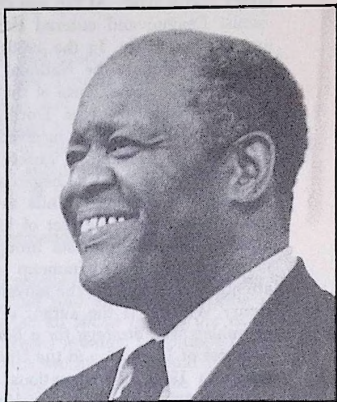


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SPAIN IN MY HEART



by Henry Winston

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

HENRY WINSTON, National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. since 1966, was born in Mississippi in 1911. His grandfather was a slave. At the age of 19 he joined the Young Communist League and entered the struggles of the unemployed in New York City. In the 1930s he was a leader of the YCL. He participated in the National Hunger March to Washington in 1932, aided the defense of the Scottsboro Boys, and took part in other major struggles. During World War II he served in the Army engineers and received an honorable discharge. Over the years he has held a variety of leading posts in the Communist Party. In 1956 he began an 8-year prison sentence under a Smith Act frameup. While in prison he became blind as a result of deliberate neglect of his health by the prison authorities. World-wide protests brought about his release in 1961. During the attempted frameup of Angela Davis he gave special attention to organizing the movement which led to her acquittal. Henry Winston is the author of numerous books, articles and pamphlets. His *Strategy for a Black Agenda: A Critique of New Theories of Liberation in the United States and Africa*, was published in 1973 by International Publishers.

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Spain in My Heart

The Conference of 29 Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, held in Berlin, G.D.R. June 1976, was a great event. It marked a new stage in the struggle for detente and for peace, national independence, social progress and socialism not only for the peoples of Europe, but globally. The results of the Conference represent a significant defeat for imperialism's anti-Soviet, neo-colonialist and racist, anti-Communist offensive against the world's Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Conference declared that international detente corresponds

. . . both to the interests of each people as well as to the cause of progress for the whole of mankind and in no way means the maintenance of the political and social status quo in the various countries, but on the contrary creates optimum conditions for the development of the struggle of the working class and all democratic forces as well as for the implementation of the inalienable right of each and every people freely to choose and follow its own course of development, for the struggle against the rule of the monopolies, and for socialism. (Emphasis added.)

The Conference went on to state:

The position of imperialism, which has not changed its nature, has been weakened as a consequence of the changes in the balance of forces. This finds its expression in the fact that it is neither capable of reversing the historic achievements of socialism nor of halting the advance of the progressive forces and of the movement for the liberation and independence of the peoples. (Emphasis added.)

The Conference called for

. . . solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, strictly adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign independence of each party, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change of a progressive nature and for socialism. The struggle of each party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility towards the working class and the people of that coun-

try are bound up with the mutual solidarity among working people of all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in their struggle for freedom and the strengthening of their independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace.

In reaffirming the principle of solidarity embodied in the slogan, "Workers and oppressed peoples of all countries, unite," the Conference confounded the plots of imperialism and its propagandists. And by declaring that every threat to national sovereignty, peace and social progress comes from imperialism, the Conference simultaneously exposed the lies about "Moscow interference" and "Soviet domination."

As part of its increasingly sophisticated stratagem to isolate the working classes in the capitalist countries and the peoples of the "third world" from their indispensable allies, the USSR and the socialist community, imperialism declares itself for any kind of "socialism" but existing socialism, resulting from the hegemony of the working class led by Communist and Workers' parties. But the "changes in the balance of forces" which imperialism is "not capable of reversing" are due first of all to the "historic achievements" of the socialist countries.

This strategic change in the world balance of forces opens up the perspective for new advances in the struggle against imperialist interference with the sovereignty of European countries. At the same time it enhances the perspective for "free choice" of paths to social progress, for socialism for the working class of the capitalist countries, and "free choice" of roads to liberation for "third world" countries, including that of a non-capitalist path leading to socialism.

The Forces "In Place"

To cover the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, the *New York Times* assigned Flora Lewis. This was appropriate for them, since she is an exceptionally skilled representative of monopoly capitalism. The *New York Times* is the most class conscious of the bourgeois media in the U.S., and through its pages monopoly capitalism arms its opinion-makers for carrying on the fight against the people's movements, domestically and internationally.

Just after the Conference released its final document, Flora Lewis interviewed Santiago Carillo of the Communist Party of Spain. I had hoped, and still do hope that Comrade Carillo would repudiate this interview.

In the interview Flora Lewis dispensed with even the pretense of

objectivity, assuming a role closer to inquisitor than to journalist, as she sought to elicit views contradicting the Conference's stand for detente, peaceful coexistence and its anti-imperialist thrust. Unfortunately, Comrade Carillo's responses, as quoted by Flora Lewis, only reveal the logic of appeasing imperialism instead of struggling against its caricatures of existing socialism as "totalitarianism" and of proletarian internationalism as a ploy for imposing "Moscow hegemony" and "monolithic domination."

In his answers to Flora Lewis the distinct impression is given by Comrade Carillo of attempting to distance himself from "Moscow" while suggesting his acceptability to "Washington." Comparing the internal situation in Spain with that in the U.S., he said, "You have a more intelligent and modern bourgeoisie. The forces that can make these changes are already in place in the U.S." (*New York Times*, July 7, 1976.)

I think it would be astonishing for the oppressed and exploited in the U.S. to hear that the force "in place" in their country—the force that has put the full weight of its economic and military power against the struggle for social change at home and abroad for the more than three decades since the defeat of Axis fascism, is the force that will bring about change in the U.S.! And one wonders, would it be possible to find a single anti-fascist Spanish working person who does not realize that the force "in place" in the U.S. is not a "modern" force for social change—but is that of state monopoly capitalism, the world's most powerful force for upholding every form of class exploitation and national and neo-colonial oppression from Spain to Puerto Rico to apartheid South Africa.

To rename state monopoly capitalism the "intelligent" and "modern" bourgeoisie cannot do away with the fact that the force "in place" in the U.S. is the very same ruling class that kept Franco fascism in power for some 30 years, and now continues as the *primary* force—assisted by its NATO allies—attempting to perpetuate Francoism without Franco.

I am sure that the working class and all democratic minded people in Spain—as well as millions in the U.S.—will never forget that Franco launched his attack on the Spanish Republic with the direct support of Hitler and Mussolini, using the same anti-Soviet, anti-Communist slogans now used by Washington to conceal its imperialist intervention against democratic advance in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Angola, Chile. And the ruling class now "in place" in the U.S. is the same ruling class that betrayed the Spanish Republic and opened the way to World War II by rejecting the call of the Soviet Union,

the Communist and Workers' Parties and the democratic masses of the world to "quarantine the aggressor"—and instead pursued policies of "neutrality" and "non-intervention" against encroaching fascism.

At this time, when imperialism singles out the principle of proletarian internationalism for its most vengeful attacks, it is appropriate to remember that the only state in the world to uphold the demand to quarantine the Axis aggressor, the only state which led in organizing direct support to the Spanish Republic, was the first socialist state.

The principle of proletarian internationalism, "solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin," was reaffirmed by the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. It was this same principle that helped to enlist peoples and states in the struggle for democracy, against fascism, and organized and inspired volunteers from all over the world to fight side by side with the Spanish people. And of the 3,000 members of the Abraham Lincoln Bridge, organized primarily on the initiative of the CPUSA, more than 1,500 died in Spain.

Concern and Surprise

My reaction to Comrade Carillo's *New York Times* interview flows from the responsibility of all class conscious workers to struggle against their "own" state monopolist bourgeoisie. This is especially important in the U.S.—the main pillar of world imperialism. For this reason I am concerned by the interview, as well as surprised. Why am I surprised? The interview with Flora Lewis does not contribute to clarity for the people of the U.S. towards the policy of U.S. imperialism in general, and particularly in relation to Spain. I am particularly concerned, since Comrade Carillo voted for the Conference's final document, which makes such a tremendous worldwide contribution.

Those aspects of the interview dealing with Spanish internal affairs are not within the province of my comments. However, one must identify the U.S. state-monopolistic enemy of our people, who is also the enemy of the Spanish people and all others fighting for their freedom. Moreover, the oppressed and exploited of the U.S. cannot be free as long as the forces "in place" in the U.S. hold back the freedom struggles of the people of Spain, of apartheid South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, etc., of Ireland and all other sectors of the globe still dominated by monopoly capitalism.

While doing battle with an illusory "Moscow domination" in his interview with Flora Lewis, Comrade Carillo presents an illusory

concept of the U.S. ruling class, conflicting with the reality of the views held not only by Communists, by anti-fascists, anti-monopolists, anti-imperialists, but also by millions of the multi-racial working class, and the Black and other oppressed peoples who desperately want social change. In alleging that the USA has "a more intelligent bourgeoisie," and that these constitute "forces that can make these changes and are already in place in the U.S.," Comrade Carillo ignores the bitter experience of the U.S. masses, particularly the oppressed minorities, at the hands of the forces "in place." As a result he simultaneously ignores the mass desire by the exploited working class in the U.S., who daily experience the brutality of this "intelligent" and "modern" bourgeoisie. More than that, the oppressed Black minority and the Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American Indian, Asian and other oppressed peoples are victims of racism, suffering national, class and race oppression. These are the class forces who are positioning themselves to be "in place" to "make these changes in the U.S." This, to me, is the alternative which would also have a tremendously affirmative effect on the struggles everywhere in the capitalist world, including Spain, as well as in the "third world."

Resurrecting "American Exceptionalism"

It appears to me that Comrade Carillo gives no sign that he is aware of the working class and the Black and other oppressed peoples in the U.S. Therefore, he overlooks the class and national struggles and the role of the working class, the leading and unifying force for anti-monopoly alternative.

I am particularly concerned to take issue with Comrade Carillo's theories because they are similar to concepts of "American exceptionalism" advanced by others, including Jay Lovestone and Earl Browder. When Comrade Carillo speaks of an "intelligent and modern bourgeoisie" as the force for social change, he—like Lovestone and Browder before him—is declaring the U.S. immune to the objective laws of capitalism and the class struggle.

In the midst of the Second World War, Browder's theories of an "intelligent and modern bourgeoisie" in the U.S. did immense harm, including the liquidation of the Party. Though the CPUSA was reorganized soon after Browder's repudiation, his concepts momentarily disarmed the working class at a turning point in history—the time when U.S. imperialism was preparing to launch its anti-Communist, anti-Soviet cold war strategy against the working class where it was in power, and to reverse the momentum of working class advance in Western Europe and the U.S., as well as the anti-colonial

independence movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was also just before the racist, anti-labor, anti-Communist onslaught at home was opening the way for the Korean War and later the aggression against Vietnam and all of Indochina.

I think we are now at another historic turning point. As in the aftermath of the defeat of Axis fascism, U.S. and world imperialism are mobilizing their military and economic resources to reverse the balance of forces, to turn the balance against the movements for peace, democracy, liberation and socialism—whose advance was given great impetus by imperialism's defeat in Indochina, the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, the new stage in the struggle for liberation of all Southern Africa, and the new momentum of the working class and people's struggles in Spain, Italy, France and other centers of capitalism.

To advance Browder-like theories of "American exceptionalism" is to put oneself on a collision course with the peoples' movements and the aims of the European Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

An "Autonomous Europe"?

Comrade Carillo also extends his concept of the "intelligent and modern bourgeoisie" in the U.S. to the international arena. In his July 7 *New York Times* interview he states:

Americans should realize that the [Communist] parties in the West don't want to change the strategic balance. It is an element of peace. We don't want a Europe under the influence of the Warsaw Pact, we want an autonomous Europe. What we do want is to affect our countries' internal politics without interference. (Emphasis added.)

But who has called for the elimination of NATO and the continuation of the Warsaw Pact? That is not the position of the Warsaw Pact countries either.

Comrade Carillo simultaneously assigns a "modern and intelligent" role to U.S. imperialism and its partners in the F.R.G., France, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

In stating that the Communist Parties "in the West don't want to change the strategic balance," Comrade Carillo comes into direct conflict with the position of the 29 Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe (including the Spanish Communist Party)—who declared, "The position of imperialism, which has not changed its nature, has been weakened as a consequence of the changes in the balance of

forces." Even more specifically, the Conference declared that "essential positive changes have taken place in the international situation which are the result of the shift in the balance of forces in favor of the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation, independence and socialism." Despite Santiago Carillo's assertions, U.S. imperialism and NATO and its allies have *not* changed their nature: they remain the center of racism, neo-colonialism and counter-revolution.

Emphasizing the need to press for still further alterations in the strategic balance, the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties called for "A systematic reduction of the military budgets of all states, primarily of those which possess nuclear weapons and of other states with a large military potential."

The Conference then went on to call for,

The strict observance of all treaties and agreements which are designed to limit and end the arms race; the reduction of armed forces and armaments, chiefly in regions in which military confrontation is particularly dangerous, but also in other areas of the continent by concluding such agreements, involving all the states interested, as do not prejudice the security of any of the countries. . . .

The full implications of Comrade Carillo's opposition to changing the strategic balance on a world scale become even more apparent when analyzed in conjunction with his view of monopoly capitalism as the "intelligent and modern" force that can make the necessary social changes within the U.S. Taken together, these two concepts add up to support for the status quo in the strategic *military* balance between the U.S./NATO forces and the Warsaw Pact countries, for the status quo in the strategic *class* forces between the working people and the monopolists "in place" in the advanced centers of capitalism in the U.S. and Western Europe.

To pursue the logic of these conceptions would weaken instead of strengthen the struggle to reduce military forces and armaments to less catastrophic levels, the struggle to reverse the presently spiraling strategic *military* balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact nations.

Directly conflicting with such views, the Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties explicitly recognized that still greater changes in the strategic class balance are essential for advancing detente, peaceful coexistence, national liberation, social progress and socialism. Recognizing as well that status quo concepts ignore imperialism's continuous military escalation, the Conference called for

changes in the strategic military balance via an *equal* reduction of armaments and armed forces of the two sides.

The Conference rejected the illusion of maintaining the status quo in the face of imperialism's constant efforts to gain strategic military advantages—a fact confirmed anew by reports of imperialism's stepped up military plans, with the U.S. and the F.R.G. as prime movers. Further, at the time of the Conference, monopoly's two parties in the U.S.—even in their pre-election campaign period—gave a preview of the only “plan” they have in store for the country: escalation of armaments from 140 to 150 billion dollars annually during the 1976-1980 period. This is not a status quo budget, but monopoly's budget for increasing its profits while intensifying racism, reaction and poverty internally; for expanding its imperialist thrust against the progressive forces in Western Europe, its anti-Soviet, anti-socialist designs, and its neo-colonialist operations in the “third world.”

These are the reasons why the Conference saw the need to further change the strategic balance in favor of the people's struggles as the *precondition* for reducing the armaments level, for lowering the level of the strategic military balance. This is the *starting point* for achievement of the Conference's goal of an end to division of the Continent into opposing military blocs.

Invitation to U.S. Imperialism

Just a few weeks after his interview with Flora Lewis, Santiago Carillo was interviewed by another *New York Times* correspondent, Christina Lord. In this story, datelined Rome, July 31, Carillo is quoted as declaring his opposition to “all foreign bases, both American ones in capitalist countries and Russian ones in socialist countries.” Christina Lord then added, “His party, he said, supports a policy of elimination of military blocs. But for now, he said, the Spanish Communist Party would accept the American bases in Spain.”

This position, if reported accurately, also conflicts with the aims of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, which, of course, included the Spanish Communist Party. Moreover, Comrade Carillo's position also directly conflicts with the Manifesto-Program of the Communist Party of Spain, adopted at its second National Conference in September 1975, which calls for “a peaceful, independent and sovereign policy—non-participation in military blocs, a struggle to abolish existing ones, and elimination of foreign military bases.”

I do not find anything in the Manifesto-Program of the Communist Party of Spain which calls for retaining “for now” the foreign U.S.

military bases on Spanish soil. On the contrary, I find that the Manifesto-Program of the Communist Party of Spain calls for the "elimination of foreign military bases."

It is clear then, for the progressive forces to accept the view that the U.S. bases remain in Spain "for now" would lead to accommodation to, instead of struggle against all economic, military, and all forms of infringement on the sovereignty of Spain. More than that, such a policy could only foster illusions in imperialism and the extremely dangerous maneuvers of NATO in Europe where 250,000 troops, 1,500 war planes and 400 war ships took part in the recent NATO war games. These maneuvers, which began September 10, involved more than 200 surface warships, 30 submarines and more than 399 war planes. Thousands took part in an amphibious assault in a number of countries. NATO announced in Naples, September 8, naval maneuvers. The Sixth Fleet and air-naval ground units took part from Italy, Britain, Portugal and Turkey.

It is my firm belief that imperialism in the present as in the past is determined to attempt to reverse the "strategic balance" in its favor.

In the U.S. Communists and progressives, in supporting the struggles of the people of Spain, recognize that removal of U.S. military bases in Spain is a top priority in the struggle for a democratic, anti-fascist and anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alternative in Spain as well as in the U.S. To retreat from the demand for withdrawal of U.S. military bases in Spain would weaken the fight for democratic advance in the U.S., just as it would harm the Spanish people's struggle to determine their own future without U.S. intervention.

At the same time the struggle to remove U.S. military bases in Spain must be seen as an inseparable part of the fight against intervention by the U.S. and its NATO allies against the working class and democratic forces of Italy, Portugal and other Western European countries.

No one can overlook the fact that U.S. military bases in Spain form the northern flank for NATO's strategy against the independence and sovereignty of the African peoples. Thus these bases are also directly linked with the southern flank of NATO's African strategy, which merges with the fascist apartheid regime of South Africa in opposition to the liberation movement in that country, in Zimbabwe and in Namibia.

Comrade Carillo says he supports the policy of eliminating military blocs. But for me it is difficult to take this assertion seriously when he couples it with an invitation to U.S. military bases to stay

in Spain "for now," which reinforces support to Francoist survivals, and simultaneously equates the aggressive, anti-democratic, anti-socialist NATO bloc with the defensive, peace-supporting, socialist Warsaw Pact. He also ignores the fact that imperialism continues to escalate its global military network—featuring nuclear weapons poised against the borders of the socialist countries.

To equate Warsaw Pact with U.S. and/or NATO military bases diverts from the need to expose the basic difference between the defensive nature of Warsaw Pact nations' armed forces, and those of world imperialism. Although Comrade Carillo ignores the meaning of the network of U.S. military bases on every continent, the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America do not. Further, these peoples well know that not a single Soviet or Warsaw Pact base exists in any of their countries. There is no global network of Soviet or Warsaw Pact military bases because socialism has no global network of transnational corporations!

By contrast I cannot ignore the fact that over 2,000 U.S. military bases occupy strategic positions against all "third world" countries struggling to break out of the system of neo-colonialism. Further, these bases extend from Guantanamo on socialist Cuba's territory to as far as 110 miles into the *interior* of the German Democratic Republic, where the combined military contingents of the U.S. and NATO occupy West Berlin. Need I mention SEATO and other military alliances?

Can any adherent of peace and socialism suggest that the GDR be left to defend itself alone against the combined forces of world imperialism? Or ignore the fact that the GDR's western border is also the western frontier of the entire socialist community? To equate Soviet and/or Warsaw Pact with U.S. and/or NATO military bases is to ignore the fact that no Soviet troops can be found outside the borders of the Soviet Union except where they stand guard at the frontiers of the socialist community, as mutually agreed upon by the Warsaw Pact nations.

To misinterpret the nature of the Warsaw Pact, while at the same time calling for acceptance instead of removal of U.S. bases in Spain, is to contradict instead of to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust among all socialist and other democratic and peace forces. Such an approach plays into the hands of the most reactionary forces now "in place" in Western Europe and the U.S.—who are doing everything in their power to escalate instead of end the armaments race and military blocs.

Conflicting Again With Conference Aims

Just one week after the Christina Lord interview, another interview with Santiago Carillo appeared in the *New York Times*. This time the interviewer was C. L. Sulzberger who (in a story from Paris running on August 7) quoted Carillo as saying, "Only when the Russians get their installations out of Czechoslovakia, for example, should the U.S. get its (own installations) out of Spain."

This statement offers further evidence of what Comrade Carillo meant when he told Christina Lord he was in favor of U.S. military bases staying in Spain "for now." Not only does Santiago Carillo show no awareness of the relationship between those bases and imperialism's global strategy. He also overlooks the direct connection between these bases and U.S. imperialism's network of surrogate military installations in Israel, Iran, Saudi Arabia and apartheid South Africa, all aimed against the Soviet Union as well as the independence of the peoples of the Middle East and Africa.

In his interview with Sulzberger, Comrade Carillo also comes into conflict with the European Conference's call for *simultaneous* reductions of the armaments and armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact nations. He not only says that U.S. military bases should stay in Spain "for now." He also asserts that "for now" means the expanding U.S./NATO military presence should stay on the Czechoslovakia and GDR borders—with a West Berlin beachhead 110 miles *inside* the GDR *until* "the Russians get their installations out of Czechoslovakia, for example."

But the 29 Parties participating in the European Conference called for the *simultaneous* and *equal* reduction in arms and armaments by NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. By calling upon the Soviet Union to withdraw *unilaterally* from its *defensive* positions—in the face of NATO's military escalation—Comrade Carillo, in effect, asks the Soviet Union to betray its mutual defense pact with the other Warsaw Pact members.

Since the Soviet Union has been in the forefront of the fight for peace since its founding, we know it will never turn its back on the principle at the heart of the peace policy adopted by the European Conference: *simultaneous* and *equal* armed forces and armament reduction, as the key to consolidating detente and bringing an end to Europe's division into military blocs.

The Communist Party of Spain joined with the other European Communist and Workers' Parties in declaring:

Convinced that overcoming the division of Europe into blocs con-

stitutes an essential contribution to the attainment of lasting security and peace on our continent and in the whole of the world, the participants of the Conference advocate the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization and, as a first step, of their military organizations. They stand for concrete measures leading to this goal.

I do hope that this will become the guiding policy for action for all forces of democracy and peace.

Language of Chauvinism

In the Sulzberger interview, Santiago Carillo is also quoted as saying, "We don't want power by force. I am a Spaniard, not a Russian."

I find it difficult to believe a man of Comrade Carillo's experience and sophistication could speak in this way—in the language of anti-Sovietism and chauvinism, that integral component of monopoly capital's strategy of division. And one cannot avoid noting that Franco—the betrayer of Spanish democracy, the murderer of countless Spanish patriots—was also a Spaniard. Nor can one forget that Franco's legions—who seized "power by force" with the support of Hitler and Mussolini—instilled fear and divisions with racist denunciations of "Russian, Slavic barbarians." And today chauvinism and anti-Sovietism are not only imperialism's weapons against peace and democratic advance in Western Europe and the U.S., but are also at the center of its neo-colonialist moves in Southern Africa.

It is precisely because of such chauvinist, anti-Soviet remarks that the *New York Times* gives such prominence to the Carillo interviews—making them a centerpiece in U.S. imperialism's propaganda offensive against the accomplishments and aims of the European Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Changing Strategic Balance

The struggle to further advance the strategic balance in favor of the people's forces progresses despite the inequality in military installations favoring imperialism. This alteration in the strategic balance continues because of the contradiction between the crisis-free advance of the world socialist system and the crisis of capitalism, brought to a new stage by the growing anti-imperialist unity of the world forces of democracy, national liberation and socialism.

In stating that he does not want to "change the strategic balance," Comrade Carillo is in effect saying that he wants to leave "in place"

U.S. monopoly capitalism—the chief architect of imperialism's drive to prolong its life through economic, political, military and ideological strategies aimed at blocking struggles for social advance in the metropolitan centers of capitalism and the anti-colonialist liberation struggles in the "third world."

"What we do want," Comrade Carillo asserts, "is to affect our countries' internal policies without interference." (*New York Times*, July 7, 1976.) But how is this possible without a simultaneous, united struggle to change the strategic balance in the world? The struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence, as the 29 Communist and Workers' Parties declared, in no way means maintenance of the status quo. And a struggle to *change* the status quo means altering the strategic balance of the world still further in the interests of the socialist countries, the international working class and the liberation movements.

So long as U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies are able to perpetuate Francoism in new forms—while upholding apartheid fascism in South Africa—the struggle for autonomy and social progress of all Western European nations will be impeded. It is an elementary Marxist principle that the working class of a nation oppressing other nations cannot be free. For the U.S. working class this has the gravest significance, because of the special position of our "own" monopolist bourgeoisie.

The struggles of the U.S. exploited and oppressed cannot advance without changing the strategic balance internally against the forces now "in place" in the U.S. This means that the U.S. oppressed and exploited must at the same time unite with the socialist and all other anti-imperialist forces in the struggle to further alter the strategic balance on a world scale against U.S. imperialism, its NATO and Japanese imperialist allies, and such other partners as the neo-Francoites in Spain, the Zionist aggressors and the apartheid fascists of South Africa.

Comrade Carillo's declared policies effectively conflict with the Communist and Workers' Parties' policies which call for changing the "strategic balance" against imperialism. His policies will not remove a single U.S. military nuclear base from Spain. Nor will it speed the struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence and to stop U.S. interference in the struggle of the Spanish and other peoples to determine their own future.

Clash of Policies

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the European

Conference stated that they

. . . reaffirm their rejection of any policy or ideology which in essence means the subjection of the working class to the system of capitalism. They underline their determination to work consistently for the strengthening of their Parties and for the extension of their ties with the working class and all working people. At the same time, they stress once again their readiness to contribute toward cooperation, on the basis of equality, with all democratic forces and in particular with the socialist and social-democratic parties in the struggle for peace, democracy and progress for society.

Again, Comrade Carillo's statements are not identical with the declaration of the European Conference of 29 Parties. When he expresses opposition to changing the "strategic balance" in the world, he is most definitely giving encouragement to the ideology of class collaboration both within the capitalist countries and internationally—an ideology that, as the Conference stated, "means subjection of the working class to the system of capitalism." And when one opposes change in the "strategic balance" between imperialism and the socialist countries, the international working class and the anti-colonial liberation movement, does not this also serve to undermine the aims of the 29 European Communist and Workers Parties who declared their "determination to work consistently" for the "extension of their ties with the working class and all working people?" And, I might ask, what was the purpose of the Conference itself if not to further the struggle to advance the strategic position of the working class and masses against their imperialist oppressors?

Comrade Carillo's positions, to me, appear particularly illogical at this time when the contrast between socialist advance and capitalist crisis heightens the consciousness, expectations and struggles of the working class and masses—with the result that more and more socialist and social democratic forces are beginning to move away from their traditional policies of support to monopoly's strategic positions within each country and internationally. To oppose the struggle to change the strategic balance between monopoly and the people is again to conflict with the Communist and Workers' Parties' policy of extending ties "with the working class and all working people"—to enhance unity with the new democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist developments. It seems evident to me that the logic of Comrade Carillo's views would be for the Communist Parties to abandon this perspective and retreat to positions millions are leaving

behind!

In failing to recognize that the struggle for social and democratic advance in Europe, for liberation in the "third world," and for an anti-monopoly alternative in the U.S. pivots on the working class and masses' ability to change the strategic balance within each country and on a world scale, it seems to me that many would interpret Comrade Carillo's views as acceptance of an ideology whose meaning—as the Conference stated—is "subjecting the working class to the system of capitalism."

That the logic of Comrade Carillo's opposition to changing the strategic balance would lead to support for the strategy of the transnational corporations becomes apparent, for instance, in his concept of an "autonomous Europe." In the present context this would mean further integration of Western European nations within the economic, political and military framework of the transnational corporations—thus negating the "autonomy" of Western Europe in general and each of its nations in particular. Such an "autonomous Europe" would be under the aegis of what Comrade Carillo calls the "more intelligent and modern bourgeoisie" in the U.S., assisted by its FRG allies. And one must ask, isn't this concept of an "autonomous Europe" an updated version of Karl Kautsky's "United States of Europe" in which imperialism changes its nature? (In fact, in Comrade Carillo's presentation the "modern" U.S. ruling class emerges as a *less predatory* force than the bourgeoisie during the pre-imperialist era of capitalism's ascent. I cannot imagine a more unscientific analysis of capitalism in general and U.S. capitalism in particular in this era of imperialism and its general crisis.)

To seek an "autonomous Europe" clashes head on with the decisions of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties for implementing the "principles and accords" of the Helsinki Conference regarding security, cooperation and sovereignty of each nation of Europe. A so-called "autonomous Europe" would violate the separate sovereignty of each country on the continent. The concept of an "autonomous Europe" is in essence the policy of imperialism directed not only against the sovereignty of each country of Europe, and against working class and democratic advance in each of these countries; its purpose is to consolidate Europe behind imperialism's neo-colonialist policies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This is the meaning of Kissinger's dealings with U.S. imperialism's closest partners in apartheid South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany.

In this connection the 29 Communist and Workers' Parties called for "active campaigning" and "demonstrations of solidarity" among

the masses in order "resolutely to repel all attempts at interference in the internal affairs of any country and to challenge any act encroaching upon the inalienable right of each and every people to determine its own future freely and in sovereignty."

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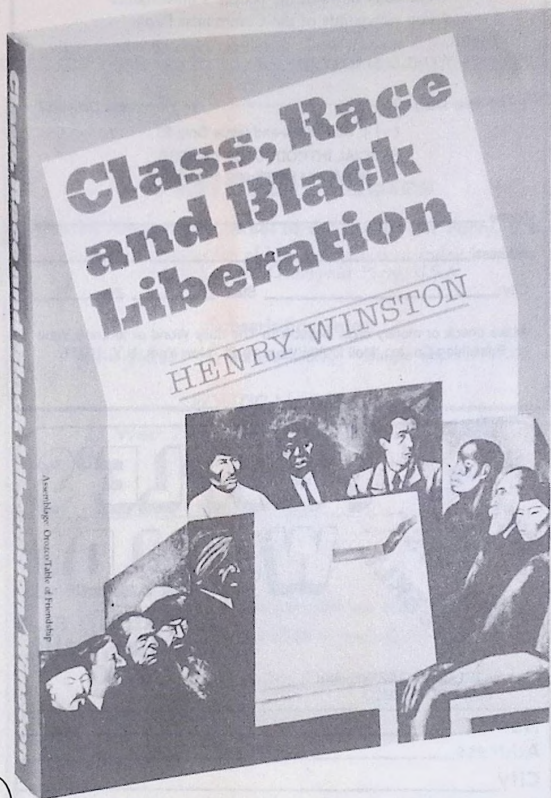
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