processes with the use of computers, they establish

more and more new versions of the critical and catastrophic discrepancy between the trends in mankind's progress and the parameters of the planetary system ensuring the means of subsistence which is dynamic and multifaceted but which has its natural boundaries. They insist that the only way out is to limit economic and population growth rates.

But the neo-Malthusians' views differ on some points from those of their ideological predecessors. The old Malthusianism called for a curb on the population growth among the 'lower orders' through abstinence, in an effort to safeguard the exploitive 'upper orders' from looming social upheavals. The neo-Malthusians urge protection of 'nations with a low birth rate' from 'nations with a high birth rate' and want to limit the African, Asian and Latin American population, accentuating demographic programs as compared with programs for socio-economic development and claiming that the economic problems of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the problems of relations between the developed capitalist and developing countries can be solved merely through a reduction in the latter's birth rate.⁵ Neo-Malthusianism not only absolutizes the role of demographic factors, but also distorts their connection with the economy and resources, ignoring the dependence of population laws on the social system, failing to take account of the qualitative changes in technology and mankind's relations with nature, etc. All of this shows that such theories are unscientific.

Neo-Malthusianism has falsified and distorted a real problem which springs from mankind's current 'population explosion.' Its substance is an increase in the influence of the demographic factor on social processes, something that has made it necessary to switch from unregulated and spontaneous population growth to conscious, socially controlled reproduction. This does not always signify a reduction in the birth rate. Depending on the conditions in a country, the peculiarities of its economic development, culture, etc., it could even entail stimulated growth of the population or its stabilization.

The tense demographic situation has confronted many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America with the task of regulating the birth rate. By the mid-1970s, demographic programs were adopted almost everywhere in these regions: the West's propaganda and financing of 'family planning' and frequently its imposition led dozens of countries to reduce the birth rate on this or that scale. But realization of these programs entailed objective difficulties because of the backwardness of the socio-economic system, traditions, culture, etc.; in some cases it also resulted in grave political consequences. All of this predetermined the low effectiveness of these programs. One need merely refer to India, where despite the many years of intensive 'family planning,' adopted as a priority line of state policy, the overall birth rate dropped from 42 per 1,000 in 1961 to only 38-40 per 1,000 in the 1970s, because of the preservation of the low living

standard and archaic social relations in the countryside.

There has been a much more substantial drop in the birth-rate over the past 15-20 years in a small group of countries in Latin America, North Africa and Asia, which have about 10 per cent of the third world's population. The important thing to know is that this group includes not only countries where family planning programs have long been sponsored by the government, but also countries taking a neutral or even a negative attitude to the idea of regulating population processes. However, structural changes in the economy (connected with capitalist development), a rapid growth in the level of education and the employment of women are characteristic of all these countries. In these conditions, family planning programs promoted — but did not determine — the change in child-bearing behavior and accelerated the drop in the birth rate.

What also creates grave difficulties in solving the population problem in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is that the ruling circles of developed capitalist countries seek to impose on them demographic programs which are a far cry from science and which are dictated by self-seeking interests. Thus, in the United States, interest in demographic problems clearly has pro-imperialist and neo-colonialist motivation. The numerous outfits set up there in the postwar period on the initiative and with the funds of the major private foundations, and since the mid-1960s, government agencies dealing with population problems have put forward family-planning programs for other countries. Their purpose is to prove that a reduction in the birth rate can, of itself — without any socio-economic transformations — ensure the conditions for 'economic take-off.' Thus, the recommendations of the Administration for International Development (a U.S. outfit handling aid to other countries) gives priority to financing birth control measures over spending on industrialization.⁶ These programs in effect counter the plans for socio-economic transformations in the countries seeking to overcome their social and economic backwardness.

Demographic programs — if they are scientifically based, of course — can only be one instrument in the set of social policy measures, whose core consists of a program of socio-economic development as a peculiar accelerator shaping new demographic behavior. There are no prospects in the search for 'miraculous recipes' capable of solving the most acute socio-economic problems by reducing the birth rate. Many non-Marxist sociologists have empirically arrived at the same conclusion. It is the basis of the decisions adopted by the UN world conference on population (Bucharest, 1974) and the world plan of action on population, in which demographic problems are characterized in the broad context of UN socio-economic plans and programs.⁷

The Marxist-Leninist demographic science links up the tasks of regulating the population dynamic with those of socio-economic development. It is impossible to change family attitudes and stereo-

types, which determine population reproduction trends, only by means of a demographic policy, which exerts a great effect on processes leading to births and deaths, marriages and divorces, migration, settlement, etc. This requires a purposeful population policy regulating the whole set of living and working conditions.

Since population problems in the developing countries are closely connected with their socio-economic backwardness inherited from the colonial past and aggravated by neo-colonial exploitation, their solution cannot be simple and requires a complex approach. The chief element of their solution is transformation of the backward social structure with its survivals of archaic relations of production. At the same time, in view of the role of demographic processes in the specific historical conditions of some countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, one has to recognize that the pursuit of a special demographic policy aimed at regulating the reproduction of the population is to some extent appropriate. However, such a policy can be successful only when combined with economic development and practical measures in public health, education and social security.

The population problem can be solved effectively only through extensive social transformations leading to socialism. This alone opens up the way out of the present complicated and acute situation. Of special importance here is the example of existing socialism and its radical advantages in harmonizing socio-economic and demographic problems. The advantages of socialism consist in the fact that, as compared with any other existing social system, it provides for very much greater potentialities for pursuing a purposeful demographic policy, ensuring material conditions and the moral and psychological climate favoring realization of individual reproductive attitudes. These advantages, in particular, are expressed in the fact that population growth under socialism does not result in relative overpopulation, unemployment or any other defects which are organic to capitalism. Thus, urbanization in the USSR (which before the revolution was a basically agrarian country) proceeded at an accelerated pace mainly through the direct conversion of a section of the agrarian population into an industrial population, but did not result in urban unemployment and led to a rapid disappearance of the relative overpopulation inherited from capitalism.⁸

The solution of present-day demographic problems must be based on a knowledge of demographic uniformities and the laws of population. Under socialism the relation between population growth and socio-economic development is constantly taken into account. However, in the exploiter society demographic policy, as a part of government policy, expresses the interests of the ruling class, which is why it is far from always scientifically based. Demographic policy worked out by Marxists is alone a blend of the scientific and social approach.

A key requirement of the scientific approach is,

furthermore, a definition of the genuinely humanistic goals for which demographic processes are regulated and which are in line with the requirements of historical progress (the task of prolonging human life and, especially, the period of active life, provision of the most favorable conditions for man's fulfillment of his social functions, including the functions of propagation, etc.). Demography, like many other fields, brings out the tremendous importance of orienting science upon social humanism. Political ideologies rejecting the value approach to population may produce negative demographic consequences even when they do not directly formulate demographic programs. Thus, racist theories provide the rationale for the imperialist policy of expansion and exploitation, which has inflicted grave demographic damage on various countries and regions. Even more serious negative demographic consequences — not only for individual countries but for the whole of mankind — could spring from the Maoist thesis that it is admissible to wipe out hundreds of millions of men in a world war as the price for restructuring the world on Maoist lines. Demographic science must expose the inhuman and groundless nature of such theories and their dangers for mankind. As a rule, pseudo-scientific theories of population are used to justify reactionary and anti-humanistic demographic policies geared to the self-seeking interests of the exploiter classes. Thus, the doctrine of Malthus had a marked influence on the adoption in Britain of the 1834 'official pauperism' act, which sharply worsened the condition of the poor.⁹ Marx wrote: 'The people's instinct was correct here, in that they felt he was no man of science, but a bought advocate of their opponents, a shameless sycophant of the ruling classes.'¹⁰ Present-day pseudo-scientific neo-Malthusian conceptions have the same ideological functions. They are used to back up racist theories and justify both social inequality in the developed capitalist countries and the growing gap in the levels of economic development between developing countries and the developed capitalist countries.

One of the principles of well-grounded demographic policy is each country's inalienable right to solve the problems of its population development in the light of the whole set of concrete historic conditions and tasks. Any attempts to dictate from outside, the content, lines and measures for regulating population are inadmissible.

At the same time, international cooperation is a necessary condition in demography, as it is in the solution of various other global problems. Independence of choice does not invalidate the importance of external assistance. But 'aid' which is confined to promotion of demographic programs and which is in effect aimed to continue the exploitation of the peoples of the former colonial and dependent countries is one thing. Assistance in developing the productive forces is a different matter, for it helps to transform the archaic basis, to change the people's way of life and, together with it, the population-growth trends. The socialist coun-

tries have been rendering such assistance to many developing countries.

An important principle for the scientific grounding of demographic policy is that it should be democratic and that there should be no coercive regulation. The world plan of action on population says that population policy should not be coercive and must give a choice to individuals and families.¹¹ In each concrete case, legislative regulation of demographic behavior is determined by cultural norms and traditions, but it is always connected with progressive social transformations and the provision of civil liberties. Demographic policy is a set of measures acting on population development and based on democratic principles. It implies complete freedom to contract and dissolve marriage, legalization of abortion, broad access to the means of contraception of all social strata, protection of motherhood, etc. These measures do not in themselves lead either to an increase or reduction in the birth rate, but merely tend to align it with the potentialities created by the socio-economic conditions and the reproductive ideals of the population which take shape under the impact of these conditions. Communists and other progressive forces carry on a struggle against any measures of coercively regulating the reproduction of the population. Let us recall that Lenin pointed to the task of protecting under capitalism 'the elementary democratic rights of citizens, men and women' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 237).

The formulation of an active demographic policy is as the 25th Congress of the CPSU pointed out an important task before Soviet science.¹² Today, researchers in a wide range of social and natural sciences, one of which is demography, are engaged

in fulfilling this task. Their conclusions not only help scientists to work out effective methods for regulating the population development by acting on demographic consciousness and behavior, but also help, we believe, to gain a true understanding of the global demographic trends of our day.

1. See UN Document ST/ESA/SER. A/56.
2. *Selected World Demographic Indicators*. UN Secretariat, 1977. Let us note by way of comparison, that in socialist Cuba the figure has gone up to 75 years.
3. See UN Document ST/ESA/SER. A/56.
4. See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 460.
5. Indicative in this context is the evolution of the views of W. Fogt, who in his work *Road to Survival* (N.Y., 1948) still emphasized the importance of a rising death rate, but in a later book entitled *People! Challenge to Survival* (N.Y., 1960) held that a cut in the birth rate was the best way to solve the problem.
6. *Studies of Family Planning*. Vol. 6, No. 8, 1976, pp. 359-360.
7. See, Papers presented at the UN world conference on population (Bucharest, 1974), United Nations, New York, 1975, pp. 3-35.
8. In the first decade of the 20th century, there were over a half-million unemployed in the towns of Russia, and over 20 million unwanted laborers in the countryside (see, papers and reports by the Institute of History, USSR Academy of Sciences, 1955, part 10).
9. This 'official pauperism' act did away with all poor relief from independent parishes and introduced compulsory confinement to workhouses for all those applying for relief. Marx said that these workhouses were places of 'punishment for misery' (see, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 612).
10. Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968, part II, p. 120.
11. See Document UN E/CONF 60/CBP/2.
12. *Documents and Resolutions. 25th Congress of the CPSU*. Moscow, 1976, p. 88.

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Firm roots

Yusuf Vardar
CC Political Bureau member,
CP of Turkey

Our party's strategic goal is an advanced democratic revolution against international imperialism, against the local monopolists and big landowners collaborating with it, a revolution paving the way to socialism. That is how the program of the CP of Turkey formulates the content and meaning of the struggle being carried on by the communists of Turkey. The fact that a party which has carried on a clandestine struggle for over a half-century is able to set itself such a truly historic task is evidence of its revolutionary optimism based on a knowledge of the uniformities of social development and its steadfast faith in the transformative power of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The situation in which the CP of Turkey has to tackle this programmatic task is now taking shape under the impact of growing reactionary trends in the Turkish ruling circles' political, social and economic line. The international situation, which exerts a direct influence on the Turkish government's foreign and domestic policy, is determined by a step-up of activity by the imperialist forces in our region.

The economic crisis which hit Turkey somewhat later than it did the other capitalist countries has continued to sharpen and deepen, so undermining the political stability of the capitalist state. Fearful of popular indignation, the authorities have stepped up their repression, threatening to drown in blood any resistance by the working people to the monopolies' drive. The ruling circles have gone beyond the punitive measures provided for by the martial law legislation and have recruited terroristic gangs for their purposes.

Every day, an average of 10 to 15 of our compatriots fall victim to the fascist murderers, and to 'leftist' extremists. From the standpoint of the interests of the working class, of our people as a whole, terroristic acts can yield nothing but harm. That is why their planners and organizers should be sought elsewhere, among those who have a stake in aggravating the situation in the country.

The militancy of the working class and other laboring sections of the people has been growing stronger in the battles against reaction. They are mobilized to resistance by their hatred for the exploiters. Tens of thousands of workers who are members of the DISK and the Türk-İo and independent trade unions are being involved in the strike movement. None of the authorities' bans and repressions have managed to put an end to the mass

popular action, which is assuming ever broader proportions.

The communists are in the front ranks of the anti-monopoly struggle. On their initiative, powerful May Day demonstrations under the slogans of peace, democracy and socialism have already been held in many cities of our country. The CP of Turkey has led the anti-imperialist campaigns, insisting on Turkey's withdrawal from NATO, the scrapping of the military agreement with Washington, preventing the country from joining the Common Market. In 1974, the Communist Party, having taken a consistent internationalist stand, resolutely condemned the Turkish armed forces' occupation of a part of the territory of Cyprus. The communists want to prevent the establishment of reactionary 'state security courts' and demand a repeal of the martial-law legislation and an end to the fascist terrorism, unemployment and spiralling prices.

While carrying on a broad campaign for the repeal of reactionary Laws Nos. 141 and 142, which were borrowed from fascist codes, and for the lifting of the ban on the CP of Turkey, the communists have been working actively to extend their influence in the mass movements. Our party has an important role in the establishment of legal youth and women's organizations, and peace-fighters groups. It has become an important force in the working people's trade union associations.

Our assumption is that the situation which is arising under the impact of the economic and social crisis is an explosive one and that it could blow up at any moment. In order to make use of the force of such a blast tomorrow for an advanced democratic revolution, there is a need today to educate the masses, to develop their consciousness and to win them over to our side.

That is the spirit in which the CP of Turkey has acted, working to combine the movement for immediate goals with preparation of the people for future revolutionary battles. This can be achieved, the CP of Turkey Program says, only through effective joint action with the broadest democratic circles for the ultimate goal of setting up a national democratic front bringing together above all the classes and strata that are to act as the motive force of the revolution.

In defining its strategy and tactics for fighting against capital, the CP of Turkey relies on its long and considerable experience: in September of this year, the communists of Turkey and the working people of our country mark the 60th anniversary of

the birth of the working-class party, established on the sound foundation of the Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational principles.

Today, we recall the memory of those who stood at the cradle of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in our country. The names of Mustafa Suphi and Etem Nejat have gone down in the history of our people's struggle for national freedom, for overcoming the relics of feudalism, against oppression by Turkish and foreign capital, and for peace and socialism.

Mustafa Suphi joined the anti-war movement back in 1910. He was soon arrested by the police and sentenced to a 15-year term of imprisonment. However, he succeeded in escaping from the fortress in which he was incarcerated. He fled to Russia, where in 1915 he joined the Bolshevik Party and took an active part in spreading Marxist ideas among prisoners of war from Turkey.

His comrade-in-arms, Etem Mejat, began his revolutionary activity in Germany in the ranks of Spartacus, the revolutionary organization, and in Berlin published a Turkish-language newspaper *Kurtulus* (Liberation). He took part in the November 1918 Revolution. Nejat returned to his homeland and joined the Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Party, some of whose members were later among the founders of the Communist Party of Turkey.

The founders of the CP of Turkey took part in the socialist revolution in Hungary and in the work of the Comintern. They assimilated the international consciousness and traditions of the various national contingents of the working class and the international communist movement, brought these back to their native land as the pivot and basis for the activity of the communists of Turkey.

The first communist groups originated on the territory of Turkey itself and also among the Turkish prisoners of war in Soviet Russia in 1918. Mustafa Suphi headed the painstaking, persevering and consistent effort to unite them on the basis of a program of the new, Leninist type of party. The Constituent Congress of the CP of Turkey met in Baku on September 10, 1920. It adopted the party's Program and Rules. Mustafa Suphi was elected CC Chairman, and Etem Nejat, its General Secretary. The delegates decided to set up the People's Communist Party, as the legal wing of the CP of Turkey.

From the outset, the CP of Turkey was in the vanguard of the battles for national liberation, and joined the people in beating back the aggression of the Entente countries. The ruling circles were seriously alarmed by its rapidly growing popularity. They set up a pseudo-communist party to operate under police surveillance. The task of the hired provocateurs was to smear communist ideas in the eyes of the working people, to slander our party's leaders, and to sow strife and division in its ranks.

Having failed in this attempt, reaction decided to kill the communist leaders. Four and a half months after the Constituent Congress — on the night of January 29, 1921 — Mustafa Suphi, Etem Nejat, and several other leaders of the Central Committee were treacherously arrested and drowned in the sea.

The annihilation of the party's leading nucleus markedly slowed down the consolidation of its ideological and organizational unity, but reaction proved to be incapable to paralyze the party's activity, let alone crushing it. The Second Congress of the CP of Turkey met in August 1922 to map out a program for further activity.

The People's Communist Party of Turkey was soon outlawed by the bourgeois government. All progressive activity in the country was banned. Since then — 58 years now — the communists of Turkey have been fighting in the underground, persecuted by the authorities, beating back attacks from right and 'left' extremists, and making sacrifices for the cause of peace, democracy and social progress.

During the Second World War, the CP of Turkey worked perseveringly to set up a united front against imperialism and fascism, and against their henchmen in Turkey. After the rout of Nazi Germany, when a trend toward democratization became evident in a number of capitalist countries in Europe, the CP of Turkey sought to make use of this and looked for opportunities for legal work. The communists, in particular, headed the movement for the re-establishment of trade unions which the government had disbanded in 1925.

However, we did not succeed in preventing the opportunist elements from splitting the legal working-class movement. In 1946, two independent socialist parties emerged: the reformist Socialist Party of Turkey, and the Socialist Working Peoples' and Peasants' Party (SWPPP), based on communist principles. In addition, the CP of Turkey was unable fully to combine legal and clandestine forms of activity, and our party cadres working in the SWPPP found themselves without adequate security. The CP of Turkey felt the consequences of this most keenly when the ruling circles stopped playing their 'game of democracy' and in December 1946 banned political parties, trade unions and other organizations.

In that trying period, the CP of Turkey did not lay down its arms. It came out against the consolidation of the position of U.S. imperialism in the country and its involvement in NATO, vigorously warning the public against the dangers of Turkey's participation in the war in Korea started by Washington. Turkey's communists aroused the progressive and democratic forces to the struggle for peace and for friendship with the socialist countries.

The imperialist powers kept intensifying their pressure, and in 1952 Turkey joined the North Atlantic bloc. Three years later, its ruling circles proposed in order to please Washington, the establishment of the Baghdad Pact, which was to provide NATO with a pontoon in its advance into the Middle East. The bilateral military agreement with the United States, converted Turkey into a bridgehead for preparing an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This foreign-policy orientation on the government's part intensified the reactionary content of its domestic policy. Under pressure from the right-

wing circles, the Majlis enacted a new law introducing the death sentence aimed against communists, and fighters for peace, democracy and progress. Our party suffered heavy losses and lost many of its leaders.

In face of repression and persecution, the communists took an active part in the people's struggle against the Bayar-Menderes clique. This struggle led to success: on May 27, 1960 the anti-democratic regime fell. It was succeeded by a government that was forced to re-establish some democratic rights.

But the communists were unable to make full use of the improvement of the political climate. The party was too weak. It did not succeed in re-establishing its organizational structure swiftly enough after the damage done to it by the blows of the bourgeoisie. Nor were sufficient measures taken to set up a ramified illegal network.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Communist Party was heavily pressured by the right and 'left' opportunist trends which at that time emerged within the legal section of the working-class movement. The greatest danger was posed by the growing influence of trends advocating the ideas of 'Turkish socialism' and 'humane socialism,' denying the vanguard role of the working class, and pinning all their hopes on leadership by the intelligentsia and the military.

One cannot, of course, neglect the important positive phenomena either. Thus, in February 1961, the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT) was set up on the initiative of a group of trade-union leaders. In 1962, it was joined by progressive intellectuals. The communists supported the WPT, because it spread socialist ideas, took a democratic stand and called for a consistent anti-imperialist policy. The progressive movement in the country was on the rise.

Realizing that it was impossible to cope with the mounting struggle of the working class by observing a 'democratic decorum,' the reactionary military overthrew the government in March 1971. Many progressive and democratic organizations, including the WPT, were outlawed. Soon, a state of emergency was introduced over a large part of the country.

This produced new conditions in which we were substantially aided by our past experience, especially since objective and subjective prerequisites were then ever more intensively maturing for strengthening the positions of the working people and raising the working-class movement to a new stage. The numerical growth of the industrial proletariat and the sharpening of the class contest were a key consequence of the accelerating monopolization of the economy.

At the same time, the harsh situation created by the military authoritarian regime showed even more fully how limited the Communist Party's potentialities were if it did not rely on a clandestine organization. Having reached this conclusion, the CP of Turkey proceeded to make a serious analysis of its activity. Changes were made among the party leadership in 1973. In January 1974, the party pub-

lished the first issue of its underground central organ, the newspaper *Atilim*.

A draft Program and Rules were prepared by the CPT Central Committee. The establishment of underground organizations at home, at the enterprises in the first place, was defined as the main task. The Communist Party scored considerable successes in the political education of those who had entered its ranks from other organizations in search of a new type of internationalist party. It became a young and militant party, with workers making up 60 per cent of its members.

In 1977, the CPT held a clandestine national conference, which approved a new Program and Rules and confirmed the composition of the party's governing bodies. Its Leninist unity was further consolidated by the Plenary Meeting of the CPT Central Committee which was held last May. It showed that the Communist Party now operates throughout the whole country. It fully expelled a small sectarian group which wanted to split the ranks of the party. The Plenary Meeting declared the party's ideological, political and organizational consolidation to be the chief task in this year of the CPT's 60th anniversary.

All the political forces in Turkey are now faced with this unequivocal choice: either to support the anti-popular policy of the national and foreign monopolies, or to join in the struggle for the people's vital interests and freedoms, and against the growing imperialist hegemony and threat of war. The CPT has repeatedly declared that it is prepared to take joint action with everyone who is prepared to fight the repressive regime and the monopolies' drive. We regard unity of action as the prerequisite for the establishment of a national democratic front.

The Communist Party takes a realistic approach to the question of its potential allies. Among them are above all the two other parties of the proletariat — Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT) and the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (SWPT), the Kurdish Revolutionary Democrats, and rank-and-file members of the Republican People's Party (RPP), which is a member of the Socialist International, especially those of them who belong to its left wing.

When deciding on their relations with other working-class parties, the communists' prime assumption is that their cooperation with these parties is of crucial importance in bringing about the unity of the working class. That, as everyone knows, is the key prerequisite for the success both of the movement for a democratic front, and of the struggle to fulfil our strategic tasks.

In seeking to extend and consolidate our contacts with the Kurdish Revolutionary Democrats, we have consistently stood up for the Kurds' right to self-determination. We believe that the granting to them of territorial autonomy within the framework of a united democratic state set up in the course of an advanced democratic revolution would be the fairest solution of the Kurdish national question.

As for the prospects for the communists' cooperation with the RPP, no strategic alliance with that

party is conceivable so long as it is led by the representatives of the right-wing oriented upon the interests of Turkish and foreign monopolies. Nevertheless, it could and should be involved in the struggle for democratic rights. We intend to work vigorously for unity of action with the RPP on concrete issues, while seeing to it that the social strata which constitute its basis should not entertain any empty illusions. Our duty is to expose tirelessly the RPP leaders' conciliatory policy.

In the present conditions, the task of setting up a mass legal united party of the working class to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of Turkey, which is forced to operate in the underground, tend to acquire special importance. However, there are still some obstacles on the way to this, including prejudices among some leaders of the working class movement.

The strengthening of our party is of great importance for uniting the working class and for the suc-

cess of the policy of establishing a national democratic front. Only a strong Communist Party can ensure a victory for the revolutionary strategy and tactics. That is why the Political Bureau Report to the May 1980 Plenary Meeting of the CPT Central Committee said that the task of preparing the masses for an advanced democratic revolution 'can be successfully fulfilled only by a mass Marxist-Leninist party closely allied with the people. In this sense, the further strengthening of the CPT is the slogan of the 60th year of our existence.' Today we urge the working people: 'Strengthen the Party, join the CPT!'

Correct tactics in the struggle has now acquired tremendous importance. We seek to make full use of the legal opportunities, to stand up for them and to extend them. At the same time, the communists vigorously resist any attempts to forget that in Turkey's conditions clandestine activity has the crucial role to play.

Genuine revolutionaries are seasoned by the ruling class's terrorism, violence and arbitrary judicial acts. But these produce an urge to accept the bourgeoisie's curbs among those who are under petty-bourgeois influence. The communists resolutely condemn the time-serving which springs from fear of repression. They have shown by their struggle that they will not be intimidated and will not retreat in face of the enemy's onslaught, however fierce it may be.

We do not believe ourselves to be bound by the anti-democratic bourgeois laws. This is especially true today when Turkey's ruling classes ceaselessly create fresh obstacles to our legal activity. Nevertheless, in the recent period the CP Turkey has scored some marked successes, so proving that in Turkey's conditions the invigoration of legal work depends on whether the party has a clandestine organization to rely on.

The communists of Turkey are invariably among the fighters for a stronger unity of the international communist movement on the basis of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The achievements of the Soviet Union and of the whole world socialist system in building a new world, the experience in the struggle of the CPSU and the international communist movement as a whole are a revolutionary example which to us is an inspiration and an inexhaustible source of strength.

The Communist Party of Turkey sprang from the flames of our people's national liberation struggle against the imperialist occupation, and under the impact of the ideas of the Great October Revolution and the struggle of the proletariat of Russia. Its emergence was a historic necessity, for developments required the establishment of a mass revolutionary party capable of consistently and steadfastly standing up for the interests of the working people, above all of the nascent Turkish proletariat. For six decades now, these historical roots, constantly growing stronger and branching out, have fed our party, helping it to grow, gain in stature and strength.

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Courage and optimism in the dark night of fascism

Samuel Behak

Representative of the CP of Uruguay on WMR

The public is familiar with imperialism's far-reaching operation that began with a coup in Brazil in 1964 and culminated in the Chilean tragedy. The coup in Uruguay (June 1973) was part of this strategic operation even though it had its own peculiarities.¹

A national characteristic of Uruguay stemming from economic and social factors is that the level of mass struggles has always been high. Public life has long been characterized by democratic traditions. They developed during the struggle for independence and are part of the legacy of our national hero, Jose Gervasio Artigas.

An unrelenting struggle by the Marxist-Leninist vanguard, especially in the quarter-century preceding the coup, bore fruit. There was a powerful labor movement with one trade union center, the National Convention of Workers, closely linked with the Federation of University Students of Uruguay and, what is very important, with progressive intellectuals. This unity, forged in numerous joint actions in defense of the people's interests, freedoms, and national sovereignty, provided a solid basis for the Broad Front, which came into being with the wholehearted support of the masses. Led by General Liber Seregni, an outstanding patriot, the Broad Front grouped the communist, socialist, and Christian Democratic parties, the Left Liberation Front, some sectors and leaders of both traditional bourgeois parties (the Blancos and Colorados), and uncommitted civilians and military. It also had the backing of thousands of revolutionary young people and intellectuals who approved of the armed operations of the 'urban guerrillas.'

This, then, was the social, economic, and political situation when the coup was accomplished. The immediate reaction to the coup was a 15-day general strike. Revealingly, neither of the traditional bourgeois parties backed the coup. This put its stamp on all subsequent developments and was a sign of the strong political isolation of the dictatorship, an isolation from which it cannot break out to this day.

By the time the coup took place, the revolutionary democratic movement had gained a great deal of experience.² Over a long period marked by sharp class struggles, the Communist Party of Uruguay, founded 60 years ago, was fulfilling a task that it is continuing today, in spite of the fascist regime. What we mean is that the party did and continues doing its best to operate openly at all levels, being aware of the need to lead the masses along the least painful path (to the extent that the circumstances

allow). At the same time, knowing that a peaceful revolution is most unlikely in Latin America, the party has always prepared itself for the most diverse forms of struggle and trained internationalist cadres closely linked with the masses. As the party has a solid ideological foundation, it is a mass party if the size of the population is borne in mind.³ In 1957 it charted its program on scientific principles. It has done much to educate its members and the Communist Youth League.

Of tremendous importance in this connection are the theoretical writings and ideological work of Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CPU, Central Committee, and also of another prominent Marxist, Jose Luis Massera (now a prisoner of the dictatorship), and a group of CC comrades who provide collective leadership. *El Popular*, the party's daily newspaper and our chief vehicle of propaganda and instrument of organizing and educating the masses, plays a big role.

The coup was a severe test for the party. Developments since then have shown that the CPU was sufficiently mature and trained, both organizationally and ideologically, to face this change without panicking or losing its links with the people, and to show flexibility when the situation demanded it.

Two hours after the news of the coup, the workers called a general strike and occupied the factories. We have said that this heroic action, which paralyzed the country, lasted 15 days. The NCW showed strategic foresight by calling it off as soon as it was clear that the dictatorship could not be brought down.

However, the end of the strike did not mean that the movement came to a standstill, let alone fell apart. Taking advantage of the fact that the dictatorship was in social and political isolation and unable to consolidate its positions at once, the workers, students, middle strata and the Broad Front advanced the slogan 'Not a day of respite for the dictatorship.' Every means of struggle was used while the new authorities hesitated to resort to fascist terror.

The regime tried to end its isolation and make two important resistance forces — the trade unions and the universities recognize its 'legitimacy.' The authorities outlawed the NCW and reorganized the trade unions to put obedient leaders at their head. For the same purpose they conducted controlled elections for university management bodies, moreover, voting was made compulsory in the hope of

winning the 'silent majority.' However, the opposition was the winner in both cases.

Two years after the coup, the regime saw that opposition was still growing, massive, and taking the most diverse forms while the popular support the regime had hoped for remained a piece of wishful thinking. This prompted it to embark on repression and more repression; it banned all public activity, imposed police control, closed public organizations, and arrested thousands of people. But all these measures failed to break the resistance of the people. With its very existence threatened, the regime tried harsher measures. In October 1975, it carried out a nazi-type repression operation reminiscent of the Pinochet putsch. It jailed, tortured, murdered, spirited away or forced into emigration thousands of fighters, mostly communists and members of the CYL, NCW or BF.

The party regards October 1975 as the beginning of the dictatorship's switch to fascist methods, as marking a 'coup within a coup.' The brutality of the fascists knew no bounds, as world opinion is well aware.

It is important to note that the regime has failed to achieve its main goal, namely, putting the CPU and other revolutionary forces out of action for a long time. On three occasions in seven years — December 1973, October 1975, and February and March 1979 — the regime announced that it had 'ended Marxism for all time' and 'imprisoned the core of the clandestine apparatus.' True, massive repression dealt us heavy blows. But in all three cases it only took a few days or weeks for the party's underground paper, *Carta*, to resume publication, and we can say the same about the reappearance of the newspapers of various mass organizations, and about leaflets and graffiti. This was evidence that the party and CYL were at their posts, that they were alive and fighting.

It is only the powerful ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism that enables the communists to bear up under terror and torture and safeguard the movement against new blows. None but a well-organized and trained party can hold out against fascist barbarity without disintegrating.

There are some other things to be borne in mind. First, the massive terror begun in October 1975 was evidence that the repressive machinery was well prepared technically and well informed. Second, the movement and the party failed to react effectively to the avalanche of repressive measures.

The mistakes that were made and that we analyze critically and constructively underscore the heroism of the party's leaders and rank and file. Experience has shown that the switch from extensive activity in conditions of legality to strictly clandestine work is always difficult and takes a high toll. Due to the fascist takeover, we had to pay this price, still pay it and are likely to pay it in the future if we reduce underground work to effort by closed, isolated groups. The party must maintain its bonds with the people, lead their struggle in conditions of legality or illegality, seek an alliance with

democratic forces, and participate vigorously in public life.

The unshakable revolutionary spirit of the communists, who replaced the fallen, helped the party to make up fast for its losses and preserve its organization.

Resistance is no longer limited to proletarian and revolutionary sectors. What alarms the fascist regime most of all, as the CPU and BF have repeatedly pointed out, is that an alliance of democratic (or non-fascist) forces can prevent the consolidation of the regime and then overthrow it. No party or social force can singlehandedly accomplish either task. Hence the imperative need for anti-dictatorship unity on a larger scale than the BF.

The regime is casting about for a legal, constitutional justification of its existence. Rent by contradictions, unable to solve the country's social and economic problems, isolated at home and condemned abroad, and alarmed, like its U.S. masters, by the revolutionary processes in Nicaragua and Iran, it is trying to provide itself with a façade of respectability. But even these attempts to whitewash the image of the dictatorship have sown discord among the top-brass, among those who favor limited democracy and rabid fascists advocating ruthless terror.

Ever since February 1979, the levers of power have been held by advocates of a tough line. However, the pressure being put on the regime is so strong that it has had to agree to the plan of political institutionalization announced earlier. This plan provides for a constitutional plebiscite in 1980 and a general election in November 1981.

Uruguay's fascists have two strategic goals. One is to destroy or divide the progressive forces through sustained repression and by forming yellow-trade unions. The other is to get the traditional parties to subscribe to the dictatorship's program, that is, agree to the introduction of a fascist Constitution in whose drafting and open discussion they cannot participate, and to the banning of the Broad Front and all political activity.

Both projects have failed so far. The regime has been unable to destroy the progressive forces or form yellow unions. Nor has it succeeded in winning over any political groups that could raise the prestige of the institutional plan. Furthermore, this plan has lately been criticized by many public figures, lawyers, and even spokesmen of the regime.

What are the chances of finding a way out of the situation in Uruguay?

The Broad Front has reacted to the fascist plan by demanding a general amnesty. This demand, if met, would pave the way for the country's democratization, the restoration of trade union and political rights and freedoms, and then the resumption of political activity by the various parties. Moreover, the Front has stressed the need to implement the program of national renaissance which envisages the solution of problems arising from the present acute economic crisis⁴ and deformations in public life. Our party supports these demands and is willing — to the extent that this will depend on it and

on the working class — to enter into an alliance with all who oppose the dictatorship.

The formation of the Democratic Convergence Group last April was a momentous development. The Group was brought into being by exiled Uruguayans representing diverse democratic currents, including the traditional parties and the Broad Front. It has stated that 'while not representing the above organizations and trends formally, it expresses the sentiments of the vast majority of the nation' and intends to contribute to the 'coordination of the action of political currents cooperating in the struggle for democracy in Uruguay.'

The workers, students, and the masses generally are stepping up their struggle for urgent demands. The working people and their vanguard show increasing determination and staunchness. Every action in support of economic demands assumes a political, anti-dictatorial dimension and may result in an outbreak of popular unrest.

Before long all this will reveal how far the armed forces, the regime's sole pillar, are united or dis-united. We must not discount the fact that their top is torn by sharp contradictions even though the ultras have got the upper hand for the time being and have so far been able to make the rank and file toe the line by means of repression and political provocation.

The communists want to safeguard the people against further suffering. We are working with revolutionary zeal and perseverance to unite all anti-fascist forces, and we declare that the struggle will not end until the dictatorship is finally defeated. We

have never renounced legal methods of struggle but neither have we ever imagined that victory would be easy.

Cuba, which has been free for twenty years now, Nicaragua with its victorious popular rising, a Central America that is getting too hot for its oppressors, and a Latin America that defeated counter-revolution in the early 1970s all hearten us in our struggle and serve warning on imperialism and the oligarchy.

In celebrating the 60th anniversary of their party in this fascist night that is so dark for our people, Uruguay's communists look to the future with confidence.

1. Politically, these peculiarities were that, involved in the conspiracy and prodded by the military, the President of the Republic established a dictatorship, which, unlike its Chilean counterpart, did not immediately crack down on the opposition.

2. In the course of what we call the 'mustering of class forces' — begun in 1958 — the party and the masses joined in bitter class battles that went as far as bourgeois legality permitted. Political groups, trade unions, and other mass organizations became more militant, social legislation was improved under the impact of the working people's struggles, and the NCW, FUSU, BF and other organizations grew more united. In foreign policy, the Uruguayan people supported revolutionary Cuba and heroic Vietnam and took a stand against imperialist acts of armed intervention; they combined these actions with their own fight for complete national liberation.

3. Uruguay has a population of about three million.

4. In 1979, inflation in Uruguay stood at 84 per cent, real wages dropped by at least 50 per cent against 1971, the foreign trade deficit rose to 56 per cent, and the external debt increased by more than 35 per cent in a single year.



Inexhaustible potential

Milos Jakes
Presidium Alternate Member,
CPCz Central Committee

RESOLVING THE FOOD PROBLEM IN SOCIALIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA

For a long time the state of agriculture in the socialist countries has been a favorite subject of warped reporting by bourgeois propaganda. The ideological slant of this sort of reporting is obvious: our adversaries laud private enterprise as the everlasting and only effective incentive of economic progress, thereby giving the impression that the economy is void of inner motive forces. But practice is the ultimate criterion of truth. Socialist society's inexhaustible potential is exemplified by, among other things, the development of agriculture in Czechoslovakia.

Outlining the key orientations for the building of the new society in our country, Klement Gottwald said at the Ninth Congress of the CPCz in 1949: 'Without the countryside's transition to socialism we shall not have socialism in our country.' It took the party ten years to carry out this task, whose socio-economic and political significance is inestimable. The complex revolutionary process, accompanied, especially at its initial stage, by a sharp class struggle, by clashes with internal and external reaction, radically remoulded the life of our countryside and the work, way of thinking, life, and culture of the rural population.

In urging peasant proprietors to join agricultural producers' cooperatives of their own free will, the

party was guided by the basic ideas in Lenin's cooperative plan and by its attentive analysis of the vast experience gained by the collective-farm movement in the USSR. Needless to say, the specific forms of organizing production, remuneration for labor, and the functioning of cooperative democracy were developed in accordance with the conditions prevailing in Czechoslovakia, a country with a fairly high level of industrial and agricultural production. When the cooperatives were formed, account was taken of the fact that in Czechoslovakia, as in other European countries that embarked upon the building of a new society after the war, the socialist revolution did not involve the nationalization of the land. Today the socialist sector has 96 per cent of the nation's farmland, of which 65 per cent belongs to the cooperatives and the remaining 31 per cent to state farms.

A large material and technical basis was built up in agriculture with effective assistance from the working class and the socialist state. This process was significantly speeded up in the 1970s when we went over to industrial methods in agriculture and when, as a result of the huge scale of comprehensive mechanization, chemicalization and use of scientific achievements there was a very tangible growth of labor productivity.

Compared with 1948 the basic assets of agriculture increased more than 4-fold, and their character changed dramatically. While 30 years ago there was one tractor per 280 hectares (average) of arable land, today there is one per 49 hectares. But this comparison does not give the full picture, because in recent years there has been a growth not only of the number of tractors and other machines but also of their capacities.

With agriculture's industrialization its links were strengthened with the industries supplying it with machinery, fuel, energy, mineral fertilizers, and plant-protection chemicals, and processing the output of the farms. About 60 per cent of the outlays on the output of grain, meat, milk, and other products now go into industrial services, this being testimony of the considerable headway that has been made toward forming a national agrarian-industrial complex and of the more marked social division of labor that provides a solid material foundation for the unbreakable alliance between workers and peasants.

The qualitative re-equipment of Czechoslovakia's agriculture in the 1970s predicated the need for a further concentration and specialization of production. Each of the 1,776 cooperatives now has approximately 2,500 hectares and each of the 162 state farms has an average of 8,900 hectares of farmland. We regard this as the optimal size under present-day conditions, for it allows specializing most profitability in the output of specific products. Any further increase in the size of enterprises will complicate management, and for that reason a further concentration of production through the merging of cooperatives or state farms is at present inexpedient.

In cases where the use of new machinery or the

efficacy of investments still requires production on a larger scale we are setting up associations of cooperatives and state farms. At present they number as many as 352. These associations produce eggs, poultry, and pork, provide crop fertilization and protection services, and handle construction projects. Cooperatives are pooling resources for the joint use of new machinery and the organization of the drying and enrichment of feeds. By common effort they are enriching large livestock-breeding farms. But in these cases the government controls the size of enterprises so that the process does not overstep optimal boundaries and no threat of environmental pollution is created. This 'cooperation of cooperatives' (or cooperatives and state farms) covers a territory of between 20,000 and 30,000 hectares, in some instances entire administrative districts. It allows achieving a high level of actual socialization of production without any further enlargement of enterprises.

All this has become the basis for the growth of the productivity of crop farming and livestock-breeding. Compared with the 1960s, when the cooperation of the countryside was completed, the total farm output has increased by more than 60 per cent (from 55,000 million to 85,000 million korunas). In the same period the output of grain has grown from 5,800,000 to 11,000,000 tons, meat from 801,000 to 1,800,000 tons, milk from 3,700 million to 5,500 million liters, and eggs from 2,300 million to 4,700 million. The mainspring of growth lies in intensification of production. Private peasant households used to harvest an average of 20 centners of wheat per hectare; today our cooperatives harvest upwards of 40 centners per hectare. The output of meat per hectare of farmland has grown from roughly 60 to 270 kilograms, and of milk from 338 to 795 liters. Labor productivity has increased 4.5-fold. In terms of per worker there are now an average of eight hectares, i.e., three times more arable land than prior to socialization. Today every worker produces a sufficient quantity of food to satisfy the present-day requirements of 17 persons. The countryside's socialist reorganization has released large reserves of labor for other branches of material production: the number of people engaged in agriculture has dropped by more than half.

The social status enjoyed by peasants has changed beyond recognition. Delivered from exploitation and backbreaking labor, they have become masters of their land and, like the working class and other working people, look to the future with confidence. The life of our countryside shows how one of the basic aims of socialism, the erasure of the distinctions between town and countryside, is being achieved step by step. For its character agricultural labor is becoming more and more identical with industrial labor, and the social condition of cooperated peasants is levelling up to that of the workers. There has been a substantial rise of the rural living standard, and a change in the way of life of the peasants.

The cooperatives and state farms are doing much to improve the living conditions of their personnel.

During only the past ten years the latter have received more than 100,000 apartments. In fulfillment of the National Front's election program, the agricultural enterprises together with national committees are building water pipelines, roads, houses of culture, children's day-care centers, canteens, medical centers, playgrounds, and sports facilities. Concern is shown for cleanliness and environmental protection in population centers.

Agricultural workers are active in socio-political and cultural life. On a democratic basis they manage the production activity of cooperatives, handle questions concerning the social development of their collectives, villages, and districts, and are members of national committees and of the commissions set up by these committees, and also of public organizations. The interests of cooperative members are championed by the Union of Cooperated Peasants.

In terms of per thousand of the population engaged in agriculture there are 26 persons with a higher education, 85 with a secondary education, and 220 with training at specialized vocational schools. This is the result of the attention we are giving to set up a ramified system of general and professional training.

The changes in the countryside have given scope for the creative abilities and initiatives of the people. The scale of the emulation movement of socialist work teams is convincing evidence of the new attitude to work and to public property.

For us agricultural development is not an end in itself but a means of satisfying the people's demand for high-quality foodstuffs. In terms of consumption of basic products of animal origin Czechoslovakia is among the leading nations in Europe: annual per capita consumption is 84 kilograms of meat, 220 liters of milk and milk products, and 315 eggs. Here we are drawing close to rational norms, and the aim in the foreseeable future is mainly to enlarge the assortment of meat and milk products and improve their quality. Consumption of eggs, fats, flour, potatoes, and sugar has exceeded the medically recommended norm by approximately 300 calories a day; with the rationalization of the pattern of the diet this consumption will evidently drop while the quantity of vegetables and fruit in our diet will increase.

The party's 15th Congress (1976) set the strategic task of gradually achieving complete self-sufficiency in grain and increasing the share of local production of basic foodstuffs. This is an objectively vital task springing from internal and external economic conditions. The events we have been observing on the international scene in recent years bear this out: the imperialist powers are trying to use the food problem as a means of bringing political pressure to bear on socialist and developing nations. One of the latest examples is the Carter administration's embargo on grain exports to the USSR. The line toward self-sufficiency has nothing in common with a striving for economic autarchy. Far from excluding, it presupposes the expansion of cooperation with other socialist countries.

The ways and means of successfully implementing our agrarian policy are set out in the resolutions of the CPCz Central Committee's 13th plenary meeting in March 1979 and in the directives for the seventh five-year plan. Self-sufficiency means making rational use of natural conditions and mobilizing the potentialities of agriculture. The principal orientation for agricultural development will be to improve the balance between crop-farming and livestock-breeding. We are planning an acceleration of the increase in the production of grain in order to reduce grain imports from capitalist states.

Our aim remains to increase the grain output to the maximum without any further extension of crop areas, solely through a growth of the yield. Moreover, considerable attention is being given to the production of feeds, to the efficient use of meadows and pastures (they comprise about one-fourth of Czechoslovakia's land area). Also, provision has been made for an expansion of local production of feed proteins, which is important for increasing livestock productivity. At present our industry is annually producing nearly 8 million tons of such protein additives, but this quantity is below the demands of agriculture.

Under the seventh five-year plan the output of livestock-breeding is to rise by about 2 per cent annually, and of bulk feeds by 13-14 per cent. Moreover, by 1985 the food industry is to market 14.7 per cent more products and ensure uninterrupted supplies for the population in accordance with the requirements of a rational diet.

To fulfil these tasks there must be a considerable enhancement of the economic efficiency of agriculture and other branches of the agrarian-industrial complex. This requires research and the mobilization of potentialities, an improvement of investment policy, the saving of all kinds of resources, an expansion of exports, and a reduction of imports.

One of the ways of achieving the targets set by our party is to make prudent use of the land, which is the principal means of production in agriculture. In the next five-year period we are planning to build irrigation systems on another 160,000 hectares and drain 290,000 hectares of land. Supplies of mineral fertilizers are to increase from 250 to 300 kilograms per hectare of arable land. Specialized agrochemical enterprises using high-technology equipment are under construction. The intensification of plant-growing is also to be fostered by the introduction of the highest-yielding crop varieties, a reduction of harvest losses, and an improvement of preservation and storage facilities. In livestock-breeding there is to be more large-capacity, live-labor-saving technology and purposeful pedigree stock-breeding.

In order to foster the productive application of scientific achievements we have set up national organizations that provide agriculture with seeds and seedlings and recommend effective soil-cultivation and plant-protection methods. These same organizations direct pedigree stock-breeding and the reproduction of the livestock population, offer recommendations on other questions, and

generalize and disseminate advanced expertise.

In promoting the development of agriculture's material and technical resources, the party identifies some basic orientations for each stage. Under the next five-year plan attention is to be concentrated on the comprehensive mechanization of growing and bringing in crops as well as on the conservation of feeds. In this connection it has been decided to make large allocations for rural transport. The cooperatives and the state farms will get some 10,000 specialized trucks (chiefly of the class above eight tons) and various attachable, trailer, and loading equipment. This will significantly increase the capacity of the transport fleet, save fuel, reduce the required number of operatives, and so on. Also, provision is made for the building of many storage premises and processing lines. Machinery is to be supplied in sets and only to those enterprises that have the material and organizational prerequisites for its effective utilization.

Our party attaches special significance to improving planning, management, and material incentives in agriculture. While reducing the number of directive indices, we are enhancing the efficacy of economic levers in order to achieve greater efficiency in production and eliminate excessive distinctions in profitability due to soil and climatic conditions. This also means using economic methods of levelling up the profitability of individual kinds of products: for instance, the higher purchasing prices established in 1980 for meat and milk will make animal husbandry more profitable. Economic incentives are also given for higher quality products.

Despite the indisputable advances, our agricul-

ture still has many untapped potentialities. State farms and cooperatives with the same or similar natural conditions sometimes get disparate yields, and the difference in livestock productivity is still marked. The yields at almost one-third of the cooperatives (which have 36 per cent of the arable land) are below the national average. The main reason for this is that enterprises are under-equipped and the training level of personnel, particularly of management personnel, is different.

The fact that agriculture in Czechoslovakia now boasts of large-scale industrial socialist production and the striking changes that have taken place in our countryside are evidence that the party is pursuing a correct agrarian policy. They show that the Leninist ideas of cooperation can be applied successfully in industrialized nations.

The Czechoslovak countryside's transition to socialism was headed by communists, who comprise 14.5 per cent of the people engaged in agriculture. The party is providing every facility for the political and professional training of cadres for agriculture. It requires communists not only to resolve production questions but also create living conditions of a standard satisfying the people. The party organizations are encouraging the people working in the agrarian-production complex to show enterprise and initiative and strives to enlist them more broadly into production management.

The CPCz's agrarian policy is aimed at steadily improving the supply of food for the people and placing agriculture in the service of socialist society's further development. The successful implementation of this policy vividly demonstrates the great potentialities implicit in the new system.

Root cause of the conflict

Ali Khavari

Political Bureau Member, CC, People's Party of Iran

James West

Political Bureau Member, CC Communist Party of the USA

IRANIAN-AMERICAN DIALOGUE

The situation in and around Iran continues to be tense. The USA has a massive naval presence off its shores and the atmosphere is thick with the threat of armed invasion, making the Persian Gulf region one of the most volatile in the world.

The U.S. government and the media servile to the imperialist monopolies are blaming Iran for this inflamed climate, dating it from November 4, 1979 when Islamic students broke into the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took the personnel hostage. For its part, Iran contends that the hostage problem is only part of the wide-ranging Iranian-U.S. conflict generated by decades-long U.S. imperialist rule of the

nation that was held in the vice of the bloodthirsty shah's regime.

The causes and character of this conflict are examined by representatives from the fraternal parties of Iran and the USA.

When aggressors speak of international law

Khavari: People want to know more of what is happening in Iran. Why, they are asking, has the mammoth propaganda and lie machine of the U.S. and West European imperialists raised a clamor over the revolution in my country? What lies at the root of the Iranian-U.S. crisis? I think it would only be fair to update WMR readers on how our two parties assess the situation.

West: You're right. The U.S. administration and imperialist media are telling the American people that U.S. 'vital interests' are in jeopardy and that there can therefore be no dialogue with representatives of the Iranian people, of the Iranian revolution, that the only solution is their unconditional acceptance of American terms. The CPUSA has made it clear from the outset that this is ill-advised, that a dialogue is possible given the desire to consider the problem comprehensively, without prejudice.

Khavari: Comprehensively is the right word. For nearly ten months U.S.-led world imperialism has been tenaciously accentuating one element (the American hostages issue) of the Iranian-U.S. crisis, brushing aside the arguments of the other party, and portraying that element as the sole cause and core of the crisis. We are under no illusion that this ploy of the imperialists, of the U.S. monopolies, which had exploited the Iranian people for a quarter of a century, is no more than a cover for a decision, taken long before the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, to go ahead with subversion against the new regime in my country and destroy the Iranian revolution.

I'll illustrate this with just one piece of evidence. The Iranian authorities came into possession of a secret memo sent by Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski on August 6, 1979 to Cyrus R. Vance, who was Secretary of State at the time.

In this document, made public by Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Brzezinski wrote that Carter had considered Vance's message of July 18, 1979 setting out the administration's priorities relative to the political developments in Iran and had decided that the Secretary of State's priorities should not go beyond the jurisdiction of the State Department. The President felt that anything done to influence the changes in Iran should be coordinated with the Defense Department, the CIA, and other departments and agencies, taking into account, where required, the views stated by the shah of Iran at the last consultations with him.

The President had reaffirmed, the memo stated, that since developments in Iran were unpredictable, the USA should have contacts with the leaders of all political organizations and currents without exception, including ethnic and religious minorities and extremist groups, capable of provoking armed resistance to the Khomeini regime. But since this was a ticklish line of action, the President was against any contact with religious and political leaders, or with individuals from the 'Khomeini gang,' or with members of the opposition among the senior military in Iran without prior agreement with the CIA Director. As the events in Iran developed and in view of U.S. security interests, any new recommendation should be forwarded to the White House.¹

This document, you will agree, leaves not the shadow of a doubt that the U.S. had planned high-handed interference in the affairs of our young republic as early as last summer and shows its

willingness to stick to the course marked out by its most dependable surrogate, the deposed shah.

West: Many other documents may be cited in support of this.

Kavari: Let me for a moment draw your attention to the embassy and hostage problem.

Since early 1978 the scale of the mass actions had demonstrated that the Iranian people were opposed to the shah's fiendish regime. But the USA went to all lengths to keep him on the throne. You will remember that on the eve of the revolution General Robert Huyser was sent to Iran, where with the aid of the so-called diplomats in the U.S. embassy he directed the violence against our people and, at the same time, tried to save the pro-U.S. regime with back-stage bargains. Even after the revolution the USA still hoped its agents would gradually redirect events into the old channel, once again using the U.S. embassy in Tehran as their headquarters. The various spy paraphernalia, the huge number of forged passports and visa seals, and also the documents found in the U.S. embassy incontrovertibly prove that it was the CIA's center for espionage and subversion against Iran and other countries in the region.

In the face of the danger created by the actions directed from that center Iranians decided to seize their chief enemy's headquarters on Iranian territory and present legitimate demands to the USA:

1. That it extradite the deposed shah and return to Iran the wealth stolen by him.
2. That it cease its plotting and subversion against the Iranian revolution.
3. That it acknowledge its responsibility for the crimes perpetrated by the shah's regime against the Iranian people.

The response was that instead of complying with these legitimate, lawful demands of the Iranian people, the USA intensified its hostile actions against Iran, using its propaganda machine to spread the lie that international law and human rights were being trampled in Iran. Moreover, the USA posed as the victimized side championing human rights, international law, and justice.

We are convinced that the purpose of this propaganda is to prepare world opinion for an attempt to strike a death blow at the Iranian revolution. More, the facts indicate that the relevant decision was taken not after but long before the seizure of the U.S. embassy. U.S. imperialism is using the hostages issue to camouflage its political, economic, and military actions against Iran.

West: There is indeed a hostage problem in Iran. But the big hostage question is not the one about which the Carter administration and the commercial media have been frothing at the mouth. To be sure, the seizure of the U.S. hostages is a violation of international law and of the accepted norms of conduct between nations. Still, the release of the U.S. hostages could be brought about quickly and bloodlessly, and a grave threat to world peace removed, by Washington frankly facing up to the responsibility for the situation that resulted in the

seizure of the U.S. embassy and hostages in the first place.

This responsibility consists in the fact that U.S. oil imperialism has held the Iranian nation of more than 30 million people hostage for over a quarter of a century. The manner in which this came about is a clear, brazen example of state-monopoly capitalism in action in the arena of foreign policy.

Let's go back to the year 1953. The combined, planned operations of the federal government led directly by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles with Allen Dulles, the CIA Director, in field command from Switzerland, and of the U.S. transnational oil monopolies, of U.S. imperialism

- brought about the downfall of Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh, who had just received 99.4 per cent of the votes in a popular referendum;

- buttressed the hated shah on his peacock throne with the CIA-created and trained secret police, SAVAK;

- blasted the way for ARAMCO² into Iran and shoved the British oil monopolies out of their dominant position into a junior partnership;

- paved the way for the lucrative sale of unlimited quantities of arms to the shah, which was approaching the \$100 billion mark at the time of the national democratic revolution, and turned Iran into a surrogate policeman for U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf;

- encouraged the unleashing of a veritable reign of terror against the people of Iran, resulting in tens of thousands killed and hundreds of thousands crippled;

- secured a base from which to spy upon and plot against the Soviet Union, another link in the chain of bases around the main bastion of the world revolutionary process;

- and, as the pay-off, opened up a new area for superprofits, bringing U.S. imperialism nearly \$3 for every dollar invested in Iran.

The plot to make Iran hostage to U.S. neo-colonialism was masked behind the most hypocritical cant, with claims of 'saving Iran from the Soviet threat' and 'from that communist, Mossadegh,' 'making Iran safe for Islam and democracy,' etc.

Kavari: You have very properly recalled the overthrow of the lawful Mossadegh government. It is an eloquent example of the worth U.S. imperialism places on international law. And it exemplifies how brazenly it violates that law. It will be remembered that on July 13, 1953 John Foster Dulles bluntly stated that the USA could have no further dealings with Mossadegh. The 'crime' of Mossadegh and his government was that they pursued a policy in the national interest, nationalizing Iranian oil that until then had been the unchallenged domain of the imperialist monopolies. This gave the USA its pretext to walk in and apply its version of 'international law' in Iran. At the time, 27 years ago, the American journal *Saturday Evening Post* hailed what it called the sure-fire actions of the CIA.

These amounted to a criminal coup orchestrated

by the U.S. government with the involvement of the CIA. This cold-blooded operation was directed by the U.S. ambassador in Iran, Loy Henderson, Dulles, Rockefeller, the CIA resident Kermit Roosevelt, and the U.S. General H. Norman Schwartzkopf (adviser to the Iranian gendarmerie).

We want the world to know the price the Iranian people had to pay for these sure-fire actions of the CIA and the application of 'international law,' U.S.-style, in Iran.

Immediately after the coup tens of thousands of Iranian patriots were thrown into prison and subjected to inhuman torture. Thousands were shot. All freedoms were trampled and all progressive political parties and organizations were brutally suppressed.

Once more Iran was turned into a preserve of the monopolies. The oil vampires were given the green light to pillage Iranian oil. Iran became imperialism's policeman in our region. During only the last five years of the shah's regime \$20,000 million were spent on armaments. And this in a country where two-thirds of the population were illiterate and people were dying of starvation and disease. For the bulk of the population medical assistance was out of reach either because it was too expensive or simply because it was unavailable.

The USA imposed over a thousand unequal treaties on Iran. More than 40,000 U.S. advisers had extra-territorial rights, enormous sums of money at their disposal, and direct control of all aspects of the nation's life, above all the army and SAVAK, the secret police.

The U.S. monopolies, as you have noted, placidly raked in a net profit of \$3 for every dollar invested. Iran belonged to U.S. imperialism lock, stock and barrel.

West: The ensuing history of U.S. domination is as grim and sordid as its beginnings. SAVAK, which can rightly be considered the Iranian branch of the CIA, helped to keep the impoverished Iranian masses hostage to the oil monopolies. It engaged in espionage operations against neighboring countries, spied on and harassed Iranian students and nationals in the USA and other countries, and maintained close liaison with the Zionist secret agency against Arab liberation.

The truth about the ruthless, murderous, iron-heel trampling of human rights and life in Iran soon became known world-wide. In the United States there was widespread recognition of the shah's role as the tyrannical tool of the U.S. oil companies and as a corrupt ruler, whose so-called reforms resulted in amassing great personal wealth robbed from the people. Outcries found their way into Congress and the mass media, including a number of books. Courageous mass activities by Iranian students in the USA also contributed to the expulsion of the shah.

The imperialist elite became increasingly alarmed at the growth of anti-shah feeling in the USA and abroad. It saw its vital interests threatened. A noteworthy view of this was given in the influential *Washington Post*, which wrote in an

editorial that 'there are not many subjects in world politics more touchy than the voracious U.S. appetite for other countries' natural resources and U.S. pressure for more production at lower prices.'³ The U.S. imperialists are accustomed to thinking the world belongs to them. This mentality was referred to in this same editorial, which wrote: 'The Justice Department seems to be saying that when foreign governments deal with U.S. companies, they become part of the U.S. economic system.'

This attitude of regarding the world as the private preserve of monopolies is a built-in feature of monopoly psychology embedded in state-monopoly capitalism. It is this attitude that is basically responsible for calling forth the national revolution in Iran and its by-product of U.S. hostages in the seized embassy.

Hostage to oil imperialism no more

West: The old game of 'Who lost . . . ?' is now being played in the USA. This game is played after every defeat of U.S. imperialism: Who lost Cuba? Who lost Vietnam? Who lost Nicaragua?, etc. The effort to avoid the onus of responsibility in the Iranian crisis has become a factor in the Carter-Reagan contest for the presidency.

Carter, out to prove he could be just as tough as Reagan, acted in a near-irrational way. The hair-brained abortive military rescue attempt, which plainly jeopardized the lives of the hostages, was only the tip of the iceberg. Beneath it lurked the plan for the overthrow of Ayatollah Khomeini. It was doomed to fail in any event, for 1980 is not 1953.

No amount of blame-placing for the 'loss' of Iran (for the U.S. companies, of course) can hide the fact that the responsibility for the conflict, including the seizure of the embassy lies with U.S. imperialism in general and the Rockefeller oil-big banks combine in particular. Behind all the carrot-and-club maneuvers and misadventures of the Carter administration stand 50 U.S. big banks, insurance companies, and pension funds. According to statistics uncovered by Corporate Data Exchange, these hold the controlling interests in the 38 largest oil and energy conglomerates.⁴ They robbed the Iranian people and today continue robbing the peoples of other oil-producing nations.

The people of the United States are also victims of this insatiable oil profit appetite. The price of gasoline has more than doubled in the last decade. The blame for this robbery of the people's pockets is being put on the OPEC countries and on Ayatollah Khomeini in particular, who has been singled out by the monopolist media as the target of jingoist, chauvinist hatred. But it is precisely the U.S. companies that have been withholding oil in order to jack up prices. The American people also have to pay higher taxes to make up for the 'oil depletion allowances' the government grants the oil companies, thereby reducing the taxes paid by the latter. To these extents, the oil companies also hold the American people hostage.

Khavari: This is true. Every day brings further

affirmation of Carter's irrationality. Although the U.S. military gamble against Iran last April⁵ turned into a fiasco, U.S. imperialism has by no means abandoned its aggressive intentions. Nourreddin Kianouri, First Secretary of our party's Central Committee, has warned that the imperialist brigands are planning further strikes at the revolution in Iran.

At a press conference in May Carter claimed that since the USA was the main victim in the conflict it could, under international law, have recourse to any means, which signified that military force, if he felt it was necessary, was not a closed option.⁶

The world remembers U.S. imperialism's reading of international law in the face of the just struggle of the Vietnamese, Cuban, Dominican, Chilean, and other peoples. As regards Carter's assertion that the USA is the victim, the facts both of us have mentioned speak for themselves.

Iranian President Bani-Sadr has justifiably noted that what the USA wants is not the release of the hostages but the destruction of the Iranian revolution.⁷ In reply to the question whether Carter was aware that by arousing the resentment of the Iranian militants he was risking the lives of the hostages, Warren-Christopher, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State, replied that U.S. national interests stood above the lives of the hostages.⁸

West: More, the hostage issue is being used as a smokescreen behind which subversion and military intervention are being planned not only in Iran but throughout the Middle East.

Incontrovertible evidence of this planning is that long before November 4, 1979 steps were taken to ensure and enlarge the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean and set up a network of U.S. strongholds in that area despite the clearly-expressed will of the littoral nations to turn the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. Also, this is proved by the formation of a rapid deployment force for — the Pentagon is making no secret of it — punitive operations in the Persian Gulf. Lastly, this is seen in the Carter administration's unseemly role in triggering a tense situation around revolutionary Afghanistan.

The traditional false and vocal anti-Soviet campaign accompanying all these actions makes it crystal-clear that the military-industrial complex is bent on setting the USA and its allies on a course toward armed gambles.

Khavari: Let me add a few details to what you have just said.

The USA proclaimed economic sanctions against Iran, froze \$8,080 million in Iranian assets in U.S. banks, and sent more than 30 warships to Iranian waters. Aboard the U.S. aircraft-carriers in the Persian Gulf are hundreds of fighter-bombers poised for strikes at installations in Iran. A 100,000-strong rapid deployment force likewise waits for Washington's orders to attack the Iranian people.

The USA is expanding its military facilities on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, has obtained the use of bases in Oman, Kenya, and Egypt, and is conducting talks toward the same end with Somalia. Imperialism claims that these are 'defen-

sive' actions taken to safeguard the 'vital interests' of the USA and its NATO allies. But who are they safeguarding themselves against in our region? What purpose is being served by this concentration of military strength, by the enlargement of existing and the building of new military bases? Why is military pressure on Iran accompanied by the unleashing of an undeclared imperialist war against revolutionary Afghanistan?

Imperialism's hired hacks shamelessly charge the Soviet Union with having created a threat to our region, alleging that it is seeking an outlet to warm seas and control of the world's biggest oil-producing area. This is a standard gambit and the communists are all too familiar with it.

However, in the past few years the peoples of our region have likewise learned much. As regards these 'vital interests,' we know they are the interests of the imperialist oil monopolies. Carter wants to defend them against the region's peoples, who are squaring their shoulders in a powerful anti-imperialist movement. Imperialism thinks it can intimidate them. It is using the propaganda inventions about a 'Soviet threat' and the hysteria over the hostages as a cover for U.S. military expansion in the Persian Gulf, for the U.S. drive to militarize the Indian Ocean.

West: The American people, too, have learned a lot during these years, especially after the war in Vietnam. Despite the torrents of lies poured out daily against Iran, ostensibly over the hostage issue but in reality directed at the revolutionary changes in your country, there is growing concern among the people of the United States due to the reckless course of the Carter administration and the fear he is playing with fire in a sea of oil. The smell of oil has taken on the smell of a nuclear war threat. The people sense a real danger. An indication is that Carter's standing in the public opinion polls as of early June has fallen to the low point it held last autumn — before he attempted to exploit the hostage issue and the events around Afghanistan.

Voices of sanity are being heard and receive a growing response. For example, *Close-Up*, organ of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy,⁹ writes in its spring 1980 issue:

'The past six months have been a critical period in the development of U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. response to the events in Iran and Afghanistan appear to signal a new and more dangerous period in international relations. The Right has characterized the crisis in the Persian Gulf as a result of U.S. military weakness plus the Soviets' move to take advantage of that weakness. This argument fails to understand the roots of the problem and does not fit the facts . . .

First, massive U.S. arms and military aid could not keep the shah in power or guarantee U.S. access to Iranian oil. No amount of military might can enhance the credibility or stability of a government that does not have the support of its own people. Second, U.S. military intervention could not free the hostages or forestall similar events in the future. The general principle is that in Iran, as in Vietnam,

the problem is not a lack of military might. Many international problems are simply not amenable to military solutions.'

Khavari: It would be hard to dispute these conclusions. It is to be hoped that within the next few months they will begin to be shared by ever larger sections of opinion in the USA and other capitalist countries. I should like to underline the significance of the role the communists have to play in promoting such comprehension. In Iran we are stating our stand to the people in the clearest terms possible, despite the innumerable difficulties.

On April 27 of this year our party's Central Committee declared: 'The People's Party of Iran is convinced that the U.S. military aggression on Iranian territory¹⁰ is part of a wide-ranging and extremely dangerous conspiracy against all the achievements of the Iranian revolution, against the existence of the Islamic republic. Its aim is to restore the criminal, piratical domination of U.S.-headed world imperialism in our country.'¹¹ Our central newspaper, *Mardom*, wrote on May 13: 'The USA wants Iran, not the hostages!'

This is a pipe dream of the monopolies. The revolutionary Iranian people will never give their country to imperialism.

West: In the USA we have also clearly defined our stand. Our party stresses the urgency of a speedy, peaceful solution which can free the hostages and avert the danger of a thermonuclear holocaust. Campaigning as the party's candidate for President of the United States, General Secretary Gus Hall wrote in an article published in *The New York Times* on May 28, 1980:

'Neither a tricky, mumbled diplomatic "apology" or John Wayne-type military adventurism will resolve this fateful crisis. What is required is bold and decisive action of a radically different sort — a 180 degree turn in Washington's policy toward Iran.'¹²

Primarily it requires that the United States government once and for all come to terms with the fact that Iran has experienced a great national democratic revolution. Whatever its internal problems, Iran is a sovereign nation no longer ruled by the torture regime of a shah and SAVAK. It is a nation that will never again suffer a shah serving as gendarme over the Persian Gulf and its oil treasures for the benefit of foreign monopolies.

This means that Pentagon and CIA plans for overt or covert intervention in Iran must be definitely shelved. Iron-clad assurances of non-intervention, must be publicly given.

In the opinion of our party, some specific steps to implement such assurances might include the following: withdrawal of all United States naval and military forces from the waters adjacent to Iran; lifting all sanctions on Iran; unfreezing Iranian assets held in United States banks and returning to Iran the vast sums taken by the shah and his entourage; resumption of normal diplomatic relations; ending all government harassment of Iranian students and other Iranian nationals now in the United States; opening negotiations for a nuclear-free zone of peace in the Persian Gulf area.

There should also be a report, or white paper, by a joint Senate-House committee reviewing the actions of the oil and banking interests and the CIA in respect to Iran since 1952. Links of the former shah and his embassy officials to various members of Congress and other government officials should be placed on the public record. Such a document would set the record straight.

These steps would represent a decisive break with the Rockefeller-Kissinger-Brzezinski reactionary, pro-oil monopoly policy pursued by our government. Such steps would lay the basis for the prompt release of the hostages. Further, they would assure normal trade relations, including unimpeded flow of oil from the region.

'Most important,' Gus Hall said, 'such steps would defuse a time bomb that could explode into a thermonuclear war. The whole world would heave a gigantic sigh of relief.'¹³

Khavari: The facts thus make it clear that Iran is not to blame for the crisis in its relations with the USA, for the tension in our region. The key to a settlement of the conflict lies in meeting the legitimate demands of the Iranian people. Our people, who have risen to fight for independence and freedom, want to maintain relations with all nations, relations resting on mutual respect. It is our view that there is no issue that cannot be settled peaceful-

ly. But the Iranian people will no longer tolerate interference in their affairs and stand prepared to repulse imperialist aggression.

1. *Mardom* (central newspaper of the People's Party of Iran), April 24, 1980.

2. ARAMCO is owned by Standard Oil of California (30 per cent), Standard Oil of New Jersey (30 per cent), Texaco (30 per cent), Socony Vacuum (10 per cent). The Rockefeller interests thus have the lion's share of ARAMCO.

3. Reprinted in *International Herald Tribune*, December 12, 1979.

4. *International Herald Tribune*, June 28, 1980.

5. This is a reference to the attempt to take a U.S. strike force into Tehran with the purpose of rescuing the hostages and, at the same time, paralyzing the republic's nerve centers and killing its leaders. — Ed.

6. *Mardom*, May 13, 1980. Another step by U.S. imperialism in this direction was the attempt at a coup in Iran with the aid of its agents in that country. The conspiracy was discovered on July 10 and hundreds of its participants were arrested. — Ed.

7. *Mardom*, April 29, 1980.

8. *Ibid.*

9. This Coalition consists of 41 national peace, religious, and other organizations and groups.

10. See footnote 5.

11. *Mardom*, April 28, 1980.

12. *New York Times*, May 28, 1980.

13. *Ibid.*

Lessons of a thousand days

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TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHILEAN REVOLUTION

On September 4, 1970, Salvador Allende, candidate of Popular Unity — a coalition of six left-wing political alignments holding disparate ideological views — won the presidential elections in Chile. On November 3 he became head of government. In between these two events there was a sharp struggle for state power (the Allende majority was not absolute). Action by the working class and other working people assumed impressive proportions. In factories and universities, and in urban neighborhoods and rural communities supporters of democratic government, some of whom belonged to the right, backed Allende. But reaction had no intention of beating a retreat.

Although General Rene Schneider, commander-in-chief of Chile's armed forces, who abided scrupulously by the Constitution, was assassinated, his successor, General Carlos Prats, mobilized the armed forces in defense of the law. Reaction found itself in isolation. In Congress Allende was supported not only by the Popular Unity MPs but also

by the Christian Democratic MPs, which meant a total of more than two-thirds of the electorate.

Nevertheless, the battle went on. The conspirators went to all lengths to prevent a people's government from coming to power. It has been proved that the threads of the conspiracy led to the transnationals exploiting Chile and that these, in turn, collaborated with the State Department, Pentagon, and CIA. The insurgent gang led by General Roberto Viaux, who had ordered Schneider's murder, was funded and armed by the U.S. Embassy in Santiago. The operation against Allende was under the personal direction of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Chile's democrats frustrated this conspiracy and many more. Large progressive sections of the population united in the course of a persevering struggle. Awareness of the need for revolutionary change was gaining ground.

Another favorable factor was the changed situation on the world scene, where the role of the forces

championing socialism, democracy, peace, and national independence had grown. The Soviet Union's successes in the struggle for détente reinforced the courage and optimism of peoples. The victory of the Cuban revolution had opened a new stage in the Latin American national liberation movement. In the late 1960s and early 1970s there were further socio-political changes, such as the assumption of power by military governments in Peru, Bolivia, and Panama committed to progressive reforms, the formation of the Campora and Peron governments in Argentina, and the consolidation of the Broad Front in Uruguay.

It was in that context that the Communist Party of Chile, which had evolved a precise concept of the revolutionary process, set its sights on uniting all democratic forces on the basis of the steadily growing militancy of the masses. The communists attached great importance to labor strikes, the occupation of vacant lots for house-building, the seizure of land by peasants, the organization of street demonstrations, better day-to-day work in residential associations, municipalities and parliament, assistance in putting a university reform into effect, and vigorous promotion of cultural activity. This interpretation of the requirements of the revolutionary process was prompted by a scientific analysis of reality, by a study of the contradictions in Chilean society and the peculiarities of these contradictions, the situation that was shaping, and lastly, the pressing tasks in the struggle against imperialism, the oligarchy, and the land ownership system.

Working-class unity and an alliance of the workers with the masses in town and countryside, the petty bourgeoisie, middle strata and intellectuals were indispensable for the success of the revolution. In the political sphere, especially in the relations between parties, this social concord found expression in the formation of the Popular Unity bloc. It also manifested itself in joint action with the Christian Democratic Party, particularly in support of the agrarian reform, against General Viaux's attempt at a coup in 1969, and in defense of the law and the constitutional decision nationalizing the copper mines. In October 1970, a joint Pact of Democratic Guarantees was signed and the election of Salvador Allende to the presidency confirmed.

The Chilean revolution lasted a thousand days. The word revolution frightens the vacillating and faint-hearted. Yet it was thanks to the revolution that the nation's leadership was taken over by forces capable of restoring Chile's riches to its people. These forces wrested the big copper industry from U.S. imperialism without compensation, nationalized the ferrous metals and cement industries, and converted saltpetre, iron-ore, and coal deposits into public property. They transferred 16 banks to the state thus placing them in control of 90 per cent of credits, and nationalized 70 textile mills, breweries, and electrical engineering, chemical, and metallurgical plants. They completed the agrarian reform, making 5,500 landed estates the collective property of peasants. They achieved nearly 100-per cent attendance at school by children in the

6-14 age group, gave the people the possibility of participating in every sphere of government, and secured an unprecedented cultural upsurge. As a result, industrial output doubled and the share of wages in the national income rose from 49 per cent in 1959-1964 and 51 per cent in 1965-1970 to 62.8 per cent in 1972.

Both the achievements and the mistakes of the people's government provide extremely valuable lessons for the future.

The Allende government always saw its mission in serving the people. It did everything to this end and its every step met the interests of the masses. The anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes carried out by it were intended to democratize the country. It was a truly popular government immune to the pressure of reaction. Nobody will deny this.

Allende remained loyal to his commitments to the people. Founder of the Socialist Party, he fought for its unity, for a socialist-communist alliance, for joint action by the left-wing parties, and for the unity of all popular forces. Of course, his political position differed from the Communist Party's. But as Luis Corvalan has said, he was at one with the communists regarding the need for an 'uncompromising struggle to ensure that the working class and the people as a whole won positions of power.' Allende was 'a great enlightener of the masses, who advocated the ideas of social transformation,' a 'consistent champion of world peace, a friend of the socialist community, above all of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, and the German Democratic Republic.'

Allende demanded of the government led by him measures to undermine the positions of U.S. imperialism and the clans of finance oligarchs and big landowners. He reacted with dignity to victory and defeat alike. 'President Allende's exemplary conduct,' Fidel Castro wrote, commenting on Allende's death, 'morally destroyed Chile's fascists, for they underrated him, imagining that he would board a plane, would submit to force. They were quite confident that this was what would happen. What crushed and infuriated them was President Allende's attitude, his bravery, his integrity, his heroism, his dignity, his readiness to fight there and then against all tanks and guns and planes, for he knew that he was defending a banner and a cause, even though the fight for that banner and that cause was going on in most unfavorable and difficult conditions. But he knew that he had to defend them, even at the price of his life.'

The local finance oligarchy, aided and abetted by imperialism, took vengeance by imposing fascist terror, which has not subsided for seven years. This is not the first time a revolution has been drowned in blood; but setbacks only make the people more determined to fight on and they always draw useful lessons from them as they prepare for imminent class battles.

Doing one's highest duty by defending the revolution is an imperative, a law of the class struggle. Under the same law a victorious counter-revolution stages a bloodbath and commits the worst excesses.

Where social reforms carried out at a certain moment are not consolidated and then years of regress come and the reforms are abolished, reaction begins to avenge itself brutally all along the line. However, this vengeance is a far cry from cases in which a truly popular revolution is defeated. 'The civilization and justice of bourgeois order,' wrote Marx, commenting on the atrocious suppression of the Paris Communards, 'come out in their lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 235). But in the same period, at a time of the most savage repression, Marx stated: 'Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society' (*ibid.*, p. 241).

Indeed, no counter-revolution can stand up for long against a people fighting with determination. 'Now,' wrote Lenin at the height of counter-revolution in Russia, 'the tsarist autocracy has been restored, the feudal lords are reigning and ruling again, the workers and peasants are everywhere being crushed down again, everywhere the Asiatic despotism of the authorities and infamous maltreatment of the people prevail. But these hard lessons will not have been in vain. The Russian people are not what they were prior to 1905. The proletariat has taught them to fight. The proletariat will bring them to victory' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 304).

The Chilean revolution was based both on an in-depth analysis of the domestic situation, the structural crisis which our country was going through as the dimension of the class struggle grew at the international level, and on the alignment of social and political forces, and the role of the working class and its allies in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The basic provisions of the Popular Unity program adopted in 1969 had been advanced by the Communist Party of Chile at its Tenth Congress (1956).

'Although the Communist Party of Chile has had a temporary setback,' writes Alexander Sobolev, a Soviet scholar, 'the theoretical works of the party and its distinguished leader, Luis Corvalan, are among outstanding Marxist-Leninist works thanks to their content, clarity, keen discernment of the substance of social processes, and profound generalizations. A knowledge of these works, of their conclusions, which reflect current problems of the class struggle, has already had — and is likely to continue to have an invigorating influence on analyses of new problems of the working-class movement. The Chilean revolution has been temporarily defeated, but the immense experience of its preparation and accomplishments, the changes brought about by it, and the rapid modifications of the alignment of class forces at its various stages, and the lessons of its setbacks are of great international significance.'³

We know of the tendency of some anti-fascists, disheartened by the defeat of the Chilean revolution, to accentuate its miscalculations. They consider that calls for socialist construction and other,

seemingly quite radical, slogans should have been put forward from the first as immediate tasks.

We also know the attitude of those interpreters of the drama in Chile who believe that the weakness was in ignorance of the general laws of revolutionary processes or, at any rate, in lack of desire to apply them.

Here is, however, what Edward Boorstein, an American economist who closely followed the course of the Chilean revolution, has to say: 'One must be careful in talking about mistakes. Many of the "mistakes" attributed to the Chilean revolutionaries were not mistakes at all. Some writers have accused the Chilean leaders of the most outlandish things — failure to understand the elementals of Marxism-Leninism, the problem of the state, the need to arm the people, etc. Such criticisms are worse than useless; they sow confusion. They tell a great deal about the lack of understanding of those who make them and nothing about the Chilean leaders. These leaders were Marxists, people tested in long years of practical political struggle. They knew the elementals and far more. If the problems had been half as simple as some of the critical writers describe them, these leaders would have solved them ten times over. Mistakes were made, but on an altogether different level. To truly understand the mistakes, one must first understand the difficulties — why the easy, formula-like solutions presented by some critics were not possible.'⁴

Life has shown — witness earlier and present-day revolutionary processes (meaning Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan in the latter case) — that socialism can be achieved not by launching radical appeals but primarily through sustained and courageous struggle by a united people and by winning to the side of the revolutionary forces a popular majority actively seeking social change. From this point of view, the substance of political leadership is to dialectically investigate reality, make scientific generalizations, and follow a principled class policy.

We consider that as far as the Chilean people are concerned, the most valuable lesson of the 1970-1973 period is the conclusion that the working people's life and the form of government can be transformed through revolutionary mass struggle and not through conciliation with reaction or through acts of terrorism. Another fundamental lesson closely connected with the first is that partial gains or even the assumption of power are not enough. It is necessary to democratize society from top to bottom and abolish anti-democratic institutions. And the important thing is that the drama experienced by millions of Chileans when the issue of freedom was one of life and death revealed the attitude of every party and every organization.

To quote our General Secretary Luis Corvalan, Chile's communists 'have never tried to impose their experience on anybody. But the experience of every party belongs to all. It is part of the army of international experience. . . . Although the Chilean revolution was drowned in blood we consider that our defeat does not rule out the possibility of a

peaceful road in a number of countries. At the same time, we infer from our experience that the general laws of revolution operate under any circumstances, whatever the road.¹⁵

The general laws of class struggle and revolution and their operation under definite circumstances, also found reflection in Chile, where mass action was the decisive factor. This is very important to us as communists. What matters is not the Chilean people's mistakes but the greatness of what they accomplished. This is not to say that we conceal our own miscalculations; the Communist Party has earnestly and self-critically analyzed its mistakes and does its best to avoid them in new situations. We do not deny our responsibility, for the vanguard must pursue a correct policy in alliance with forces that do not subscribe entirely to our line but are willing to fight the common enemy.

Unity of the people and unity of the leadership are basic elements in a revolution. Reaction understood this better than some members of the Popular Unity government. By focussing attention on contradictions between parties and advocating every form of anti-communism, it contrived to split the working-class and popular movement and provoke differences among democrats. This proved fatal to the revolutionary process. The problem of forming a united revolutionary leadership cannot be solved voluntaristically: it requires a definite coincidence of program provisions and strategic objectives. As this coincidence was lacking, right- and 'left'-wing opportunism came to play an important part; it tried to influence the Popular Unity government in order to undermine its ability to repulse the counter-revolution.

'It should be clear,' said Luis Corvalan at a meeting of the CPC Central Committee in August 1977, 'that had our party been much stronger, much more effective theoretically, ideologically, and politically, the situation would certainly have been different, for in that case we would have been or become the acknowledged vanguard of the working class and the people as a whole in those days. As a matter of fact, this is perhaps one of the most crucial lessons that we must draw in order to build a bigger and qualitatively better party.'¹⁶

What made the Chilean revolution instructive was not only its positive aspects. Other revolutions, such as the Sandinista revolution, which went further than ours, took account of both its gains and its temporary setbacks. For instance, the ill-advised approach of some people to the alignment of forces among Chile's military, and the impossibility or inability to influence the position of the armed forces, served as a warning.

In seven years of fascist rule in Chile, all the problems that the revolution wrestled with have gone from bad to worse. They have acquired new aspects, become even more grave, and are aggravating the antagonistic contradictions in Chilean society.

Fascism has made a shambles of the economy. It uses a recipe of the Chicago school, a neo-liberal

economic policy turning Chile into a country with a glittering façade and garish show-windows, and this misleads part of the population. A small group of well-to-do people feels happy; it is the social mainstay of the fascist regime. Besides, a consumer mentality and illusions affect many more people, misleading them and influencing their behavior.

However, the real consequences of fascism's economic policy are being felt more and more strongly. Imperialist domination is increasing, assuming the character of unrestrained neo-colonialist plunder. The concentration and centralization of capital are giving the monopolies profits from extended reproduction that had earlier gone to other business sectors. Two clans of finance oligarchs own more property than the rest of the bourgeoisie. As the economy is deformed and dislocated, the regime has to import capital goods and large quantities of raw materials. Dependence has become inherent in the system.

Practically one-fourth of the workforce is unemployed; over one-third of the production capacities is unused; investments make up only half the average for Latin America; and inflation runs at 40 per cent annually. Output indices have fallen short of those under the Popular Unity government. The housing shortage is growing increasingly more acute, urban development is inadequate, and the balance of trade and payments is unfavorable to say the least. Import of consumer goods is twice as great as that of capital goods and the external debt is growing at a rate of \$4 million a day. Some spheres of culture have been paralyzed or have declined, the working class is growing poor, and numerous members of the middle strata have been ruined. All this has been caused by the terrorist dictatorship of the more predatory sections of local finance capital propped by imperialism, a dictatorship with arbitrary rule, corruption, and crime as its hallmarks.

Concentration of capital leads inevitably to concentration of labor; the demands of the core of the industrial proletariat coincide with those of workers in transport, construction, and commerce, the new agricultural proletariat, workers in the forest industry, agrarian-industrial complexes and the services industry. The proportion of ruined members of the middle strata is on the rise. The big clans' use of management methods of dependent state-monopoly capitalism is prejudicing the interests of the overwhelming majority of Chileans, including numerous members of the bourgeoisie and landowners and even of the monopoly groups uninvolved with the fascist clique. All over the country, an anti-fascist national unity is urged. Within this unity the working class would be the chief force and diverse social and ideological currents would operate from their own positions.

Great credit is due to Chile's left for preserving its unity in the face of fascism. The Popular Unity bloc is still there. It comprises the Communist, Left Christian, Radical and Socialist parties, MAPU⁷ and the Worker-Peasant MAPU Party. There are trends toward a realignment of the bloc's member

parties. As for the communists, we are interested in left unity and a more dynamic Popular Unity policy. We uphold the cohesion of the bloc not because of its name but because it groups political forces whose mission is to carry out the revolutionary tasks left by the government of President Allende.

In the years of fascist terror the Chilean people have shown a high degree of political awareness; they have learned much and gained a better grasp of the problems facing the country. They are in a militant mood. The opposition comprises Popular Unity, the CDP and other forces. The military junta is ruling by violence but action by the people as a whole is in the making at the grass-roots. Democratic unity reaches beyond parties. The Catholic Church sides with the people; it has identified itself with fascism's victims and so has an important role to play in the future of the nation. Labor unions are setting an example of action and paving the way for advance. Women and young people are important contingents in the struggle of our nation, which has the sympathy and support of world opinion.

Ten years after the memorable days of 1970, the Chilean people are experiencing new repressions but the struggle for freedom is mounting. The forces that will honorably carry forward the historic cause of liberation are growing. The thousand days during which the Popular Unity government was in power are becoming more and more a living stimulus and radiant example for all who are involved in the people's struggle.

1. *El Pleno de agosto de 1977 del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de Chile*. Ediciones Colo-Colo, 1978, p. 41.

2. Fidel Castro, Beatriz Allende, *Homenaje a Salvador Allende*. Buenos Aires, 1973, pp. 78-79.

3. Preface to M. Kudachkin *Chile: La experiencia de la lucha por la unidad de las fuerzas de izquierda y las transformaciones revolucionarias*. Moscú, 1978, p. 8.

4. Edward Boorstein, *An Inside View ... Allende's Chile*. New York, 1977, p. X.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

7. Popular Unity Action Movement.

Grenada: on the road to people's democracy

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The revolution of 1979 gave the people of Grenada their first-ever freedom and sense of national dignity, and brought them the possibility of building a new society governed by justice. More than two centuries of British rule and almost three decades of a pro-imperialist dictatorship are now a thing of the past.

Grenada's history is one of unrelenting struggle against slavery, exploitation, and poverty, against the arbitrary rule of a colonial power. In this struggle there have been many bitter setbacks, but there also have been important advances. In 1951 popular unrest compelled London to give Grenada limited internal autonomy.

This was precisely when Eric Gairy, a trade unionist, was in the leadership of the popular movement. Using the confidence of the people, he took over key offices in the self-administration bodies, and then betrayed his people, who were demanding liberation. He gained personal control over the local administration, the Grenada United Labour Party, and the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union, and steered a course toward collaboration with the British authorities.

The Gairy government openly declared that it

Grenada is situated in the most southerly of the Windward Islands and includes the southern half of the Windward Islands, the largest of which is Carriacou. It has an area of 344 square kilometres and a population of 115,000.

was opposed to communism, would cooperate with the 'Western democracies,' and would place the nation on the foundation of 'free' enterprise. The GULP sometimes gave the nation's other pro-imperialist organization, the Grenada National Party, intermittent stints in office, but there was no essential change in the policies of the ruling circles. They did not change even after Grenada was given the status of a West Indies Associated State in 1967. These policies led to the enrichment of the oligarchy, an intensification of neo-colonialist exploitation, and growing pauperization of the masses.

At first the resistance of the workers was spontaneous. But gradually, due to the persevering efforts of advanced workers and progressive segments of the petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals, the conditions were created for meaningful action through the trade unions, public organizations, the press, the cooperative movement, and so on. This resulted in the emergence of two left political organizations — Joint Effort for Welfare, Education and Liberation led by Unison Whiteman and the Movement for the Assemblies of the People with Maurice Bishop at its head. In 1973 these two groups came together and became known as the New Jewel Movement. This produced the vanguard capable of directing the actions of the people and invigorating their struggle for their rights.

Apprehensive lest these developments take a dangerous turn, the British, in collusion with the

local oligarchy, decided to grant independence to the nation with the reins of government firmly in Gairy's hands. They hoped this would heighten their puppet's prestige, subvert the revolutionary movement, and consolidate the neo-colonialist regime.

The British decision evoked a storm of indignation. The NJM mobilized thousands of people to protest. But the government responded with more brutalization. On November 18, 1973 six NJM leaders were arrested and imprisoned. This triggered a general strike. The wave of strikes and demonstrations gathered momentum; their participants demanded Gairy's immediate resignation. However, even with all this evident popular opposition Gairy became Prime Minister after Grenada was proclaimed an independent nation within the British Commonwealth on February 7, 1974.

The formal withdrawal of the British had no fundamental effect. Grenada remained a dependent satellite economy tied into the imperialist network. The only new element was that U.S. neo-colonialism entrenched itself more firmly.

Economically, Grenada was one of the most backward nations in the Caribbean: on the eve of the revolution average per capita income did not exceed \$280. The economy was entirely dependent on a few items of export (nutmeg, bananas, cocoa-beans, and copra) and on the tourist industry. Only 8 per cent of the able-bodied population (according to statistics for 1970) were employed in industry and crafts.

Agriculture was in the hands of a small group of 38 landowners linked to the big capitalists. In 1975 they owned 31 per cent of the crop area. The big landowners were oriented on exports, having had no interest in producing food for the home market. This agrarian country was unable to meet even half of the population's food requirements because of its one-sided export specialization.

The tourist industry was controlled by a few transnationals. They imported all the equipment for hotels and for the servicing of tourists. The tourist centers were in fact alien enclaves in the Grenadian economy. At least four-fifths of the revenue from the tourist industry was remitted abroad.

The serious difficulties experienced by the economy did not worry Gairy. His concern was chiefly to satisfy the interests of his imperialist patrons, increase his personal fortune, and reward his stooges. Fiscal accountability was unheard of, and corruption and arbitrary rule flourished.

While Gairy and his myrmidons became millionaires, allocations for social services were reduced to a bare minimum. Hospitals had insufficient doctors and nurses and were short of medicines; even sheets were unavailable for beds. School buildings fell into disrepair, and there were no school-books for the pupils. In 1974 the Gairy government stopped paying its contribution to the University of the West Indies.¹ In 1978 only three Grenadian students attended the university under government sponsorship.

Violence thrived. To suppress opposition, any

manifestation of protest, Gairy devised a multi-stepped system of repressive organs: army, police, a special police, and a personal guard (Mongoose squad). To assert his power he made use of superstition, declaring that God had appointed him to rule Grenada, and his henchmen spread the fable that God was punishing his enemies.

On the international scene Gairy pursued an openly pro-imperialist policy, cooperating with the most reactionary regimes — the fascist Pinochet junta, the South Korean dictator, the South African racists, and the Israeli Zionists. To get closer to the core of U.S. imperialism, he repeatedly offered a military base to the USA.

He combined buffoonery with an ultra-reactionary foreign policy. While ignoring humanity's really urgent problems, he routinely asked the UN General Assembly to investigate the issue of Unidentified Flying Objects.

NJM activists were tireless in their efforts to explain the situation to the population, and campaigned against all the vices of the Gairy regime — corruption, grovelling to imperialism, mysticism, cruelty. In the campaigns against the rotten regime use was made also of the weekly newspaper published by the NJM. Holding meetings, rallies and talks among small groups the NJM mobilized workers and peasants, students and the middle segments for participation in strikes and demonstrations.

At the 1976 parliamentary elections the NJM, which acted in alliance with other opposition forces, won the support not only of the workers but also of a large segment of the middle strata. With the Gairy 'democracy' falling apart, the authorities had recourse to outright manipulation. Nevertheless, the opposition won six of the 15 seats in parliament. But, on the whole, these elections made it clear that no democratic reforms could be achieved by parliamentary means.

Government policy alienated a steadily growing number of people. Even the bourgeoisie turned away from Gairy. The objective factors for the emergence of a revolutionary situation took shape in the country. By its intensive educational campaign, its advocacy of a revolutionary ideology, and its efforts to unite its own ranks, the NJM helped to create the subjective conditions for that situation's development. Armed detachments led by the NJM Political Bureau rose in revolt on March 13, 1979. The military barracks of the Gairy army were captured. The radio station was taken over and the masses were called upon to support the insurrection. Thousands of people responded. Within 12 hours the revolutionary forces were in firm control of Grenada and power passed to the people's government.

Grenada became a nation welded together by the alliance between the workers and peasants, with all segments of the population, except the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, participating in the running of the country. In keeping with the principles of people's democracy and anti-imperialism, this nation pursues a socialist orientation.

The Assembly of the People's Revolutionary

Government consists of representatives of all strata, except those that had discredited themselves by undisguised collaboration with the Gairy regime. It meets regularly to propose and discuss legal measures to ensure the further development of the revolution. The Cabinet is the principal executive of policy.

The ruling New Jewel Movement comprises advanced elements of Grenada's society. The party adheres to the ideas of scientific socialism and the principles of democratic centralism. The NJM is now the sole organized force with real influence over the masses. This devolves on it the tremendous responsibility of involving the entire people in the revolution.

The People's Revolutionary Government has given all workers the right to join trade unions of their choice, and within the first year of the revolution 90 per cent of the workforce had become unionized — an increase of 40 per cent over the pre-revolutionary figures.

Our gains are guarded by the People's Revolutionary Army and the People's Militia. These are composed of persons from the working masses who had taken up arms to uphold their government against all of the intrigues of Gairy, the imperialists, and their accomplices.

The immediate aims of the revolutionary government are to give the people access to education, invigorate economic life, and provide the population with food and employment.

The very first year of the revolution witnessed noteworthy achievements. Tuition fees have been significantly reduced at primary and secondary schools. Schoolchildren receive free lunches and milk. The elementary school curriculum has been revised and the teacher training program has been extended. A Center for Popular Education has been established to implement a national literacy program. There is now a vocational training institute. The number of our students studying at the University of the West Indies has grown from three to 109.

Despite the colossal difficulties and the attacks of imperialism, the Revolutionary Government has dramatically alleviated the economic situation. In 1978 Grenada had a budget deficit of 4,000,000 East Caribbean dollars,² but as early as at the close of 1979 it had a budget surplus of 2,600,000 East Caribbean dollars. Exports of nutmeg, copra, bananas, and cocoa-beans have gone up 26 per cent.

The pattern of agriculture is being changed to resolve the food problem. More land is being planted to food crops. Considerable attention is being given to the fishing industry, which is being provided with modern ships.

It is planned to place the tourist industry on a sound footing and make it a major contributor of funds for economic development.

The government is expanding its construction program. The most important project is an international airport. Under construction with fraternal assistance from Cuba this airport will substantially improve communication with other countries and allow us to host more foreign tourists.

The government is therefore taking steps to open up as many more jobs as possible. Steady economic development — particularly the growth of agriculture, the tourist industry, and construction — is creating the conditions for solving this problem.

The National Import Board has been established to ensure the import of food and regulate food prices. The National Commercial Bank, formed after the revolution, controls the nation's finances and the operation of foreign banks. These new government agencies have helped to cut the inflation rate.

The international factor is a major element influencing the development of the revolution. This is particularly apparent in a small country like Grenada. Our people were able to accomplish and consolidate the revolution, bringing down the neo-colonialist Gairy regime, only because of the changed world balance of strength in favor of social progress and the liberation movement, because the Cuban revolution had altered the situation in the Caribbean in direct proximity of the USA. 'Cuba,' Maurice Bishop said at the Havana Non-aligned Conference, 'is now the best example of what socialism can do in a small country for health, education, employment, for ending poverty, prostitution, and disease.' Small wonder that Cuba has become an inspiring example for the revolution in Grenada and then its faithful ally.

With an exemplary display of proletarian internationalism, Cuba is providing outstanding assistance in hydropower development, medicine, higher education, adult literacy, fisheries, forestry, transport, cultural organization and sports.

Since the triumph of the revolution, Grenada has broken off diplomatic relations with Chile, South Korea, and South Africa, and has developed close relationships with the socialist world and the national liberation movements. It is now an active member of the non-aligned movement. Today Grenada can be counted upon to give unqualified support to the Palestine Liberation Organization, the POLISARIO Front, the governments of Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Kampuchea, and the revolutionary forces of Namibia, South Africa, and Puerto Rico. Indeed, all peoples fighting for peace, justice and socialism can count on Grenada's support.

The progressive domestic and international postures adopted by Grenada are irritating the imperialists. Diplomatic pressures began to be brought to bear from the very first day of the revolution. Imperialism did not confine itself to diplomatic pressure. Since the triumph of the Grenadian revolution several CIA-orchestrated plots have been uncovered. Their purpose was to assassinate the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Government and the New Jewel Movement and cut short democratic reforms. It has become an integral part of CIA policy to subvert and destabilize the nation's economy. Shortages of prime necessities are being created artificially, fiscal sabotage is rife, and tourist travel is restricted. The U.S. and West European press has started a vocal campaign in order to dis-

credit the policies of the People's Revolutionary Government.

These attacks are a typical example of the U.S. policy of 'punishing' nations that have opted for independent development. But behind the Grenadian events one must see the peculiarities of the present situation and the broad historical perspective in the Caribbean as a whole.

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PROGRESS BOOKS

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The overthrow of the dictatorships in Grenada and Nicaragua, the maturing of a revolutionary situation in El Salvador, Cuba's firmness in defending its gains, and the awakening of the peoples of neighboring countries are indications that the liberation movement in the Caribbean has reached unparalleled proportions. The people are no longer inclined to remain docile in the face of the tyranny of the oligarchy, foreign dictation and exploitation. The entire system of neo-colonialist domination is crumbling. U.S. imperialism is taking every possible step to reinforce its strategic positions. Undisguised interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations, including direct intervention, has become standard practice.

In this situation small Grenada, like the other embattled Caribbean nations, is acutely in need of international support. Progressives throughout the world have hailed the Grenadian revolution. The Festival of the Revolution, marking the first anniversary of the people's victory, was a further demonstration of solidarity. Representatives of 47 fraternal countries and parties came to the capital, St. George's.

At the Festival Prime Minister Bishop expressed his government's anxiety over the deteriorating situation in the Caribbean and the danger overhanging nations defending their independence and right to choose their road of development. He called for unity in the struggle to preserve peace and security in the Caribbean.

Like the peoples of Nicaragua and Cuba, the people of Grenada have accomplished a historical exploit. 'One must have a sense of history,' Fidel Castro said, 'to understand the merit of the Sandinista Revolution, the merit of the Grenadian revolution. Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba are three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty, and justice, on the very threshold of imperialism.'³

The Grenadian revolution has demonstrated that with the support of peoples that have already won independence and with the solidarity of world progressive opinion even the smallest countries, even those of them that are situated in a zone influenced by imperialism's main center can smash the chain of oppression. The events in Grenada are part of the general process of revolutionary changes in the Caribbean, part of the world revolutionary process. At one moment or another and in one country or another imperialism is still capable of defeating the liberation movement, but these can only be transient setbacks. The advance toward the end objective of the peoples is irreversible. The task of revolutionaries is to mobilize all means of countering the forces of reaction, including such a mighty means as proletarian internationalism.

1. A regional institution of higher learning set up and funded (within fixed national quotas) by the English-speaking nations of the Caribbean — Ed.

2. A currency in circulation in English-speaking East Caribbean countries and territories. One EC dollar equals U.S. \$0.37. — Ed.

3. Granma, March 10, 1980.



Interminable lies on short waves

BOOKS ON BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA

The present deterioration of the world situation brought about by U.S.-led reactionary imperialist circles is accompanied, as in previous cases, by an intensification of anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

In marking the first anniversary of the Conservative government in Britain, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher promised 'a massive propaganda campaign such as we have never yet mounted before' against the 'spread of communism.'¹ She was referring to the use of high technology, including earth satellites capable of relaying television broadcasts to socialist countries.

Although the means are new, the strategic aims of imperialist propaganda have remained unchanged. They are to discredit socialism as an idea and as an existing social system, to shatter the socialist world community. By directing its propaganda strikes at the USSR and other socialist states, imperialism counts on weakening the international communist and working-class movement, on eroding the forces of national liberation, progress, and democracy worldwide.

The fraternal parties are attaching great significance to combating this imperialist ideological subversion. To be successful in this struggle it is imperative to know the enemy well, to study him. In recent years quite a few books exposing the aims of bourgeois propaganda and researching its methods have been printed in the socialist countries. Below we present some of these books, drawing attention to those sections in which the authors analyze hostile propaganda against socialist countries. With radio being used as the chief medium seeking an audience in these countries this review is devoted mainly to it.

Subversion by ether

Studies by the Bulgarian publicist Stela Avishai on the Voice of America and by the Soviet researchers V. Artyomov and V. Semyonov on the British Broadcasting Corporation² offer a large array of facts and theoretical material that leave no doubt as to whose interests these radio stations are serving and reveal the methods used by them. The only difference is that the BBC is more experienced³ and, by virtue of this, has recourse to greater subtlety. It will be recalled that powerful American radio centers — Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty that operate in Munich, the FRG — were set up at the height of the cold war. Subversive broadcasting in

the languages of the peoples of socialist countries is now the *raison d'être* of these centers.⁴ Even the U.S. press has noted that over 30 per cent of the broadcasts from Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are formed of materials whose dissemination in socialist countries is punishable by law.⁵

Some ten years ago Zbigniew Brzezinski, the apostle of present-day anti-communism and the U.S. President's National Security Adviser, advocated using every possible means of propaganda against socialist countries. The Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Europe, he said, were precisely the vehicles with the decisive role to play.⁶ Since 1977 the U.S. foreign policy propaganda machine oriented on stepping up psychological warfare against socialist countries has been operating in accordance with a program of heightened effectiveness-proclaimed by Carter. A new foreign policy propaganda center, the International Communication Agency, was set up under that program to coordinate Washington's global propaganda actions. Money is not spared for this purpose. For instance, in the current fiscal year \$93,900,000 were allocated for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The Voice of America now has a budget of \$85,500,000.

This money is used to maintain a huge army of experts and keep the radio stations equipped with the latest technology. The psychological warfare business is free of crises and unemployment. In recent years there has been a sharp increase of foreign-language broadcasting from the capitalist countries, the weekly dose now amounting to 822 hours from the Voice of America, 728 from the BBC, and 578 from Deutsche Welle (FRG); most of this time is devoted to broadcasts to socialist countries.

Doctoring of facts

The BBC, write Artyomov and Semyonov, was one of the first to turn the latest news into the main form of propaganda. They analyze the BBC's handling of facts to achieve a planned propaganda effect — singling out such 'factological' propaganda methods as purposeful selection of information, continued repetitions of news items (although they may not be significant at all) with the aim of dramatizing and focusing attention on them, the balancing of news (a balance of 'self-critical' and positive news items concerning capitalist countries), and a studiedly impartial reading voice with constant references to 'informed' sources to give an impression of neutrality. In characterizing the style of the Voice of America, Stela Avishai writes: 'News

items are presented in brief and in quick succession... This may be compared with a volley of gunfire, with the mind of the listener as the target' (*Propaganda Made in USA*, p. 126).

In both works it is noted that the British and U.S. radio stations slant the facts, although their bias is not always obvious. 'The tendentiousness of the BBC and other Western stations employing similar tactics,' the Soviet authors write, 'can be bared only by a special, long, and painstaking analysis, which will hardly be done by an ordinary listener' (p. 117). This is precisely what these authors have done, using innumerable examples to show how information is doctored. We will give only one of these examples. In a broadcast to the USSR the BBC reported the Chairman of the USSR State Planning Commission as telling a Supreme Soviet session that there was a shortfall in housing construction and that in the current five-year plan period only the Ukraine and Byelorussia had fulfilled their housing programs. Actually, the following was said: 'It must be noted that there are significant shortcomings in housing construction. Under the current five-year plan only the Ukraine and Byelorussia have gone forward with housing construction in accordance with the average estimate cost established for them.' The point was, consequently, not that little housing was built in the USSR but that building costs should be lower and fit into the estimates. This shifting of accents is not immediately discernible, but an analysis of the broadcasts from London to Soviet listeners makes it abundantly clear that the 'BBC outlaws truth' (pp. 148-49).

Or take the flood of news items from the Voice of America and the BBC in connection with the events in Afghanistan. Even a correspondent of the British bourgeois newspaper *The Times* had to expose the Voice of America as an unmitigated liar. This correspondent happened to be in Kabul when that station was presenting a report alleging that Afghan soldiers were fighting Soviet troops in the Bala Gissar fortress in the heart of the Afghan capital. There were no battles and no troops were to be seen in the streets, the correspondent testified.⁷

It is no secret that facts can be threaded together in such a way that together they are tantamount to a lie. This is a method in the armory employed by Radio Free Europe in its press reviews beamed to Bulgaria. There are no distortions in the excerpts from the Bulgarian press. But the 'review' is composed entirely of negative facts and criticisms.

The cunning of 'factological' propaganda is that it is swallowed by politically inexperienced persons, who let themselves be 'depressed by certain sad and deplorable facts' and hence lose the 'ability soberly to appraise the forces' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 506).

'We must take not individual facts,' Lenin wrote, 'but the sum total of facts, without a single exception, relating to the question under discussion. Otherwise there will be the inevitable, and fully justified, suspicion that the facts were selected or compiled arbitrarily, that instead of historical phenomena being presented in objective intercon-

nection and interdependence and treated as a whole, we are presenting a "subjective" concoction' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 272-3).

False values

Andrzej Lawrowski, director of the Polish Institute of Research Into Contemporary Problems of Capitalism, devotes his book to U.S. sociological propaganda.⁸ At first glance, this propaganda, to which our ideological adversaries are having recourse more and more frequently seems to have no direct political orientation, although 'in fact it is a means of imposing a definite way of life on groups of individuals or even an entire society' (p. 50). Using materially identifiable aspects of life, this propaganda aims at demolishing and remolding peoples' value orientations. The proponents of sociological propaganda deliberately avoid distinguishable political arguments, selecting subjects that have no direct link to politics, for instance, cultural life, leisure, and fashions, and insinuating that capitalism is a society of 'equal opportunities' and 'unrestricted freedoms,' where success and, consequently, money for the satisfaction of all desires, all requirements, are easy to come by. Things that in socialist countries are criticized, denounced or rejected as conflicting with our ideology, with the norms of socialist morality and human association, are approved by bourgeois commentators, presented by them as an 'inalienable right of the individual' in a 'democratic' (read capitalist) society. The advertisements of the bourgeois way of life represent a deliberate set of misinformation and are remote from reality (p. 23). Indeed, the touted U.S. model never did and cannot include, for example, unemployment, which is starkly real to millions of ordinary Americans.

The value orientations of an individual cannot, of course, be changed overnight, and for that reason sociological propaganda does not pursue immediate results; it is projected over a long period of time. But its architects hope that it will be ultimately instrumental not only in reshaping the value orientations of its objects but also in getting them to accept alien political views, to 'emigrate spiritually.'

Psychological warfare

A radio production of H.G. Wells' *The War of the Worlds*, broadcast in the USA on October 30, 1938, demonstrated how radio can affect people emotionally. Listeners who did not tune in at the start of the program or paid no attention to the announcement that this was no more than a radio production, believed that the nation had been invaded by an unidentified enemy and that a war was raging. There was mass panic and a special announcement was required to calm the frightened people. This became a textbook example and was largely responsible for the appearance and use of the very term 'psychological warfare' in the USA.

The Fourth Front, published in the GDR,⁹ states that psychological warfare 'is an essential component of imperialism's preparations for another war

and is, at the same time, an independent element of its political strategy and tactics in peacetime' (p. 25). Political and psychological situations are created to induce the population, individual groups of the population, or even the government of another country to follow desirable behavior patterns. This propaganda is aimed not so much at the consciousness as at the subconsciousness (and in this respect the radio is the most suitable instrument). As in war, psychological warfare is directed by 'general headquarters' (propaganda centers) that plan various operations (psychological subversion).

This book reminds us that in 1961 a NATO committee for education, culture and information adopted a document, that is still operative, in which it is recommended that the members of the North Atlantic bloc should conduct regular radio broadcasts in languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty nations (p. 90). As a rule, every spiral of NATO's arms race is preceded by increased allocations for psychological warfare agencies. These agencies immediately begin digging up the old myth about the 'threat from the East.'

Bourgeois literature divides propaganda into three categories, depending on its source: 'white,' i.e., official, government propaganda; 'grey' — received from 'independent' sources; and 'black' — specially concocted by various agencies. An essential feature of psychological warfare, *The Fourth Front* says, is the prevalence of 'grey' and 'black' propaganda.

A typical example of psychological subversion, planned and coordinated by the 'general headquarters' of world imperialism, the USA, is the hypocritical 'human rights' campaign with foreign radio stations cramming the ether with turbid — 'grey' and 'black' — sources of information about alleged suppressions and deprivations of human rights in countries with a 'communist regime.'

The Trojan Horse of 'well-wishers'

It is an open secret that by virtue of their different levels of political and economic development and of distinctions in history and traditions there sometimes is a divergence of views between socialist countries on individual issues. 'Distinctions between social interests in and between individual socialist countries are researched by and comprise the bedrock of VOA propaganda,' Stela Avishai writes (pp. 151-152).

The Soviet Union is constantly the principal target of all anti-communist attacks. Programs in Russian and other languages of the peoples of the USSR consume the largest portion of the foreign broadcasting time of many bourgeois radio stations. Anti-Sovietism, chiefly in the form of attempts of all sorts to discredit the policies of the CPSU and the Soviet government, is given the highest priority in imperialist propaganda. As 'reliable sources' it makes increasing use of ideological renegades — 'dissidents' — prepared to smear their own country for praise or for a sop.

The striving to compromise the Soviet Union at all costs is the keynote of the broadcasts beamed by imperialist radio stations to the entire socialist world, particularly Bulgaria. Hostile voices in the ether endeavor to portray the heartfelt friendship of our people for the land of the great Lenin as 'Sovietization' of the Bulgarians, while the consistent socialist internationalism guiding the Bulgarian Communist Party is depicted as 'adjustment' to the CPSU, as loss of national face.

In *A Front Without Armistice*,¹⁰ the Czechoslovak author Milan Matous presents a detailed study of the ideological subversion against Czechoslovakia during the crisis of 1968-1969. The BBC and Radio Free Europe took a most active part in the counter-revolutionary incitement. It was then that the BBC advanced a new motto, which was later adopted by other bourgeois radio stations, namely: 'By criticizing socialism we are helping to improve it.'

Imagine, imperialist propaganda assuming the role of a well-wisher of socialism. Indeed, hypocrisy knows no bounds! It was certainly not success that compelled this propaganda to change its tune. 'The failure of the plans for a counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia,' Milan Matous writes, 'compelled the centers of anti-communist subversion to undertake new attempts to reinterpret and somewhat modify the orientation of ideological subversion' (p. 205). In the propaganda beamed to Czechoslovakia, for example, more attention was given to the conditions of the working people, particularly of the factory workers.

The 'worker' theme figures most prominently in the programs beamed by Radio Free Europe, which is in first place among stations of its type for the volume of broadcasts to Czechoslovakia. These programs are studded with 'details' and criticisms of shortcomings at individual enterprises (to give listeners the impression that the station is well informed, while in fact it uses material from the Czechoslovak press). The stations' propagandists constantly assert that the party, the trade unions, the governmental bodies, and the leadership of Czechoslovakia pursue an 'anti-labor policy.' By disparaging socialist emulation and the initiatives and innovations of the working people, Radio Free Europe tries to prove to the Czechoslovak workers that their living standard depends not on the quality and results of their work but on how much they can 'wrest' from the factory management.

In the broadcasts of West German radio stations to the GDR (along the border with it there are 326 radio and 38 television transmitters) one frequently hears, as the authors of *The Fourth Front* note, acknowledgement of the people's achievements in the socialist German state. However, accompanying these acknowledgements is the importunate allegation that these achievements are due not to the socialist transformations put into effect under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party but solely to the national character of Germans, to their industriousness, thrift, conscientiousness, and discipline (p. 108).

From the aforesaid it is obvious that while the strategic aims of our adversaries remain constant, they continue to look for and develop new tactical methods of fighting socialism, and readjust themselves to the changing situation.

Communists and propaganda

The two opposing social systems differ also in their approach to propaganda. For bourgeois radio stations, as we have seen, the approach is one of manipulation, and this is not concealed by leading capitalist researchers. The Marxist-Leninist conception of propaganda rejects exaltation, the exploitation of people's feelings and instincts, for this is in principle alien to scientific content and common sense.

In the struggle against bourgeois propaganda the main weapon is truth about existing socialism, an objective presentation of its advantages over capitalism, of its achievements, and of the outlook for removing shortcomings. This weapon explodes the slander against the socialist way of life and gives a true picture showing how under bourgeois democracy the masses are denied rights in contrast to the tangible rights and freedoms enjoyed by citizens of the socialist community. This is the opinion of the authors of the books we have reviewed. 'The most dependable barrier to the penetration of alien ideas,' Stela Avishai writes, 'is the steady improvement of social conditions, the systematic dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas and their conversion into a profound inner conviction of our people' (*Propaganda Made in USA*, p. 158).

It would be a big mistake to underrate the danger of bourgeois propaganda. It is still holding large segments of the population of capitalist and developing countries captive spiritually. In an exploiting society it is hard for people to withstand the daily indoctrination by powerful mass media. But in the socialist countries, too, there are people who succumb to the influence of foreign honey-tongued 'sirens.' These are chiefly people who are beguiled by petty-bourgeois ideology and set their consumer, philistine interests above those of society. Politically illiterate and ideologically immature people, who cannot take their bearings in the torrent of rapidly changing information, likewise come under the influence of the gross propaganda deception.

The authors we have cited offer recommendations on ways of making the struggle against the influence of bourgeois propaganda more effective. They underline the importance of counter-propaganda, of its two basic components — forestalling and exposing the adversary. A combination of dynamic practice with convincing explanations of the problems exploited by hostile propaganda is a dependable method of Marxist-Leninist ideological work.

Anti-communism cannot conduct a debate with

Marxism-Leninism on a genuinely scientific level and therefore directs its propaganda mainly at the commonplace consciousness. It has no coherent system of views and therefore combines diverse aspects and elements of ideology. Consequently, unlike the scientific consciousness, the commonplace consciousness easily succumbs to ideological surrogates, especially when they are served up under a disguise.¹¹ Educational work among the people is effective when it is conducted scientifically. Attention to the need for more effective ideological education, for a constant improvement of this work with account of the dynamic character of the life of present-day society was drawn by the Berlin conference of CC Secretaries of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological problems (July 1979).¹²

Despite all the subterfuges of imperialist propaganda, the ideological struggle between the two social systems is not tilting in favor of the champions of the moribund system. This does not mean, of course, that capitalism is thinking of surrendering its ideological positions. A long and persevering struggle still lies ahead. A significant contribution to the ideological work of fraternal communist and workers' parties is being made by studies of the strategy, tactics, means, and methods of anti-communist centers.

Girgin Girginov,
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Philosophical Sciences

1. *Morning Star*, May 5, 1980.

2. Stela Avishai, *Propaganda Made in USA*, Sofia, Parizdat, 1979, 160 pp.; V. Artyomov, V. Semyonov *The BBC: History, Apparatus, and Propaganda Methods*, Moscow, Iskusstvo, 1978, 256 pp.

3. The BBC began its regular foreign broadcasts in 1932, ten years earlier than the Voice of America.

4. The former became operational on July 4, 1950, and the latter on March 1, 1953. Both were financed and supervised by the CIA, a fact that was long denied by U.S. officialdom. It was admitted by the U.S. Congress only in 1971, and the stations themselves were taken over by the U.S. government, for which purpose it set up the International Communication Agency. However, the CIA continues to maintain close links with them.

5. *New York Post*, April 3, 1973.

6. *Newsweek*, January 1, 1971.

7. *The Times*, February 11, 1980.

8. Andrzej Lawrowski, *Amerykanska propaganda socjologiczna*, Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Ministertwa Obrony Narodowej, 1975, 252 pp.

9. *Die Vierte Front. Zur psychologischen Kriegführung der NATO*, Herausgegeben von Herbert Kruse, Berlin, Militärverlag, 1977, 132 pp.

10. Milan Matous, *Fronta bes priméri*, Prague, Svoboda, 1974, 262 pp.

11. T. Kisov, *The Dialectics of the Commonplace Consciousness*, Sofia, 1979, p. 118 (in Bulgarian).

12. *World Marxist Review*, September 1979.



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