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Greece /41

Young Italy /61

Imperialist policy of destabilization /106

World Marxist Review — the first 20 years /36

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Workers of all countries, unite!

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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

September 1978, Vol. 21, No. 9

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feature

Twenty years

The first issue of *World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)* appeared in September 1958. In the 20 years since then it has come out regularly, month after month — 240 issues; this, September, issue is the 241st.

World Marxist Review met a pressing need of the international communist movement and progressive social thought. The decision to found the journal was made at a conference of 20 communist and workers' parties. At present 57 communist and workers' parties are directly involved in the publication of *WMR* and more than 20 other parties are in close contact with it. It is no exaggeration to say that, *WMR*, a unique theoretical and information monthly, is the result of the collective thought and effort of the communist and workers' parties. Their unremitting assistance and support have won it worldwide recognition and a massive readership.

Every aspect of the journal is organized and directed by the participating parties on a basis of equality, mutual respect and comradely cooperation. And the parties have delegated to the journal comrades with rich experience in the theoretical, political and organizational fields. This makes for fruitful collective work by the journal's permanent directing bodies, the Editorial Council and Editorial Board. Collective discussion and decision-making is the rule also at the regular Conferences of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, the supreme forum which reviews the work of the journal and sets its tasks for the future. The last Conference was held in April 1977 in a fraternal, businesslike and constructive atmosphere. It assessed the work of the journal and formulated the recommendations by which it is now guided.

The main task of *WMR* is to facilitate the exchange of experience, and thus help the parties, strengthen international communist unity, help the progressive forces expose imperialism, and the masses in the fight for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. In addressing their international audience, *WMR* authors concentrate on questions crucial to the revolutionary movement. The hundreds of articles, research reports, discussion summaries, etc., show that the

dominant feature of our time is the steady development of the revolutionary process, the steady strengthening of the communist movement's influence, the genuinely internationalist nature of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the effectiveness of its creative application by communists in widely different conditions.

Contributors to *WMR* include General (First) Secretaries and Chairmen of communist and workers' parties, government leaders and prominent personalities, leaders of revolutionary-democratic, national-liberation, international organizations and movements, and Marxist scholars from many countries. On this 20th anniversary we wish to thank all our authors for their creative contributions, which have significantly widened interest in the journal and attracted readers in every part of the world.

That is evident from our mailing list. *WMR* is read in the factories and cooperative farms of the socialist countries, in countries of the capitalist world, and in developing countries. And from all these areas comes a steady flow of readers' letters. They write that the journal is a tribune of communist ideas, and that even its ill-wishers are obliged to reckon with its arguments and the cause for which it stands. Readers share with us their impressions, put questions, offer advice. This, too, is a cardinal factor in the work of the journal. And we take this occasion to express our gratitude to our hundreds and thousands of readers who help us by their comments and suggestions, and we hope they will continue to do so in the years to come.

As it enters its 21st year, *World Marxist Review* sends its best wishes to all its readers.

The scientific world outlook of the working class

Kurt Hager
PB Member,
Secretary SUPG CC

The theoretical legacy of Marx and Engels has brought mankind great benefits, and it is of tremendous importance in our day. Lenin safeguarded this legacy against attacks by opportunists and revisionists in the international working-class movement and creatively developed Marxism on its own basis in the new historical conditions of the 20th century.

Leninism and Marxism constitute an organic whole. This applies to

all the component parts of our doctrine and its revolutionary substance. Leninism provides the universally valid answer to the problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics of the working class and its party in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Any departure from Leninism which immediately implies departure from Marxism, is a futile attempt to undermine the scientific world outlook of the working class.

Engels' *Anti-Dühring* has a special place in the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism, and the centenary of its publication was broadly marked by communists and the whole of progressive mankind.[1] It is one of those works, Lenin said, that are 'handbooks for every class-conscious worker' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 19, p. 24).

Central to the book is a comprehensive substantiation of the historical mission of the working class, which is the main content of scientific socialism. Engels produced a coherent exposition of all the three component parts of the scientific world outlook of the working class and showed their interrelation and organic interconnection. The great historical and contemporary significance of *Anti-Dühring* lies in its organic blend of philosophical, economic and socio-political doctrines of Marxism into a comprehensive world outlook.

In this book, Engels first gave the Marxist view of questions like the material unity of the world, the interrelation of matter and motion, and of space and time, and also the basic laws and categories of materialist dialectics. His analysis of the subject-matter and categories of political economy and his presentation of the regularities of the capitalist social formation and of the basic features of the communist formation are also of abiding value.

Lenin emphasized that Marx and Engels took a completely identical philosophical view of materialism and dialectics, and referred to *Anti-Dühring,* which, he said, was highly valuable for the theory and history of Marxism. He wrote: 'It is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully, without taking into account *all* the works of Engels' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 21, p. 91).

Marx and Engels always attached much importance to natural science. They never made any contrasts between the natural and the social sciences. The philosophical materialism of Marx and Engels is predicated on the primacy of matter, of objective reality, and the latter comprises both nature and man's social practice. The main task at the time Engels was working on his *Dialectics of Nature* and *Anti-Dühring* was to perform a conscious advance from the purely empirical study of nature to theoretical natural science. The urge for a theoretical generalization of the available knowledge sprang from the development of the natural sciences, which had run into contradiction

with the then predominant metaphysical thinking, and also with idealistic interpretations of still-to-be-explained phenomena.

Anti-Dühring shows the indissoluble unity of materialism and dialectics, constituting the fundamental theoretical basis of the scientific world outlook of the working class. While emphasizing Hegel's greatness, Engels also pointed to the mystification in Hegel's dialectics because of its attachment to his idealistic system. Engels writes: 'Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics from German idealist philosophy and apply it in the materialist conception of nature and history.'[2]

Anti-Dühring may well be called a textbook of materialist dialectics. Engels shows that nature is not an unchanging whole, not something that moves in an endless round, but something that has its own history in time, that the history of society is not a succession of chaotic and meaningless events seemingly accidental, but a law-governed process of mankind's development, and that cognition must also be seen in its origination and development. In this way, Engels establishes the objective character of dialectics, which — he repeatedly emphasizes — is not a stereotype into which reality can be fitted. One has to discover and show the dialectical character of things and events.

Characteristically, the opponents of Marxism-Leninism concentrate their attack on materialist dialectics. Its present-day bourgeois critics have not gone very far beyond *Dühring,* who, Engels says, was incensed by the very word 'dialectics.' The arguments of Popper, Topitsch, Albert and any of the other present-day opponents of dialectics are virtually no different from Dühring's. Like him, they believe that 'contradiction = absurdity, and therefore cannot occur in the real world.'[3]

But the contradictions in nature, society and thought, and the contradictory, conflicting character of development will not be eliminated by mere denial. All the critics, from Dühring to the present-day doctrinal heralds of the bourgeoisie and champions of reformism and revisionism, take for their target the materialist, critical and revolutionary dialectics of Marxism and above all its core, the doctrine of the unity and struggle of opposites, and obviously this is so because of the political conclusions that follow from it.

Back in 1899, Rosa Luxemburg criticized Bernstein in these words: 'Finally, aiming his sharpest darts against dialectics, is he not fighting the specific mode of thinking of the rising class-conscious proletariat? Is he not fighting against the weapon which has helped the proletariat to dispel the darkness of its historical future, is he not fighting the spiritual instrument by means of which the economically still oppressed proletariat is defeating the bourgeoisie and showing that its exis-

tence is short-lived and that its own victory is inevitable? Is he not fighting the instrument by means of which the revolution has already been carried out spiritually?

'Having parted company with dialectics and learned the tight-rope act of thinking on the principle: "on the one hand — on the other hand," "that is true — but," "although — nevertheless," "more or less," Bernstein quite consistently adopts the historically legitimate mode of thinking of the declining bourgeoisie, a mode which is a precise spiritual reflection of its social being and its political activity.'

Today we find a 'renaissance' of Bernstein's ideas in the FRG. Nor is this at all surprising. The spread of his anti-dialectical and revisionist views is obviously designed to refute the idea that imperialism is a transient and historically obsolete system, to paper over the class contradictions, and to keep people thinking that capitalism can be reformed.

A different kind of attack has come from the Peking leaders, the Maoists. They have substituted eclecticism and sophistry for Marxist dialectics. The Maoists exploit the concepts of dialectics actually to justify their anti-Leninist splitting and adventurist policy and their collaboration with the most reactionary forces of imperialism. The Maoists take a primitive and distorted view of the law of unity and struggle of opposites. Consider their idea of the contradiction between the so-called superpowers and the rest of the world. The sophistry here lies in their effort to identify the attitude to the developing countries taken by the socialist Soviet Union, on the one hand, and by U.S. imperialism, on the other.

One can well understand why the bourgeoisie and its philosophical advocates find dialectics in its rational, i.e., materialist, Marxist form unpalatable. Marx, Engels and Lenin blended philosophical materialism and dialectics and showed the objective regularities of social development, a necessary premise for clarifying the mission of the working class in world history as the grave-digger of capitalism and the architect of a new, socialist and communist society.

Anti-Dühring is an excellent example of struggle against petty-bourgeois pseudo-socialism and its unscientific social theories and 'models.'

Engels writes: 'To make a science of socialism, it had first to be placed upon a real basis.'[4] Such a real basis was provided by the analysis and critique of capitalist society, and the discovery of its endemic contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist appropriation, and the consequent antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the organization of production in the individual factory and the anarchy of production in society generally, the discovery of the inevitability of crises under

capitalism, and the need to establish the material preconditions for a revolutionary solution of these problems. Engels says: 'To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish — this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific socialism.'[5]

This was begun over 60 years ago by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, when the working class rose to power. In alliance with all the other working people, the working class of the USSR and then of the other socialist countries proved in practice — in the most complicated conditions and in constant struggle against external and internal reaction — that socialism, the society it had created, was alone capable of making economic progress compatible with civilization, i.e., economic rationality with humaneness. The working class proved that socialism, as a social system, is immensely more efficient from the standpoint of the individual's development. Socialism has been steadily creating the conditions for the full development of every member of society, for their comradely cooperation, thereby doing away with the jungle law of capitalism, which operates on the principle of everyone fighting each other. The successes of the working class in building socialism and communism became possible because under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist parties it attached much importance from the outset to developing the productive forces and effecting rapid and stable growth of its socialist economy.

Marx and Engels did not propose any utopias about socialist and communist society. What Engels said in *Anti-Dühring* about the processes proper to the communist social formation logically springs from his analysis of the contradictions and trends in the development of capitalism, which the working class and its allies have to overcome in struggle.

Engels defined the communist social formation as having the following features: 1. 'The taking possession of the means of production in the name of society' and the shaping of new relations of production under which there is no exploitation of man by man. 2. Development of the productive forces and the relations of production in such a way as to enable all the members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their faculties as broadly as possible. 3. Balanced organization of production not only within the framework of individual enterprises, but on the scale of society as a whole. 4. Steady and constantly accelerating development of the productive forces helping to over-

come the old division of labor, which tended to deform man, and to overcome the antithesis between town and country, and between mental and manual labor. 5. Participation by all the able-bodied members of society in productive labor, and the gradual transformation of work into a prime need. 6. The shaping of a qualitatively new political organization of society and qualitatively new social relations.

On the strength of the conclusions drawn by the Marxist-Leninist classics, and summing up the practical experience gained in the course of socialist construction, the socialist-community countries' communist and workers' parties have given more concrete form to the theory of the communist society and the two phases of its development. They discovered the main trends of development characterizing the formation and perfection of the developed socialist society, which is a law-governed stage on the way to communism.

Only in close touch with practice was it possible to show the long-term and contradictory nature of this process, to bring out its features, to formulate the appropriate requirements for society's material, spiritual and cultural standards and to take decisions on the necessary measures.

We learn from life, from revolutionary practice that the formation and perfection of the developed socialist society is an objective regularity and a historically necessary stage in the development of socialism, the first phase of the communist social formation. Our work and our efforts to reach the socialist goal are determined by the objective dialectics of the growth and advancing maturity of the new society and the tasks, problems and contradictions which are resolved in the process.

Marxist-Leninist theory, and the whole of our experience, show that the socialist society is not something static: that there are no limits to its growth and perfection. The farther we advance in realizing our economic and social policy, the clearer it becomes that socialism has been steadily developing along an upgrade. It has within it a great historical dynamism, which is realized in the creative endeavor of the working class and all the working people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The shaping of the developed socialist society is, says the SUPG Program, a historical process of deep-going political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural transformations.[6] To understand their meaning and their great importance in history, together with the tasks which follow from this for ideological and political work, one must see the dialectical character of the changes at the present stage in the development of socialism.

In building the socialist society, we act on the assumption that raising the working people's material, spiritual and cultural standards

calls for dynamic growth of economic efficiency. The crucial source of economic and social progress lies in the dialectical interconnection of economic efficiency and the working people's growing material, spiritual and cultural standards. The pace and scale, the sustained character and the concrete historical content of social progress under socialism are determined by economic progress and are based on the high rate of development of socialist production, the growth of labor productivity, and intensification of the economy.

Our party has repeatedly emphasized, and especially since its Eighth Congress, that without higher economic efficiency and growing labor productivity through faster scientific and technical progress it is impossible to create the conditions for the individual's all-round development. Far from contradicting this development, the efficiency of social and individual labor under socialism, in effect, crucially promotes it.

Planning on the scale of society as a whole is the most important instrument for fulfilling the tasks in the further shaping of developed socialism.

Balanced developed is an advantage of socialism and the socialist way of life. The central problem here is the further development of society's material and technical basis, whose great importance lies in the fact that over a long period of development a new type of material and technical basis, radically differing from that of capitalism, gradually takes shape. In this context, Engels displayed remarkable foresight and realism in his polemics with Dühring. He rejected the latter's notion that 'the old division of labor' would be preserved in communist society on all the essential points, while production would be carried on 'in the old way.' Engels shows that Dühring borrowed his approach from the exploiting classes, because he assumed that the antithesis between mental and manual labor, and between town and country is natural and inevitable.

The gradual development of the material and technical basis of the communist social formation is attended by a steady change in the content and character of labor. There is a growth in the share of skilled labor, and this leads to the disappearance under full communism of the social distinctions between mental and manual, skilled and unskilled labor. Engels writes: 'By generating a race of producers with an all-round training ... society will bring into being a new productive force.'[7] This is not based on pious hopes and intentions but is an objective requirement of the further development of the socialist relations of production and the productive forces. This is socialism's key advantage in effecting the scientific and technical revolution. The aim of expanding the material and technical basis is to

achieve a dialectical unity in the development both of the individual and of the productive forces.

Under socialism, any rise in the productivity of labor signifies a further growth of freedom. In our strategy of uniting economic and social policy, we seek consciously to realize the interconnection between the development of production and humanism, which was theoretically substantiated by Engels in his *Anti-Dühring*.

The continuing process of building the developed socialist society is simultaneously a historical process in which social and individual freedom are extended. Considering the basic contradiction of capitalism, Engels drew the conclusion that the basic content of humanity's leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom consists in recognition of the social character of the productive forces through the establishment of social property in the means of production. He said: 'Only from that time will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history — only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him.'[8]

The indissoluble interconnection between social property in the means of production and freedom is the very gist of the scientific concept of freedom in Marxism-Leninism. Bourgeois ideologists, who hold forth about freedom, either dodge the question of property in the means of production, or actually hold a brief for capitalist property.

Freedom under socialism is real freedom for the working people, but it can be constantly perfected only through the vigorous and creative efforts of all the working people. Freedom, as Marxism-Leninism sees it, is man's active and practical attitude to the natural and social condition in which he lives. Marx and Engels combined Hegel's view of freedom, as knowledge of necessity, and the materialist world outlook by defining freedom as man's mastery of nature, society and himself based on his knowledge of necessity.

History has confirmed Engels' analysis of the contradictions in capitalist society. Their present aggravation through the relatively rapid development of the productive forces, especially over the past two decades, has shown everywhere that the imperialist bourgeoisie is incapable of developing the productive forces for solving humanity's most vital problems.

Let us recall that in the 50s and 60s, the developed capitalist countries had a high rate of economic growth. Throughout the whole history of capitalism, economic growth rates had never been that high over such a long period. Still, despite the greater economic strength of some of the leading capitalist countries, this failed to stabilize the capitalist system and added to its instability. Imperialism is now

trying hard to improve the conditions for realizing capital, in order to generate a new tide of capital accumulation. But as Marx and Engels showed, such accumulation results above all in a deepening and extension of the working people's exploitation.

Ever more subtle forms of exploitation of the developing countries provide an essential source for the rapid growth of capital over the recent period. Through the multinationals, the imperialist states have been funnelling off from the developing countries vast amounts of their national resources (oil and other raw materials) and their national income (in the form of huge profits). Bourgeois economists have estimated that systematic discrimination against the young states and the disproportions built into the mechanism of the capitalist world economy have cost these countries $50-100 billion a year.[9] This is more than all the 'development aid' made available by the leading capitalist countries from 1960 to 1976.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is also expressed in the sharpening crisis of the bourgeois ideology. The ideologists of imperialism find it ever harder to defend the capitalist social system, for it is all too obvious that its existence is no longer historically justified, that it is incapable of solving the problems of our day for the benefit of the majority of society, and providing balanced direction of the development of society for the good of all its members.

The bourgeois ideologists' idea of converting the 'consumer society' into a 'culture society' is utopian because it implies that the capitalist social system can be improved without any change in its basis. However, the ideal of combining 'consumption' (to make use of the term) and culture, something that the humanistically-minded bourgeois theoreticians can only envisage as a utopia, is being realized under socialism.

In our country, the people's material and cultural standards have been rising, and the important thing is that both these processes have been developing in close interaction. This interconnection is, of course, glossed over by the propaganda aimed against the GDR, and on the contrary, the idea is being plugged that availability of consumer goods, modern flats, people having their own homes and cars are all incompatible with socialism. Of course, enemy propaganda would prefer to see a socialism without the people's growing well-being, a 'socialism of poverty,' for then it could gloat and say that the 'socialist experiment' has failed.

Only under socialism is it possible to produce a blend of material and cultural values which most fully symbolizes historical progress and realization of the ideals of true humanism, for it is a society that is based on social property in the means of production, one which has

been presented with clear perspectives under the leadership of the working-class party.

Tossed about on the stormy seas of the economic, political, spiritual and moral crisis of capitalism, imperialist politicians and ideologists think they have seized upon human rights as a sheet-anchor. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the U.S. President's National Security Adviser, said in a speech in Bonn in October 1977 that he regarded human rights as an idea whose historical hour had struck.[10]

In his *Anti-Dühring,* Engels shows that, during the rise of the bourgeoisie, the demand for release from the shackles of feudalism and establishment of equality under law through the elimination of feudal inequalities led to the proclamation of freedom and equality as human rights. He adds: 'And it is significant of the specifically bourgeois character of these human rights that the American constitution, the first to recognize the rights of man, in the same breath confirms the slavery of the colored races existing in America: class privileges are proscribed, race privileges sanctioned.'[11]

The bourgeois-class character of such declarations was evident not only in the fact that these rights were withheld from sizable sections of the population (slaves, bad-debtors, Indians, and all women in the United States of that period; at that time, only wealthy citizens in France had the right to vote). It is also evident in the fact that these declarations say nothing about human rights in the social and economic sphere.

Today, the bourgeoisie is even less able than ever before to realize the ideals proclaimed when it was in the ascendant. The anti-communist campaign over the imaginary violations of human rights and the alleged absence of freedom in the socialist countries is designed to divert attention from this fact, while simultaneously offsetting the growing attractive power of existing socialism. But it is also clear that even with this loud demagogic campaign over human rights, imperialism is incapable of recapturing the historical initiative it has lost. This demagogy has not yielded the desired political and ideological results because of the obvious contrast between the condition of the working people in the socialist and in the capitalist countries, the curtailment of bourgeois-democratic rights, imperialist support for racist and fascist regimes, and the resolute stand taken by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in face of the attempts at imperialist blackmail.

On the question of political freedom and human rights our constant stand is, as Lenin emphasized in his *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky,* that there is no 'pure democracy' or 'pure freedom.' The class struggle involves freedom and rights for the working class and other working people, which can be realized only

under socialism. We have been resolutely fighting the enemies of freedom, those who wipe out the working people's rights and gains and would like to destroy socialism: for them there can be no freedom at all.

The philosophical, economic and political conclusions of Marxism set forth by Engels in his *Anti-Dühring,* and elaborated by Lenin, constitute the theoretical basis of the world communist movement and the chief force of the world revolutionary process: the community of socialist countries rallied round the Soviet Union. The international communist and working-class movement has scored great successes wherever it has been guided by these conclusions. At the same time, it has also had to realize 'how profoundly erroneous is every deviation from this basis' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 19, p. 24).

Of course, there are fundamental distinctions between our day and the period in which Engels wrote his *Anti-Dühring*. It was a period in which Marxism was just beginning to spread and mass socialist parties to emerge. Nowadays, there is the world socialist system, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have spread across the world and there are communist parties on every continent.

The strengthening positions and influence of the communist movement as a whole among the masses is an important feature of the development of the international class struggle. This will be seen, in particular, from the growing membership of the communist parties in the capitalist countries. Many fraternal parties have a prominent and growing role to play in the political and social struggle.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has been greatly alarmed by the successes of the communist movement, and it has gone over to fierce counter-attacks in an effort to move out of its politico-ideological defensive stand and to slow down the leftward shift of the masses in the capitalist countries. Its counter-strategy combines undisguised threats, direct intervention and massive use of political and economic pressure, with more intense ideological attacks on the Marxist-Leninist principles of the communist movement. First of all there is the constant slander of existing socialism. The bourgeois mass media have been advocating all kinds of models for socialism, ranging from the 'democratic socialism' proposed by the social democrats to the ultra-leftist and anarchist utopias, so as to refute the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to 'improve' or rather, to undermine existing socialism in the Soviet Union, the GDR and other countries. All these models are presented in Dühring's fashion as an embodiment of 'supreme spiritual values.'

Engels said that the socialism preached by Dühring was 'sublime nonsense' and 'an infantile disease which marks ... the incipient conversion of the German student to Social-Democracy.'[12] One can

only imagine what he would have said about the shoddy goods of those who now claim that existing socialism is 'static and in deep crisis' and proclaim the need for 'modernizing' socialist society.

The October Revolution, the emergence of existing socialism and its transformation into a world system, the growing forces of peace and social progress throughout the world provide practical evidence of the truth and revolutionary power of the propositions and conclusions of scientific socialism formulated by Engels in his *Anti-Dühring* a century ago. We seek to make effective use of this sharp weapon in the stubborn ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism, in the fight against the falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism and the present-day opportunists and revisionists. That is the only way in which we can fulfill Engels' injunction as expounded in his *Anti-Dühring*.

1. *Herr Eugen Duhring's Revolution in Science (Anti-Dühring)* was published in a separate volume in Leipzig in July 1878.
2. Frederick Engels. *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, Moscow, p. 16.
3. Op. cit., p. 165.
4. Op. cit., p. 32.
5. Op. cit., p. 393.
6. See *Programme der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands*. Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1976, S. 19.
7. Op cit., pp. 409-410.
8. Op. cit., p. 391.
9. Reshaping the International Order. A Report to the Club of Rome. J. Tinbergen and others. New York, 1976, p. 16.
10. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17 November, 1977.
11. *Anti-Dühring*, p. 146.
12. Op cit., p. 11.

Leninism and the perspectives of our struggle

Ernst Wimmer
PB Member, CP of Austria

For more than a quarter of a century now Austria has not experienced anything remotely resembling a revolutionary or even pre-revolutionary situation. In 1977 only 89 hours were lost in strikes, and Austria is often described as an 'island of social peace,' a classical model of 'social partnership.' Nonetheless the theory of revolution plays an important, even vital, part in our party's political and ideological life. More, considering the complex situation, if we did not apply and develop the theory of revolution in adaptation to Austrian reality, we would have stood little chance of retaining the revolutionary character of our party.

For in difficult conditions we need the sure compass of revolutionary theory. But we also need the knowledge of our *concrete* perspectives, the link with what is possible today and what will become possible tomorrow. Without that, even given the most noble motivations, there is always the danger of losing our way, of straying from the path to our goals. Our experience during the crisis in our party shows that the more complex the situation, the more it is necessary to have a clear, realistic understanding of our perspective, an understanding free of wishful thinking, idle prophesy and utopias.

One of the reasons for the deep crisis in our party during the 60s was precisely the absence of such an understanding. This was due in part to underestimating, minimizing and even disregarding the importance of the new problems of social development. It was due also to the fact that new phenomena tended to obscure the essential, long-range factors which, in the final analysis, are decisive. This tends to disturb the equilibrium between long-term, strategic and direct, tactical aims. In fact, the relation between the two has sometimes been so distorted that strategy is based on tactical considerations.

There are objective reasons for the growing importance of the theory of revolution. The class struggle is becoming increasingly internationalized and this obliges us to come up with answers to questions that have not arisen in our own country. For nearly every important question that arises in other countries, in other conditions,

at another stage of the class struggle, for us becomes, to a certain extent, a question of understanding and expressing our own future.

Let me point to one such objective reason for the growing role of the theory of revolution: spontaneous elements in public movements will neither disappear nor 'wither away.' But in this day and age, with science penetrating ever new domains, is it not true to say that the weight, the strength — if not the mass psychological impact — of such elements is decreasing?

Mature state-monopoly capitalism has a ramified defense network, including a fortified citadel and many defense capabilities, but it can also stage an offensive. It has evolved a wide variety of techniques for manipulation, corruption, partly also integration, and suppression. Hence 'positional warfare' is becoming the rule rather than the exception in the class struggle. It is very unlikely that the enemy's ramified defense system can be destroyed with one blow, or with the use of some one method. The outcome, we think, will depend on the success of a 'war of maneuver.'

Consequently, now more than ever before, we need theoretical and political mobility, we must use every crack and fissure in the enemy front, promptly explore all new phenomena and incorporate the results of such exploration into our fund of experience. Action programs, minimum programs, defining our intermediate and stage-by-stage aims, finding the forms of approach or transition to revolution, which Lenin characterized as a key task of the communists (see 'Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder') acquire special importance today.

At the same time there is an increasing objective temptation to isolate certain phases of the struggle, separate them from our ultimate goals. There is the danger of finding ourselves stagnated in the enemy's defense system. When every step requires such effort and also careful study of its consequences, there is a temptation to believe that society can be changed only by the sum-total of these separate steps, that a qualitative leap is no longer possible. We say this on the basis of what happened in our own party.

In the second half of the 50s, the Communist Party of Austria was confronted with new problems, with a new situation. And that situation resulted from the emergence of a full-fledged state-monopoly system and its concomitant, 'social partnership' as a form of capitalist domination and a means of 'moderating the crisis' of the capitalist system. But it was also a new weapon of state-monopoly capitalism for, with the long 25-year boom which ended only a few years ago, capitalism was able to make appreciable concessions in order to curb the development of the working-class movement.

We communists have always laid stress on the common laws of

social development, on its main motive forces. For it is they that determine the socialist perspective and are the guarantee of the victory of our cause. But knowledge of these development laws does not *per se* answer the question: why is this victory so late in coming? Many essential concrete questions can be answered only if we take into account the objective counteracting tendencies especially when these tendencies, though not decisive to social development, manifest themselves with the utmost intensity.

One conclusion we have drawn from our painful experience is that every shortcoming, every defect in studying new phenomena can lead to loss of confidence in our own ranks, to revisionism and eclecticism, to gliding over the surface, to failure to see the whole tree for the green branch one sees through the window.

Our theory lays no claim to explaining to humanity, once and for all, its past, present and future or providing solutions suitable for all cases of life, including historical conditions which are not yet in evidence. Such a claim would be as absurd, as is the idea that new phenomena, which are not yet explained and have yet to be investigated, testify to the 'limits' of Marxist-Leninist theory, well-nigh to its 'crisis.' Strange, to say the least, was the position of those in our party who presented their own omissions in investigating the new as an 'organic fallacy' of Leninism. They wanted to impose a decision concerning the viability of theory, the truth of some of its provisions, and their correspondence to reality, by a mere 'show-of-hands majority' (which, incidentally, simply could not deal specially with problems of theory). Our experience has demonstrated once again what consequences a departure from the essence of Marxist-Leninist theory would have for the party.

The result was false views, often contradictory, but having this common denominator: the belief that in the new, very complex conditions of struggle there is a 'fundamentally new,' 'easier,' and shorter, straight historical path. And typical of those who held these views was failure to take into account the rapid buildup of the state-monopoly system. They saw only one of its aspects and were quick to pronounce it a fundamentally new development. Actually this was but the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation, programming and intervention. The conclusion was then drawn that it was now possible to transform the system by 'combining democracy with programming.'

Every far-reaching step by state-monopoly capitalism with regard to the concerns was seen as a step toward shouldering them out of power, as a step toward socialism. And guided by these notions, they even advanced an intermediate aim, namely a 'society of participation in management.' Accordingly, the Communist Party was reduced from a Marxist-Leninist vanguard to the role of a 'prodding' force, as

if the social partnership policy of the Social Democrat leadership was correct and all it needed was someone to give it a more consistent direction.

In line with this concept of gradual, evolutionary, 'transformation through planning and participation in management,' the theory was being disseminated that a qualitatively new type of democracy could be implanted without eliminating the power of monopoly capitalism. According to this concept, socialism would merely add to the traditional bourgeois freedoms some new ones, which would have to be won in the gradual transformation of society.

To overcome revisionism and the crisis it had caused in the party, we had to make a searching analysis of the main trends of social development. And the conclusions drawn from this analysis, in which theoretical conferences on different problems played an important part, led to the formulation of the political and ideological principles approved by our party's 22nd Congress.

What problem of the theory of revolution cropped up in the course of this analysis?

First, of course, the crucial question of every strategy and tactics: what — as far as one can predict — is possible and necessary, and at which stage of development? In 1917 Lenin wrote in his 'Notes for an Article or Speech in Defense of the April Theses:'

'The question is not how fast to move, but where to move.

'The question is not whether the workers are prepared, *but how* and *for what* they should be prepared' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 24, p. 33).

In our conditions we cannot create a qualitatively new relation of forces in favor of the working class and a broad base for alliances without the trade unions — which the social partnership policy has converted into a weapon of the state — reverting to their role of combat weapon of the working class. The main task for the foreseeable future is to prepare the Austrian workers for the solution of this complicated and difficult question, a solution upon which the possibility of political change will depend.

A task of special urgency is to work out the forms of approach and transition to revolution. And in this we should not be guided by subjective or tactical considerations, but by the essential features of our social reality. In this context we were asked: does capitalism, as it exists in Austria, have the two groups of contradictions that could become the objective basis for two transformation processes, democratic and socialist, each with its own forms of alliances and its own aims and objects?

Present-day capitalism is characterized by the contradiction between the state-monopoly system and the vast majority of the people, who are consistently and adroitly exploited, robbed, oppressed and

brainwashed, all in order to maximize monopoly profits and stabilize the system. But first we had to overcome the vulgarization, oversimplification of this contradiction: 'on one side the monopolies, on the other side the people,' 'on one side the reaction, on the other side the nation.' Such formulas are but another variety of wishful thinking. They tend to instill the idea of unity of the nation, complete unity of the working class which, however, is achievable only under socialism. And they disregard the ability of the state-monopoly system — so glaringly demonstrated in Austria — to hold in captivity a sizable part of the intermediate strata, even part of the labor movement, or at least some of its groups. It stands to reason that the domination of state-monopoly capital must be countered by the widest possible anti-monopoly front. But that front cannot encompass 'the entire people.'

Formulas of this type play down the importance of the main contradiction, that between labor and capital. It should be remembered that the capitalists who feel the adverse effects of monopoly are still capitalist and still exploit labor and depress wages. These formulas tend to obscure that. The anti-monopoly revolution can remove only the contradiction between monopoly capital and the overwhelming majority of the people. The basic contradiction, between labor and capital, remains. The anti-monopoly revolution will only ease it and accelerate its resolution through socialist revolution.

Many of the questions raised during the discussion of all these problems came from the comrades who had lost faith in our stage-by-stage aims.

We were asked, for instance, whether the process of establishing anti-monopoly power should be regarded as revolution. There is nothing in the record of all previous revolutionary movements, including the movement in Chile, to suggest that monopoly capital will surrender its political and economic power without a fight. Our 22nd Congress declared in this context: 'Only when the masses, in the course of sharp clashes with the state-monopoly system, become conscious of their interests and of their real strength and create, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, sufficiently strong alliances, will it become possible to carry out radical political and economic changes.'*

And another question that is still being asked: well, but after monopoly capital is deprived of its power will there be a gradual, stage-by-stage transformation of society? The state-monopoly system is characterized, as we have pointed out above, by two, often intertwining, contradictions: between the state-monopoly system and

*Der 22. Parteitag der Kommunistischen Partei Osterreichs. 18-20 Januar. 1974. Wien. S. 345.

the majority of the people, and between labor and capital, the latter can be resolved only through socialist revolution. This suggests the conclusion that anti-monopoly revolution will inevitably be followed by a regrouping of social forces which could lead to socialist revolution.

There is the proof of history that only after the democratic revolution removes a certain group of social conflicts, does it lay bare the basic contradiction of society. And at this point it becomes clear that the gains won, far from being advanced, cannot even be consolidated without convincing the masses of the need to go further, without isolating the forces which, for a number of reasons, are prepared to stop at this stage or even reverse the process. Every democratic revolution has been followed by the emergence and prominence of contradictions and differences within alliances, and continued progress has depended on their resolution. The pre-history and history of the 1948 revolution in neighboring Czechoslovakia are an instructive example in this respect, for they showed that social regrouping of forces within alliances does not necessarily narrow them. On the contrary, the outcome of the struggle depends on the proletarian policy gaining dominance among the non-proletarian strata.

Another aspect of the theory of revolution of great practical importance for our party even today is the connection between the anti-fascist and anti-monopoly struggle. And here we can speak from our own experience. In the fight against fascism — in which the communists were the decisive, consistent and leading forces — the party was joined or closely supported by many anti-fascists who, seeing the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy, concluded that proletarian dictatorship was the only alternative to a terroristic fascist dictatorship of monopoly capital. But when fascism was overthrown and monopoly capital began to rule through a parliamentary democracy — it had no other choice — when the conditions of struggle became more complex, some of these anti-fascists questioned, or even rejected, the need for working-class power.

Lack of clarity on the relation between the anti-fascist and anti-monopoly struggle is always linked with lack of clarity on the class nature of democracy. Austria has a strong tradition of anti-fascist struggle, but the anti-monopoly struggle is still in its rudimentary stage. For even now, in this period of relative calm, monopoly capital has not abandoned the organization of fascist or pro-fascist movements as a sort of reserve force (which, incidentally, contradicts the State Treaty on the Re-establishment of an Independent and Democratic Austria). Consequently, the anti-fascist struggle is an important

and immediate task and can attract people with petty-bourgeois notions of democracy.

But the still more important struggle for democratic rights, against their exploitation by the state-monopoly system through its bourgeois-parliamentary front, presents a different problem altogether. For here petty-bourgeois notions of democracy are a serious obstacle to expansion of the anti-monopoly struggle.

In other words, can we, now in the late 70s, base our strategy on the traditions of the anti-fascist struggle of the 40s, for all its remarkable features? Would we not be losing sight of the deep-going changes resulting from the emergence of full-fledged state-monopoly capitalism? If we approach the defense of democratic rights against the state-monopoly system and its parliamentary disguise in the very same way as we approach the defense of democracy against fascism, will this not engender the illusion that a qualitatively new democracy can be won without first vanquishing monopoly capital?

From this follows the need to tie in the anti-fascist with the anti-monopoly struggle, subordinating the former to the latter, for the state-monopoly system in its bourgeois-parliamentary form is the main adversary. And even defending such democratic institutions as parliament against their distortion by this system requires that we concentrate on the main adversary.

Nor do these questions arise only in our midst. The enemy always tries to inject wrong formulations of questions in order to sow confusion, and most of them concern the theory of revolution. This, too, is convincing evidence of the growing role that theory plays in the ideological struggle. We have the touching picture of double-dyed anti-communists counseling the communists to get rid, at long last, of the 'deadweight of dogmatism' to be able to breathe more freely. One such piece of advice tells the communists that to speak of regularities in the transition to socialism and their application 'is fundamentally erroneous.' And there is much talk of a 'multiplicity of forms, free of all regularities.'

What these counselors fail to understand is that the multiplicity of forms follows from the fact that the common regularities manifest themselves differently in different circumstances. And they probably do not suspect that a world without regularities would not be a world of freedom, but a world ruled by chance. As for their overall conclusion that there should be as many 'socialisms' as there are nations, or 'communities of destiny and culture,' it can lay no claim to novelty. They have a very well-known predecessor in Austria. A similar concept was enunciated in the 20s by Karl Renner, who spoke for the extreme right wing of Austro-Marxism, the class nature of which is all too well known.

But to return to the problem of regularities. This, essentially, is what the argument is all about: can there be socialism without expropriation of capital? Can we eliminate exploitation without fundamentally restructuring property relations? Can we give expression to the will of the working people through the existing bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus, or will we have to found a new state? And will such a state cater to the interests of the working class and the working people generally if from the very first day of its organization it proves incapable of giving full scope to their will in all the main spheres — if it cannot combat 'special interests,' the drive for profits and privileges, if it proves incapable of upholding the new gains against foreign and internal encroachment?

It should thus be perfectly clear on whose side are those who denounce acceptance of development laws as 'dogmatism.' These development laws or regularities are now the subject of heated debate within the Socialist Party of Austria in connection with the forthcoming adoption of its new program. And one of the questions being debated is the need to restructure property relations.

The debate over strategy now taking place in the various left groups of the Socialist Party is indicative of the topical importance of still another aspect of the theory of revolution, namely, the problem of hegemony. A detailed analysis of the real functions of the state is for the socialists, now in power in Austria, a very delicate and sensitive matter. That is why it is being so carefully bypassed by various theories about approaching power 'carefully and with soft step,' or by the theory that 'the winning over of the mass media and the ideological machine' will make it possible to reform society by the dissemination of ideas.

Nor is this line of reasoning altered by the frequent use of the term 'hegemony' which, in an entirely different sense, of course, is a component of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution. It will be recalled that Lenin, in elaborating this concept in his polemic with the opportunists, proceeded from the fact that under imperialism the bourgeois revolution can be carried to completion only with the leading role of the working class, and that only given such leadership can the revolutionary process be carried further. But the social-democratic theorists who use the concept of hegemony have in mind not a revolution, not carrying the revolutionary process to consummation, but 'the realization of a new ideology and morality.'

It need hardly be proven that the establishment of socialist society is possible only if the majority of the people, on the basis of their own experience, accept the leading ideological and political role of the

working class. This guarantees every socialist revolution, whatever form it assumes, its democratic character.

However, the assertion of that leading role, resulting from the ability to show the masses *how* to win their vital demands in changing situations, should not be equated with the winning of power. There comes a time when the dictatorship of the ruling class, its 'iron heel,' stands out in all its hideous clarity. And it is only when this happens that the ideological hegemony of the ruling class is broken, its ideas no longer prevail, the people come to see that the rule of capital rests on economic power, a repressive state apparatus, bureaucracy, etc.

Working class hegemony is, consequently, the prelude to change, but not change itself. And yet the authors of these social-democratic theories have no hesitation in equating hegemony with the state and overlooking such a 'trifle' as the dictatorship of capital. And this despite all the terrible lessons of the past and present. Just as the draft SPA program uses the words 'realization of the new moral values' in order to bypass the issue of property, so these conceptions of hegemony are used to dispense with the question of power, the question of how to pierce the 'armor' of the bourgeois state. But it has to be said that many of those who support these theories are subjectively striving for socialism.

All the theories about changing the class character of society by means of disseminating ideas draw no distinction between the ideological apparatus of the state and the ideological apparatus of society. But in Austria there is such a distinction. For we must bear in mind that the trade unions which are part of the ideological apparatus of society, have become one of the main pillars of the state-monopoly system. And we are convinced that a change in the functions of the trade unions, will change the functions of society's ideological apparatus. Of course, we try to use every, even the most limited opportunity, to act within the ideological apparatus of the state. But the idea of separating the ideological apparatus from the state, making it independent and even using it against the state is, we think, rather unrealistic.

And still another question we have to answer and explain: is socialism a realistic perspective for modern Austria? The question arises because for several decades now Austria has been one of the most 'tranquil spots' in the capitalist world. In answering this question it would be wrong to procede from short-term perspectives.

Present-day Austria is certainly not the weakest link in the imperialist system. But the very fact that Austrian capitalism has assumed the form of state-monopoly capitalism indicates that the capitalist formation in our country, too, has lived out its day and is able to go on functioning only because the state, that servant of

monopoly capital, has assumed new functions. And the unusually high degree of organization of Austrian state-monopoly capitalism (one of the reasons for the relatively high effectiveness of its regulatory mechanisms), and the unusual size of the state sector in the economy, are at one and the same time expressions of the special structural weakness of state-monopoly capital and of the bourgeoisie. The same applies to social partnership, that special form of monopoly capital domination. The ruling class finds that it needs 'partnership,' cooperation with the top crust of the strong Social-Democratic Party, because it is weak, because it fears a head-on clash with the militant working-class movement.

Austria provides a very clear example of how uneven economic and political development under imperialism affects the working-class movement and its struggle. The First Austrian Republic went through ten years of crisis and stagnation, of hard-fought class battles, including the Civil War of 1934. The Second Republic has gone through a period of a high and stable economic activity free of major class battles. The reactionaries fear, and not without reason, that changing economic conditions will sooner or later find their expression in political struggle.

The deep, irreconcilable contradictions of social life provide the objective basis for the struggle against monopoly and for the socialist perspective. There are already sufficient starting points for unfolding the anti-monopoly struggle. The catastrophic position in public education, the chronic shortcomings of the health system, the absence of shop-floor democracy, the high cost of housing, inflation, the anti-social tax policy — all are byproducts of the state-monopoly system. The huge state sector in the economy and the structural weakness of Austrian capital tend to obscure from the people the class character of the state. But on the other hand, as a result of this, all social problems revolve around the role of the state as an instrument of class domination. And solution of these problems presupposes an energetic struggle against the state on all fronts.

Given the present correlation of forces in Austria, our central task at every stage of the class struggle is 'comprehensive political exposure' which Lenin stressed in his time *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 5, p. 401). This has to be combined with class battles in order to reveal to the masses the root of the evil, the domination of state-monopoly capitalism, which is behind every concrete problem that confronts them.

If their origins and sphere of operation are not adequately studied, new phenomena can only cause confusion. It would be strange indeed if the new qualitative features of the capitalist crisis did not confront the labor movement with a mass of new problems. And from this

follows the need properly to assess every new phenomenon and properly to apply these assessments in the widely differing conditions of the class struggle. As we know from the experience of our own party, with the emergence of new problems there is always the danger of underestimating, inadequately assessing or even wholly discarding our tested conclusions, the danger, in other words, of sliding into revisionism.

This should not be taken to mean that re-assessing our position is tantamount to revisionism. Whether we are dealing with the development or revision of Marxism depends, in each concrete case, on the relation of the given proposition to the essential processes and phenomena of reality. To solve the problems raised by social development, to distinguish between temporary, secondary and long-term factors, we need a theory of revolution, economically substantiated, capable of encompassing the relations of all classes and strata in their dynamic development, and also the sum-total of international experience, a theory that combines sober appraisal of objective reality with unconditional recognition of the importance of the subjective factor, its flexibility and permanency.

In this sense the following words of Marx referring to the specific features of 19th century proletarian revolutions have a very topical ring. Marx wrote: They 'themselves constantly criticize, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltriness of their first attempts . . . recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible . . .'* And that is exactly how, by critically reassessing our conclusions again and again returning to the problems raised by social development, we seek to apply the theory of revolution to Austrian conditions in order the more fully to understand the perspective of the struggle.

*Karl Marx. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, (*Selected Works,* Vol. 1, p. 401).

The 'Soviet menace' myth and present-day realities

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The interlacing of two diametrically opposite trends in foreign-policy processes is a specific feature of the present phase of international development. On the one hand, there is general recognition of the positive results of the advance toward political détente, an advance which may not always have been uninterrupted. On the other, the arms race has not only continued, but has even been sharply stepped up, especially in the United States and the NATO countries. It is becoming ever more dangerous and costly, inexorably eroding the edifice of détente.

People need peace, as they do the air they breathe and the bread they eat. What a waste there is of national resources and human labor on armaments, which threaten the very existence of mankind!

My country, Turkey, is poor and in the toils of tremendous economic difficulties, but every year in the interests of imperialism it squanders on armaments one-fifth of its budget, or about one billion dollars. A half-million men, all of them of the most productive age, are on the active list. NATO membership has forced Turkey to spend on U.S. military bases and other NATO needs almost twice as much as the whole of its external debt.[1] Militarist zeal has a similar effect on economic development and the solution of urgent social problems in the other countries of the aggressive NATO bloc, which over the past ten years have spent $1,300 billion on military preparations, with nearly one-half of this vast amount in the past four years.

The decisions of the latest, Washington session of the NATO Council, which envisage a step-up of military preparations by imperialism and a further intensification of the arms race, are viewed by the international public as a cynical challenge to the peoples of the world, who want stronger détente and an end to the arms race.[2]

Providing propaganda back-up for these military preparations, a motley collection of advocates of militarism, including the Maoists in Peking, has launched a clamorous anti-communist campaign reminiscent of the worst period of the cold war about a growing 'Soviet

menace,' about the Warsaw Treaty countries being out to 'attain military superiority,' about the possibility of a 'pre-emptive nuclear strike by the Soviets,' etc.[3]

But despite the complexity of the situation, the communists continue to take an optimistic view of the prospects in the struggle for military détente and stronger international security. There are good grounds for this optimism. It is based on the Marxist-Leninist view of the regularities of the present epoch and ways of resolving its basic contradiction, on the scientifically verified assessment of the balance of forces in the international arena, which has been steadily tilting in favor of world socialism and the democratic movements. It is based on a profound theoretical analysis of the qualitatively new elements which have emerged in world development in the recent period. That is why the foreign-policy program adopted by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, and the highest forums of the other fraternal parties of the socialist and capitalist countries regard military détente and curbing the arms race as a real and feasible prospect in the development of the international situation.

The military factor has never been the chief or dominant one in the foreign-policy strategy of socialism. Among the other factors of the socialist countries' strength it has always had the strictly limited task of defense, in order to ensure favorable external conditions for peaceful socialist and communist construction, to prevent any reckless attempts by imperialism to 'export' counter-revolution, and meddle in the sovereign affairs of the peoples, and to defend and provide security for the socialist community against any possible aggression, whatever its origin.

For a long time, the task of safeguarding the new system in face of imperialism's superior forces compelled the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to accelerate the buildup of their military potential with the hostile imperialist encirclement rejecting from 'positions of strength' all peaceable proposals by the new social system, which was then 'extremely weak' economically and militarily; as Lenin put it, (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 33, p. 151) there was simply no other way of guaranteeing its existence.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries never initiated the arms race and did not assume the grave responsibility before mankind for developing new death-dealing weapons systems. Every new step in building up their defense capability was a carefully measured response to the military preparations of imperialism.[4] Let us recall that since the Second World War, the Soviet Union has made over 100 proposals aimed to check the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, reduce military budgets, and so on.

The march of events had this dialectical contradiction: socialism, whose ideal is peace and disarmament, had to build up a powerful defensive shield in order to safeguard its existence and, once the military superiority of imperialism was eliminated, it had to assure an equilibrium of forces so as to provide a real and practical basis for disarmament and for ridding society of wars for all time. This has been an incredibly difficult undertaking. It required a tremendous effort and the expenditure of vast resources. After all, the point was to block the operation of the regularities which are inherent in imperialism, which are rooted in its economy and politics, and which inexorably led to world wars when monopoly capital was predominant.

Indeed, the balance of forces, which has now changed in favor of socialism, and the wide acceptance in international practice of the principles of peaceful coexistence largely resulted from the fact that an approximate military parity was reached between the USSR and the United States, and between the socialist-community countries, which are members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, on the one hand, and the imperialist states associated in NATO, on the other.

Does this parity merely mark a temporary phase in the advance by world socialism to a 'military-force superiority?' Imperialist strategists and analysts seek to prove that that is precisely so, by making use of the highly unreliable method of historical analogy and references to the past, to a period when socialism did not yet have the historical initiative.

Let us look at this question in greater detail. The history of all earlier, exploitative societies does indeed show that any rising formation gained the upper hand over the outgoing formation by establishing its superiority both in the economy, in the organization of social life and in the military field. When capitalism ruled undivided, and especially in the imperialist period, the role of the military factor in international affairs increased virtually to disastrous proportions. It is capitalism at its monopoly stage that holds the 'patent' for the discovery of imperialist world wars. As Lenin said, 'the only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the *strength* of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc.' (Vol. 22, p. 295). Moreover the military superiority factor has the last say.

However, this seemingly general sociological law loses its universal validity with the emergence in the international arena of the new, rising formation — the communist formation — which has a different mechanism for fighting the moribund capitalist system, a different

make-up of the strength elements of the new society which operates as a law and carries society to its inevitable victory.

This is a process of change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism. And it will continue to accumulate elements of superiority over capitalism in all the crucial spheres of human endeavor — the economy, social life, science and culture. Thus there will be a growing prevalence of the class forces fighting for peace, democracy and socialism in the non-socialist part of the world, and the revolutionary break-out of more countries from the capitalist system, but with a *constant and invariable policy on the part of the socialist-community countries of maintaining the attained military equilibrium, parity* between socialism, on the one hand, and imperialism and its reactionary allies, on the other.

This is a policy designed for a world of states with different social systems. It does not spring from the subjective desires of leaders, parties or social groups in socialist society, but is a regularity inherent in the class substance and historical tasks of the new social system, which eschews relations of domination and subordination, whether in organizing its domestic social life or in the international arena. In other words, *in order to attain its ultimate goals, socialism simply has no need of the factor of military superiority*. This is a new regularity which has been most evidently brought out only in the past few years, and which provides convincing confirmation of the fact that the policy of peace reflects the genuinely humanistic basis of socialism, its social nature.[5]

This has been repeatedly pointed out by Leonid Brezhnev, the outstanding leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In his Report on the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, he declared with the utmost clarity: 'We do not want to upset the approximate equilibrium of military strength existing at present, say, between East and West in Central Europe, or between the USSR and the USA. But in exchange we insist that no one else should seek to upset it in his favor.'[6] Elaborating on this idea, Brezhnev recently said in an interview with the West German *Vorwärts* that 'the Soviet Union, for its part, believes that approximate equilibrium and parity are adequate to the needs of defense. We do not set ourselves the aims of securing military superiority.'[7]

Consequently, the military-strength factor has a qualitatively new role to play in the foreign-policy strategy of world socialism. The socialist countries' military might, apart from its constant defensive function, now that they have reached a stable equilibrium in military forces with imperialism, tends to acquire the significance of an *important material instrument in the hands of socialism,* for promoting

military détente, putting an end to arms escalation, and ultimately, excluding the military-strength factor from international relations.

In the light of the aforesaid, it becomes especially obvious that there are absolutely no grounds for the assertions about a 'Soviet military threat,' 'the aggressiveness of communism' and an urge on the part of the Soviet Union and its allies 'to build up military superiority.' This is being increasingly realized not only by broad public opinion but also in the ruling circles of many capitalist countries, including NATO members. In the recent period, for instance, Prime Minister Ecevit of Turkey has repeatedly declared that he does not see any threat to his country on the part of the Soviet Union.

What then is the new element that is introduced into the global mechanism of military-political relations by the fact that the socialist community now possesses military strength comparable to that of the imperialist bloc, and has adopted the long-term, strategic line of maintaining a stable equilibrium of military forces and armaments, with a gradual and steady reduction in their levels through agreed measures to limit and then completely end the arms race?

The military-political situation in the world is undergoing a radical change. In this sphere, the contest between the two world social systems is gradually acquiring specific forms which no longer fit into the bourgeois strategists' customary scheme of things. The exploitative societies' traditional mechanism of competition between contending sides for military superiority is collapsing. Arms drive and spiralling war preparations cease to be the form in which the contradictions of the whole world system of states unfold. This, too, is something that essentially distinguishes our day from the days of undivided imperialist rule, when no imperialist state could afford to pursue a policy of maintaining a stable military equilibrium, for in that case its main foreign-policy goals would not have been attained. That is why the redivision of the world in the imperialist epoch was always achieved through military pressure, and local or world wars.

Today, in this epoch of global nuclear-missile weapons, the arms drive, as a means of attaining military superiority is a hopelessly anachronistic and extremely dangerous trend. It remains an intrinsic attribute of only one of the subsystems of states interacting in the world arena, namely the imperialist subsystem. For its part, the world socialist system generates a new trend, a trend of stable equilibrium of the military potentials of states with different social systems, an end to the arms race and advance to military détente. The clash, the confrontation between these two mutually exclusive trends is that specific form which in the sphere of military-political relations expresses the basic contradiction of the present epoch, and the socialist countries' struggle for completely restructuring relations among

states belonging to the two social systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

In the long run, the qualitatively new military-political situation which has taken shape leads to important changes not only in the international arena but also in the imperialist part of the world. The attainment of a stable military equilibrium between the states of the two social systems imposes even more rigid constraints on the operation of the laws by which imperialism functions. It deprives the military-industrial complex of important impulses for its self-propagation, strengthens the political positions of the moderate wing of the bourgeoisie which relies mainly on civilian industries, makes it so much harder to explain to public opinion the steady inflation of military budgets and the waste of national resources on the mad arms drive, and helps to strengthen the movement for peace and disarmament and to involve new social forces in this struggle.

In the past several years, the peace movement has also been growing in Turkey. This growth should be seen in the context of the overall development of the progressive forces and the working class and the strengthening of the Communist Party of Turkey. For the progressive forces of Turkey, the struggle for a progressive democratic system is closely bound up with the struggle against NATO and U.S. military bases, for peace and détente. The peace movement is assuming organized forms and the Turkish Fighters for Peace Society is growing. More and more demands are being voiced for the country's withdrawal from NATO, dismantling the U.S. military bases, and conclusion of a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with the Soviet Union, and a ban on the neutron bomb. This was stated, among others, by Enis Coskun, General Secretary of the Fighters for Peace Society, and Metin Tüsün, progressive member of Parliament from the People's Republican Party, at a peace fighters' forum against the neutron bomb held in Ankara.

The growing realization by the people in the capitalist countries of the folly of the arms race and awareness of the fact that in the new military-political situation which has now taken shape in the world it is possible to stop the arms escalation, have radically changed the conditions of the peoples' struggle for disarmament and for averting another world war.

This has created, for the first time in history, a unique opportunity of stopping the arms race, securing a military détente and averting the threat of a world thermonuclear war. Of course, considering the nature of imperialism, this process requires certain objective conditions:

— first, that the balance of class forces in the international arena should have irreversibly changed in favor of socialism;

— second, that the new social system should be continuously building up its superiority over capitalism in the economic, scientific, technical, social and other spheres;

— third, that an approximate balance of forces between socialism and imperialism in the military sphere should have been attained and kept stable.

But it is quite clear that the equilibrium of military potentials cannot of itself ensure lasting peace and the security of the nations. It merely provides socialism with a starting point, a real instrument for effective struggle to end the further escalation of armaments and go on to an extensive program of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place. Considering the long-term goals of socialism's foreign-policy strategy, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized that 'the maintenance of the existing equilibrium is not an end in itself. We favor efforts to start bending the arms-drive curve downwards, and gradually reducing the level of military confrontation. We want to have a substantial reduction and then elimination of the threat of nuclear war, the most terrible danger facing mankind.'

The fraternal parties of the socialist countries have also formulated the appropriate international-law principle which the states of the two opposite systems should adopt in the military sphere: stable relations of peaceful coexistence can develop normally only with scrupulous observance of the fundamental principle of equality of military forces and equal security.

What a long way socialism has gone since the early days of Soviet power, when Lenin put forward the general principle for relations with capitalist countries: insist 'on a treaty between the two systems of property, as between equals' (Vol. 45, p. 537), an approach which, incidentally, the imperialist powers then rejected. Today, Lenin's general formula for peaceful coexistence has been broadly accepted and is being steadily applied in every sphere of relations between states with different social systems, including the military sphere, where it assumes the specifically democratic principle of equal security for the parties on the basis of parity of armed forces.[8]

The process of realizing the military détente, as compared with the political détente, is quite obviously immensely more complicated and requires much more effort. Reduction of armaments and the prospects for gradually going on to disarmament affect the deepest political and economic structures of imperialism, and the vital interests of powerful groups of the imperialist bourgeoisie connected with arms manufacture and international expansion, and confront them with the threat of heavy and irrecoverable losses. After all, one must recognize that although imperialism has already lost its overall historical initiative, while socialism and the international working class have suc-

ceeded in the course of a broad peace offensive in imposing on their class adversary the political principles of peaceful coexistence, no radical change has yet taken place in the field of military relations. Up to now, there has been ebb and flow in the struggle between the two opposite trends: the trend toward military détente, and an end to the arms race, the trend of which socialism is the vehicle, and the imperialism-generated trend for military superiority, greater international tensions and continued escalation of armaments. What is more, imperialism, as the NATO Council's session in Washington in May showed, is striking out on a new round of this escalation in order to increase the elements of tension in international relations, to extend and exacerbate the military confrontation.

The U.S. Administration and the militarists in the NATO and other aggressive centers do not, of course, fear the USSR's 'military threat' and the Warsaw Treaty's 'urge for superiority,' which they themselves have invented. What they cannot stomach is the equilibrium in military forces that has been established and that they have been trying to upset by means of fresh spurts in the arms drive so as to achieve military superiority for themselves. These were the very points made at the June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the National Council of the CPUSA by its General Secretary Gus Hall, who said that the way to détente would be 'slow and difficult' so long as the United States attempted extortion by way of 'linkage' and U.S. imperialism refused to accept the concept of a military balance between the Soviet Union and the United States.

At the same time, imperialism has been adapting itself to the new balance of forces, maneuvering and trying to maintain its positions along intermediate lines, to split the consolidating front of peace forces, and to find 'remedial arguments.' A characteristic theory invented by the imperialist ideologists in this context is the 'balance of terror,' which exploits the fact that socialism has, indeed, attained an equilibrium of military forces. It is used to prove that the stability of peace depends on the maintenance or even on the growth of the threat of mutual nuclear annihilation by the two contestants. It turns out that the vaster the death-dealing arsenals, the more guarantees there are for the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

Now and again, some members of the peaceful, progressive forces also rise to this bait. Such 'arguments' have also been used by spokesmen for the right wing of the national bourgeoisie in Turkey. Refusing to carry on a drive against the U.S. military bases in Turkey and for the country's withdrawal from NATO, they declare that this is inadvisable because it could upset the 'military-strategic equilibrium.' But it is quite clear that the socialist-community countries, which have no stake in building up military-strategic superiority any-

where, could respond in only one way to such elimination of military bases, namely, by an equivalent reduction in their military potential in order to maintain the military equilibrium but on a lower level.

No task is more urgent or important in the world today than consolidation of the international détente and efforts to make it irreversible and end the mad arms race. That is the goal of the Soviet Union and the socialist-community countries and all the peace forces, among which an outstanding role belongs to the international working class headed by its communist vanguards. The fact that the historical initiative is now firmly in the hands of socialism and the progressive forces of the world is an earnest that the ugent task to complement political détente with military détente will be realized.

1. The program of the CP Turkey says that the expenditures on NATO and the U.S. military bases came to 200 billion Turkish lire. In that same period, (from the country's entry into NATO up to the early 70s) Turkey's national debt came to 112 billion lire.

2. For details, see: Boris Ponomaryov. 'A dangerous course. Concerning the NATO Council's policy.' *WMR*, August 1978.

3. In this context, let us note the widening ideological function of the imperialist claim concerning a 'Soviet menace.' Earlier on it was used by bourgeois propaganda sporadically, whenever a new round in the arms race was about to be started, but now different variations on this idea are becoming a constant element of imperialist propaganda, a long-term source and starting point for other anti-socialist acts. What is more, the 'Soviet menace' myth has now acquired the significance of a common ideological platform on which all the forces of world reaction are seeking consolidation in a 'holy alliance' and this includes not only the military-industrial complex of the imperialist centers, but also the Peking Maoists, the South African and Rhodesian racists, the fascist regimes of Latin America, and the oil sheiks of Saudi Arabia.

4. This fact is well known in the capitalist West. Take the testimony of Professor Georgé Kistiakowsky, a competent figure and a one-time U.S. presidential assistant for science and technology (under President Eisenhower), who recently wrote that throughout the history of the nuclear arms race the United States was first in introducing most of the technical novelties and new weapons systems, with the exception of some defensive systems to which the Soviet Union has traditionally devoted a much larger part of its military effort. (*The New York Times Magazine*, November 27, 1977.)

5. Analyzing the activity of the Paris Commune, Marx makes a profound remark which remains meaningful even today. He wrote that in carrying on the class struggle, the working class, if the circumstances allow, always seeks to create 'a rational situation in which this class struggle can go through its various phases in the most rational and humane way.' This characteristic feature of the class struggle naturally also applies to the class struggle now being carried on in the world arena by the socialist countries and the international working class led by the communists.

6. *Information Bulletin*, No. 23-24, 1977, pp. 23-24.

7. *Vorwärts*, May 4, 1978.

8. The joint declaration signed on Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the FRG in the spring of this year clearly put on record for the first time in international-law practice the proposition on 'approximate equality and parity,' as a real starting point for measures on disarmament and limitation of armaments. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the FRG said in an interview with the *General-Anzeiger* that the principle of equilibrium was a highly important premise for détente all over the world, and a fulcrum for any effort for limiting armaments and for arms control.

World Marxist Review — the first 20 years

Collective tribune

The decision to publish *World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)* was made by representatives of 20 Communist and Workers' parties at a Conference in Prague in March 1958. They invited all fraternal parties to share, in any suitable form, in the publication of a journal designed to meet the needs of the international communist movement and of progressive thought.

More and more parties responded: in 1969, 36 communist and workers' parties were represented on the Editorial Council, in 1973 the figure was 45 and at present it is 57. Besides more than 20 parties cooperate with the journal, so that nearly 80 parties are in one or another way associated with it.

Every month the journal carries reports from fraternal parties on major developments in the international communist movement. *WMR* thus acts as a clearing center of views on the most pressing and complex international and national problems.

Last year the journal published contributions from 77 parties. On an average its 12 monthly issues carry items from at least 100 countries.

Who directs the journal?

'There is no leading center of the international communist movement,' the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties declared. Hence *WMR* is not the organ of some international communist organization. Its work is organized and directed by the parties participating in its publication on an equal and voluntary basis, in a spirit of mutual respect and comradeship.

All 57 party representatives are equal members of the *Editorial Council*. At its regular meetings they examine long-range plans, discuss articles and other materials and approve the contents of each issue.

The *Editorial Board*, at present composed of representatives of 15 parties, deals with current as well as long-range matters, supervises the work of the editorial and publishing staff, and promotes closer ties with the fraternal parties.

The supreme forum is the *Conference of Representatives of the*

Communist and Workers' Parties on the Work of the Journal. These meet periodically to review the work of the journal and to set tasks for the future. The first such conference was held in 1958, the next one met in 1960 to review the journal's first two years. Then there were conferences in 1969, 1971, 1974 and 1977. Each conference was more representative and carried more weight: 36 parties were represented at the 1960 Conference, 58 in 1969, 63 in 1971, 67 in 1974 and 75 communist and workers' parties sent their representatives to the last conference in April 1977. The delegations were led by 14 General (First) Party Secretaries and Party Chairman, and included more than 50 members of leading party bodies. The conference heard and discussed the report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council. The debate was frank, constructive, held in a fraternal atmosphere, and produced a number of valuable suggestions and recommendations.

Our contributors

No other journal can match our unique collective of contributors.

Articles in our early issues came from such veterans of the world communist movement as Maurice Thorez, Wilhelm Pieck, Victorio Codovilla, Johann Koplenig, Jacques Duclos, Max Reimann, Harry Pollitt and others.

In the past 20 years *WMR* has carried contributions by General (First) Secretaries and representatives of more than 100 parties.

The range of our articles has widened considerably. In 1958, there were articles from 41 parties, the figure rose to 52 in 1968, and to more than 80 in 1977. In the past five years alone we published more than 400 articles by leading comrades of fraternal parties and hundreds by Marxist scholars.

Our contributors also include prominent statesmen and public personalities, leaders of international democratic organizations — the World Peace Council, World Federation of Trade Unions, Women's International Democratic Federation, International Organization of Journalists, World Federation of Democratic Youth, International Union of Students, World Federation of Scientists.

WMR is constantly extending its ties with revolutionary-democratic and other progressive organizations and movements: contributions from 100 leaders of such organizations and movements in more than 20 countries have appeared on our pages in the past five years.

International contacts

The Editorial Board has done much to extend and strengthen contacts with fraternal parties.

In the past five years representatives of the fraternal parties on the

journal have made trips to the following countries: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Vietnam. There have also been shorter visits to the following countries: Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Colombia, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, the FRG, Greece, India, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique, Norway, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Sweden, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. At the invitation of fraternal parties members of the Editorial Council participated in various party conferences, festivals, etc., acquainted themselves with the life of the working people and with various aspects of party work. Reports on these visits were published in the journal, enriching its contents and giving the reader more information about the countries concerned.

During the same period party representatives on the journal attended the congresses of nearly all communist and workers' parties in the socialist, developing and capitalist countries. In the past five years, too, more than 40 leaders of communist and workers' parties addressed gatherings at the offices of *WMR*.

Comradely discussions

The collective publication of the fraternal parties, the journal has done much to promote collective analysis of topical problems by organizing international conferences, symposiums, seminars, round-table discussions and research groups. In its first five years *WMR* sponsored 14 such gatherings, in 1969-74 the figure was 39 and in the past four years 43.

Eleven *theoretical conferences* were held in 1974-78 on the following subjects: Socialist and capitalist economic integration and some problems of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics (Prague, 1974); Alliance of the world socialist system and the national-liberation movement (Baghdad, 1974); Lenin's doctrine of imperialism and the contemporary stage of the general crisis of capitalism (Prague, 1975); Interaction of the three revolutionary currents in conditions of détente (Tihany, Hungary, 1976); Interaction of the economic and political systems in the socialist countries at the present stage (Berlin, 1976); The Great October and the contemporary world (Prague, 1977); Dialectics of economics and politics in the period of the revolutionary transformation of society (Prague, 1978); The agrarian question and the role of the peasantry at the present stage of the national-liberation revolution (Ulan-Bator, 1978).

Our readers

With the active cooperation of communist and workers' parties and

progressive organizations, *WMR* has built up a wide international readership, as will be seen from the following table.

	1958	1968	1973	1978
Number of national editions	22	31	39	57
Number of countries in which *WMR* is circulated	80	100	142	145
Number of language editions	19	26	26	34

Books, pamphlets, collections of articles that have appeared in the journal, put out by Peace and Socialism Publishers, also enjoyed wide popularity. Since 1958 more than 100 such books and pamphlets have been put out in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Arabic and other languages, in a total printing of about 2 million.

WMR maintains contact with its readers through various channels. Every day it receives letters from readers in many parts of the world.

Our Golden Book

Visitors to *WMR* are usually shown our exhibition of documents, gifts from fraternal parties and other mementoes associated with the history of the journal. Visitors are especially interested in the Golden Book, containing entries by prominent personalities in the international communist movement, party and state leaders from the socialist countries, men and women who have won world renown in their particular fields.

There are, for instance, messages of good wishes from *Todor Zhivkov,* First CC Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the country's State Council; *Luis Corvalan,* General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile; *Khaled Bagdash,* General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party; *Herbert Mies,* Chairman of the German Communist Party; *Boris Ponomaryov,* Alternate Member of the CPSU Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; *Romesh Chandra,* President of the World Peace Council; *Abd el-Fatah Ismail,* General Secretary of the United Political Organization — National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

There are entries also by two world-famous cosmonauts: *Yuri Gagarin,* the first to penetrate outer space, and *Vladimir Remek,* the Czechoslovak who took part in the first international space flight. The two flights are separated by 17 years, and the two cosmonauts met only on the pages of our Golden Book.

This is what Yuri Gagarin wrote on April 29, 1961: 'My spaceflight was not my achievement. It was communism's. I am proud to be a

communist. I ask *World Marxist Review* to convey my warm greetings to all my like-minded comrades, to all communists, throughout the world.'

And this is the entry of Vladimir Remek, made on June 26, 1978: 'I am happy to visit *World Marxist Review* whose guest, in 1961, was the world's first cosmonaut, Yuri Gagarin. I am happy to meet with my party comrades. Like Yuri Gagarin I can proudly say: "My space flight is not my achievement. It is communism's." My flight became possible thanks to the cooperation of the socialist countries in mastering outer space. Consistent implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism enabled my country to become the third to send a man into outer space. Through this meeting with representatives of the fraternal parties I convey warm greetings to communists throughout the planet.'

Ethiopia's Revolution



By Raúl Valdés Vivó

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Party experience

A significant event in Greek political life

Charilaos Florakis
General Secretary, CC,
CP of Greece

The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Greece was held in Athens on 15-20 May. It worked in a spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm and optimism about the prospects of the just cause for which the Greek communists are fighting.

To appreciate the results of this event — the Tenth CPG Congress — that is of such great significance for our country, one must bear in mind above all the general political climate in Greece. The Congress took place in the context of the intensified pressure that is being applied to Greece by American imperialism and NATO circles with the aim of imposing a solution of the Cyprus question and the problem of the Aegean Sea in the interests of NATO, enforcing full resumption of Greece's participation in NATO, and thus repairing the 'breach' in the southeastern flank of the Atlantic bloc. Another distinctive feature of the situation was the broad scale of popular actions against the policy of authoritarianism and austerity pursued by the government party of 'new democracy' to the detriment of the working class, the working people and all democratic sections of society. Of equal importance is the fact that by the time the Tenth Congress was held the CPG had by its realism and self-sacrificing struggle won the trust and support of the broad democratic public and is now becoming more and more firmly established on the political scene as a consistent spokesman and staunch defender of its interests, the interests of the whole nation.

Another feature that gave our party forum a special significance was, of coursé, the fact that this was the first congress to be held in legal conditions after 30 years in the underground. It can be said without exaggeration that both friends and opponents of our party were waiting impatiently to hear what the communists would say in their policy statements about the vital problems that face the Greek people today and that had been seriously and fruitfully discussed within the party over several months prior to the congress. Naturally the Tenth Congress attracted the close attention not only of the left-wing forces, but of much wider sections of the public. To illus-

trate the point one may cite the wide coverage that was given to its work — in one way or another and with varying degrees of objectivity — by almost the whole of the Greek press.

The truly nationwide interest in the Tenth Congress of the CPG is, in our view, massive proof that the working people, all democrats, regardless of their present political adherence, are coming to realize the historical and present-day significance of a party, that for 60 years has been the most active, dynamic, and viable political force and has made an invaluable contribution to the struggle and achievements of the working class and the whole Greek people.

The Communist Party gathered for its Tenth Congress fully aware of the complexity of the internal and external political situation, and the urgency of the problems facing the country. In the pre-Congress period the CPG did not shut itself off in internal theoretical discussion. It went on fighting and working, never for a moment allowing the current practical tasks of organizing a constructive democratic dialogue and broad social cooperation to take precedence over the aims of our day-to-day class struggle, our consistent political activity. We may assume that now that the party has consolidated its positions both in Parliament and outside it, the demands on this aspect of CPG activity will substantially increase.

In the fairly long period of preparation for the congress the Greek communists took an active and effective part in a whole series of major battles waged by the working class and the whole people. They were in the forefront of the unprecedently widespread strike movement, the biggest the country had ever known, which culminated in a number of nationwide general strikes. CPG positions were also substantially strengthened in the trade unions. We also won a notable victory in the November 1977 elections to Parliament, polling far more votes than ever before and more than doubling the number of our deputies.

So while preparing for the congress, our party worked and fought hard, making the maximum effort both in practical activities and in collective study of the vital, urgent problems confronting us at the present stage of the revolutionary movement in Greece.

Now let us consider the main problems that focused party attention on the eve of and during the Tenth Congress.

Three main questions

There are three main questions that are crucial to Greek society and must be solved under any scenario of the country's further development. They are: the question of *national independence,* the question of *democracy,* and the *economic question.*

The problem of *national independence* has acquired special

urgency in connection with the manifold economic, military-political, scientific, technological and cultural dependence of Greece on American imperialism and NATO. The government of 'new democracy' with its much publicized policy of 'commitment to the West' is promoting Greece's further dependence on imperialism and further complicating problems that are already critical and of nationwide importance.

The CPG Tenth Congress demonstrated the Greek communists' determination to fight tirelessly for national sovereignty, freedom from the imperialist fetters of NATO and the EEC, and abolition of the American-NATO military bases that threaten the peace and security of our country and the Eastern Mediterranean as a whole. The Congress proposed realistic, public-spirited solutions to such burning nationwide problems as Cyrpus and the differences with Turkey regarding the Aegean. It stressed that they could only be settled by means of organized nationwide resistance to the machinations of the imperialists with the accent on solidarity and support for the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, particularly the socialist countries. The congress advocated a just solution of the Cyprus problem within the UN framework on the principles of independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and democratic guarantees for Cyprus, withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island's long-suffering soil and the return of the refugees to their homes. The CPG stands for the holding of a representative international conference on the Cyprus problem within the framework of the UN and in accordance with its decisions.

The CPG uncompromisingly opposes the chauvinistic propaganda current both in Greece and Turkey. It opposes the arms race whipped up by the imperialists. We believe that the contradictions between Greece and Turkey over the Aegean should be resolved only by peaceful means, through negotiations based on respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and the principles laid down in the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, and a desire to further international détente. In the view of the CPG the complex question of the Aegean shelf should be considered on the basis of the existing international agreements on the law of the sea without any interference by the USA or NATO. The Tenth Congress urged that the Aegean should be made a sea of peaceful intercourse between nations, a sea of good neighborliness and cooperation.

The next nationwide problem is that of *democracy*.

Today, four years since the collapse of the military-fascist regime, few would disagree that the government of the 'new democracy' has restricted itself to half-hearted and superficial 'dejuntization' while hardly touching the actual mechanism that made it possible for the

military-fascist groups to seize and hold power. On the other hand, the present government is itself on the way to strengthening authoritarianism designed to protect the diktat of the local and foreign monopolies and to suppress the mass struggle for social justice. Anti-communism, whose positions were noticeably shaken immediately after the fall of the junta, is raising its head again. The ruling clique is systematically adopting anti-democratic measures aimed against the people's freedoms, against the development of the trade union and general democratic movement. This course reached its apogee in the recent passing of the so-called law 'against terror,' which on the pretext of protecting democracy and fighting terrorism actually reinstates the anti-popular laws of the civil war period and allows the authorities to take arbitrary and violent action as and when they please.

The congress stated that the government's authoritarian tendencies are closely linked with the characteristic tendency of state-monopoly capitalism to strengthen the executive power at the expense of the prerogatives of Parliament and other representative institutions, particularly the local authorities. The CPG has proposed a number of democratic reforms in the social structure, including the state apparatus, that would do much to promote the democratization of Greek society, and has urged widespread joint action for their realization.

Finally, the third nationwide problem, the *economic* one, looms large because our country needs economic development geared to real national and popular interests. Instead of facing up to this vital necessity, the Karamanlis government is still pursuing the opposite policy of consolidating the power of the local and foreign monopolies. It has even tried to write the privileges of foreign capital into the Constitution. On the other hand, the ruling circles have flatly rejected concrete measures to protect the working people and the economy from the overlordship of the monopolies, particularly the multinationals. The government's austerity policy combines the desire of the ruling forces to shift the crisis burden on to the shoulders of the working people with the desire to preserve the monopolies' profits and even boost them. The result has been that, in 1970, for instance, the average wage was 38.4 per cent of that of workers in other countries of capitalist Europe, and that in 1975 it fell to only 27 per cent. There has also been a notable worsening in the economic position of the other working strata, particularly the peasantry. Accounting for one-third of the national income, the state budget is used as a convenient lever for redistributing this income in favor of monopoly capital. In general, the economic policy of the right-wing government multiplies and intensifies the country's economic problems, which are assuming a distinctly structural character. The work-

ing people can become increasingly aware of the necessity for an alternative economic policy geared to the interests of the people and the country as a whole.

In response to this objective necessity, the CPG at its Tenth Congress proclaimed a policy aimed against the 'open door' line, which amounts to kowtowing to foreign capital. The CPG has proposed concrete measures defining the framework of cooperation with foreign capital on mutually advantageous terms and at the same time preventing any attempt by foreign interests to capture the commanding heights in the Greek economy, particularly in the key industries.

From the congress platform the Greek communists vigorously condemned selling off the national wealth to foreign and local monopolies. They proposed nationalization of the sector of research and exploitation of mineral resources, and also the whole cycle of prospecting, extraction, processing and sale of oil and other minerals.

The CPG supports on principle the setting up of state amalgamations in all the main branches of the economy. At the same time, in the interests of the national economy and the democratic majority of the nation, its also demands and campaigns for all-round improvement of the terms on which nationalization is carried out and introduction of effective democratic control over the nationalized sector. Our party insists on substantial worker participation in the management of the nationalized state enterprises. We believe that this would help to restrict the autocracy of the monopolies and ease the economic position of the masses.

The Tenth Congress reaffirmed the communists' fundamental opposition to the plans for Greece to join the EEC. Having thoroughly analyzed the possible consequences of Greece's entry into the Common Market, which could only be unfavorable for the economy and for national independence, the communists suggest a different road, a road that would benefit the nation, the road of establishing equal, genuine and mutually advantageous relations with all countries.

In order to overcome the crisis phenomena in the national economy as rapidly as possible, the congress also proposed measures to improve the economic position of the working people, increase their share in the national income, curb inflation, revive the home market and restrict unproductive spending.

Two policies

It is now possible to compare the conflicting political assessments that the different parties make of these three nationwide problems.

The Tenth Congress drew the conclusion that the main political trends are becoming polarized in respect of these problems, that two diametrically opposed policies are taking shape in Greek society. One

policy, notwithstanding certain substantial differences in the means, methods, and positions of the political forces associated with it, is guided by the desire to preserve and perpetuate the system of monopoly domination that dooms the country to imperialist dependence. One must include under this heading the strategy of the party of 'new democracy' and other ruling-class parties. The other policy — despite big differences in the specific features of and opinions held by the parties it embraces — has this common denominator: its political forces are seeking the best way out of the present critical situation, a realistic solution to the existing socio-economic problems despite the pressure and interests of the monopolies, in the fight against dependence on imperialism.

The conflict between the two trends is crucial; it also basically determines the correlation of political forces and the political developments in Greece itself. It rests fundamentally on the main contradiction in contemporary Greek society, which goes back to the contradiction between labor and capital. This is where the divide between the political fronts begins. That statement should not be taken to imply, however, that the communists deny the possibility of various forms of cooperation with some bourgeois political forces, for there are many contradictions that are only derivative and secondary, but nonetheless figure on the agenda and require such cooperation if they are to be resolved.

Proceeding from its analysis of the two opposed policies in present-day Greece, the congress pointed out that the question that all national political forces, all Greek parties, groupings and party leaders must answer unambiguously may be formulated essentially as follows:

With the people against the monopolies or with the monopolies against the people? Against imperialism or subordination to imperialism?

One or the other. There is no middle way. Such is the historical choice, the great divide that today and in the future, until the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic stage with its radical revolutionary transformations is completed, will determine our policy of alliances, unmistakably showing us which forces are our strategic enemies, and which are our strategic allies.

For anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democracy of the people

The party of the Greek communists knows which side of the barricades it must be on in the confrontation between the two main political trends, between the policy of Atlantism, authoritarianism and so-called 'retrenchment,' on the one hand, and the policy of

national independence, consistent democratic development and social progress, on the other.

The Tenth Congress of the CPG, which is fighting with all its revolutionary energy for the people's highest interests, set this general task: to combine this struggle with the presentation of a definite alternative policy to the 'new democracy,' an alternative that would attract broad social strata and political circles not yet influenced by the left.

The communists noted that the precondition for getting out of the impasse into which the right-wing parties are driving the country is unity and struggle of the working people to break the power of the monopolies and eliminate dependence on imperialism, to establish a truly *democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly regime, a democracy of the people,* a system of genuine people's power. In our belief only such a regime could give the people any real opportunity of realizing its aspirations. Only under such a regime would our country ensure its national independence along with economic well-being for the people and not for the monopolies. Only when the decision-making centers at present controlled by the monopolies pass into the hands of the popular forces will the working masses be able to perform the function of administration and management, a function that has at present been totally appropriated by a handful of local and foreign exploiters.

Rally the broad anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly forces

The Tenth Congress did not indulge in any abstract propaganda of the immediate democratic goal, a democracy of the people. It defined the road to its attainment from Marxist-Leninist positions. This path presupposes — as one of its essential conditions — the rallying of all anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces. Detailing its policy of alliance in respect of the present balance of forces, the CPG called for the rallying of the broad anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly forces; our party believes that a constantly widening spectrum of left forces is a key factor here. At the same time the congress stresses that the vanguard and decisive role in the process of concentrating the forces needed to effect the anti-imperialist, democratic restructuring of society and establish a democracy of the people is to be played by the working class and its Leninist-type party, the CPG.

This is why our prime task is unity of the working class, a task that is inseparable from that of building up the organizational structure of the CPG as a large-scale mass revolutionary party of the working class, capable of leading the Greek people's struggle against imperialism.

Real cooperation and solidarity of all anti-imperialist, anti-

monopoly democratic forces depends on the accomplishment of these two interconnected tasks. Naturally the Tenth Congress paid considerable attention to analyzing and elucidating these aspects of our activity.

There was thorough discussion of the changes in the composition of the working class, the substantial swelling of its ranks, the build-up of its influence in a society of developing state-monopoly capitalism. The specific features of the trade union movement were discussed in the context of the new and complex problems stemming from rapid industrial progress and the technological revolution and affecting the forms of trade union organizations. The congress also considered the problems of development of mass movements and communist participation in them. The indisputable achievements in all fields of CPG party building and its high rate of progress were noted with satisfaction. At the same time it was pointed out that there is still a good deal of work to be done to achieve the level of political organization required of a mass Marxist-Leninist party such as we intend to build.

A fundamentally important result of the Tenth Congress is its confirmation of the strategy of advance toward socialism charted by the Ninth Congress, a strategy corresponding to the specific nature and demands of the present phase in the development of the revolutionary movement in Greece. As the Tenth Congress stressed, the struggle for the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, whose main task is establishment of people's democracy, does not run counter to the aims of the socialist revolution, but merges with them, marking the first stage of an integral revolutionary process, whose second and final stage is the socialist transformation of Greek society.

The congress documents deal with all the features and tasks of this integral revolutionary process, such as changing the state structure, the role of social institutions, political parties, and mass movements; they substantiate the possibility of the revolution's taking a peaceful road in accord with the conditions of present-day Greece.

The problem of cooperation of the democratic forces

Our party, while setting its strategic aims, does not indulge in passive contemplation of the current problems of Greek life. The communists are campaigning actively for immediate improvement in the people's living standard and for introduction of democratic anti-monopoly reforms. In this we are guided by the belief that the struggle for reforms promotes the class education of the working people, brings new frontiers within the reach of the people's general democratic movement, and creates favorable conditions for achievement of the immediate strategic goal, that is, a democracy of the people. What the people can achieve today in the framework of bourgeois democracy

should not be put off till tomorrow — this is one of the fundamental ideas of the Tenth Congress, which clearly orients our party toward further work among the masses and activation of the mass struggle.

In advocating solidarity and cooperation of all the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces at all levels, from the bottom upwards, in order to establish a democracy of the people, the CPG does not reduce its program to this principle alone. It remains fully aware of the dialectical complexities of the present historical situation in Greece. We realize that there are certain democratic problems whose immediate solution interests not only the left-wing forces, but also certain political circles in the bourgeois camp. At the same time we are bound to respond to the mood of the broad democratic masses, who have a vital interest in any immediate or at least promising way out of the present intolerable situation. So our party advocates broad constructive cooperation with the opposition democratic forces, including those of the bourgeoisie, on the basis of a program envisaging all-round democratization of social life, resolute resistance to any fascist encroachments, restriction and curbing of the present uncontrolled monopoly domination, and effective raising of the working people's standard of living. It will be understood that such a program does not yet imply liquidation of monopoly oppression. Its realization would, however, denote a step forward, a palpable turn in the political situation, a definite democratic evolution, and this would create extremely desirable premises for a further successful drive by the people toward the strategic goals of our revolutionary movement.

Some conclusions

The Congress showed that the party has risen to a higher stage of maturity and equipped itself with correct — and most important of all — collectively arrived at decisions and guidelines for further fruitful activity on a firm Marxist-Leninist basis.

As in the course of the pre-congress debates, so at the congress itself, the characteristic feature was a thoughtful, analytical approach to all the questions under discussion. The whole work of preparing and holding the Tenth Congress took place in an atmosphere of profound ideological and political unity.

The open dialogue within the party showed that it has accumulated a very substantial potential. The hundreds of articles and other items published in the party press were for us a kind of rediscovery of ourselves, of the maturity of our thinking, our ability to tackle problems in a responsible way, to treat them creatively, detect and soberly criticize shortcomings. Considering that most of the authors of these articles and other contributions have not been in the party long, a positive conclusion may be drawn about the level of the party's

organizational and educational work since the political changes of 1974.

The congress showed that the theoretical expectations of party members and activists have notably increased. This once again confirms the need for further activization of our ideological and theoretical work combined with a stronger drive against bourgeois ideology and various opportunist, petty-bourgeois ideological trends.

We have reached the conclusion that we have an urgent task in seeing to it that the party takes a most active part in studying the vital ideological and theoretical problems confronting the international communist movement. It has also been stressed that the CPG shall to the best of its abilities strive to preserve and consolidate the unity of the international communist movement.

Throughout its 60 years our party has been marching in the vanguard of the working class, the mass of the people, defending the interests of the people and the country, upholding Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and fighting against the 'left' and right deviations.

The Tenth Congress declared that the CPG categorically rejects any attempts to distort Marxism-Leninism, to oppose Marxism to Leninism, one part of it to another, to destroy the integrity of the unitary Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

We are firmly convinced that Leninism is the Marxism of the present epoch, that it has permanent and universal significance, a significance not limited by time and geography. It arms us with knowledge of the general regularities of socialist revolution and the building of socialism, with the ability to apply them creatively to our realities, to our national specifics. The correctness and viability of its ideas are confirmed — in both past and present — by the revolutionary experience of our party, of all international revolutionary practice.

The Communist Party of Greece again demonstrated its consistent internationalist character, its unshakable faith in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which guarantee both the independence and the life-giving international fraternal cooperation and solidarity of the communist parties.

The presence at the Tenth Congress of 45 delegations from the fraternal parties and the national-liberation movements is regarded as a significant event not only in the life of our party, but for the whole country. The participation of guests from parties and organizations abroad enabled them to express their solidarity with the Greek people's struggle for national independence, for a just solution of the Cyprus question, and to voice their support for the peaceful solution of the disagreements between Greece and Turkey in accord with

international law and the principles of détente. The fact that many of the parties that came to the congress are ruling parties and decide the foreign policy of their countries, while others have an influence on the shaping of foreign-policy positions indicates the political and practical importance of this support. The CPSU delegation's clear-cut positions, precisely defined from the class standpoint on all questions concerning our society evoked exceptional interest among the Greek public, the whole Greek people.

The Tenth Congress of the CPG thus gave broad sections of the Greek nation an impressive opportunity to feel and understand that there are powerful forces in the world on which Greece could rely in pursuing a policy of national independence, in its search for a positive, genuinely democratic solution to critical national problems. Not for nothing did the political commentators in the capitalist press acknowledge that the CPG Tenth Congress made a 'national contribution.'

For all Greek communists who, while fighting for the cause, experienced the trials of the 33 years separating us from the last legally held congress, the Tenth Congress is a doubly inspiring event. The Greek communists' May forum reaffirmed the invincible strength of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the vitality and drive of the revolutionary movement in our country, which proved capable of overcoming in the main the consequences and hardships of defeat in the civil war, capable of making good the loses caused by the long hard period of illegality, the splits, the subterfuges of right and 'left' opportunism, of climbing to new heights and reaching the crucial point from which the horizons of tomorrow's democratic and renewed Greece have become visible.

It is a point to be noted that even commentators and observers who can hardly be suspected of communist sympathies called the Tenth Congress a 'congress of victory.' No less indicative is the fact that another congress that was held at approximately the same time as ours, namely the congress of the right revisionist group which in 1968 broke away from the CPG and emerged as the 'second communist party,' was called by the same people a congress of 'defeat' and 'disintegration,' because it was accompanied by disillusionment, discord and disarray.

The fact that two such different congresses were held in parallel, so to speak, allows us to make the appropriate comparisons and see the hopeless position to which rightist revisionism has reduced itself. Incidentally this was also demonstrated in its total failure at the last elections to Parliament.

The Tenth Congress of the CPG, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, was a new and striking proof of the growing prestige

and influence of our party among the broad masses of the working people and in national democratic circles. This was manifested once again at the Panionios Stadium in Athens during the huge rally at the close of the Tenth Congress which was attended by tens of thousands.* Our congress authoritatively reflected the communists' invincible will to continue the struggle, to increase their class militancy, and to go ahead with building a mass Marxist-Leninist party capable of leading the working class and the whole Greek people to national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain

Sebastian Zapirain
CC Member, CP of Spain

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain met in Madrid from April 19 to 22. It was attended by 1,494 delegates representing 201,740 party members. Also present were representatives of the main political forces, the trade unions, prominent intellectuals, 36 foreign delegations, and members of the International Brigades that had fought fascism in Spain. All this lent the Congress special importance.

It can be characterized as historic, though that over-used word has lost much of its meaning. But the Congress was a historic event, for it was the first legal forum in the 46 years since our Fourth Congress in Seville in 1932, and also because it was preceded by a wide-ranging discussion on democracy and socialism in the context of the theses and Party Rules which the Central Committee put before Congress. There were two months of spirited discussion and active preparatory work. The freedom with which various viewpoints were expressed was evidence of the new image of our Communist Party which has put an end to the ill-intentioned distortions of the past and dealt a telling blow to the anti-communist campaigns.

Those campaigns reached their peak on the eve of the Congress. Giving way to wishful thinking, their organizers predicted a split in the party, claiming that its leadership and Santiago Carrillo, its Gen-

*The press reported that the stadium, including the sports arena, was packed to overflowing, as were the adjoining streets. There were at least 70-75,000 people in the stadium itself. — *Ed.*

eral Secretary, had been discredited. Their predictions did not come true. The Congress demonstrated that the Communist Party had become much stronger, more united and was imbued with enthusiasm. That was evidenced by the rally at the Vista Alegre bull ring on the closing day of the Congress. More than 30 thousand people gave a standing ovation to Dolores Ibarruri and Santiago Carrillo and also to the other communist leaders from Catalonia, the Basque country, Galicia, the Canary and Balearic islands, and Andalusia. The slogan at the rally was: 'Such is the strength of the Communist Party.'

The political report delivered by our General Secretary was a comprehensive synthesis of the long process the party had gone through from the many years of fascist dictatorship to the present time. The report brought out the landmarks in the history of our party, noted its consistent process of renewal, permeated with the spirit of continuous creativity and application of our principles to concrete realities, but with due account to new phenomena and change. It was in this way that our political, theoretical and ideological positions took shape and that our tactics and strategy were brought into line with the very complex and unique circumstances in which it had fallen to us communists to work in our own country and beyond its boundaries.

Our losses in this 'passage through the desert' were not in vain: neither the blood shed by our heroes, the victims of Franco brutality, nor the hardship and self-sacrifice of those who had lived through the rigors of prison or tasted all the bitterness of exile, nor the hunger and calamities that were the lot of our people. All the suffering, all the tragedies, were the harbingers of the dawn of freedom and democracy. The democratization process must be strengthened and made irreversible.

Our party elaborated a series of concepts which played an important part in the transition period from dictatorship to democracy. Among these are the policy of national reconciliation, the alliance of forces of labor and culture (which, naturally, includes also the peasants), the freedom pact, the policy of democratic concentration which has found its expression in the Moncloa Pact, our perspective of advancing to political and social democracy as the transition stage to socialism in conditions of freedom. The report forthrightly declared that, along with the obvious changes in the internal situation, the peoples of Andalusia, Extremadura, Castillia and other areas were living under the old conditions: ruled by the same appointed *alcaldes* and *casiques,* with the same structures and with the same poverty and exploitation, pressure and threats against the working people. In such regions as Andalusia and Extremadura, unemployment and malnutri-

tion have produced an accumulation of wrath and resentment that could explode at any moment. Carrillo was self-critical in saying that we communists, due to overwork in coping with the problems that had built up over several months, had not yet made our voice heard in all parts of the country.

'We must admit,' he said, 'that we have so far failed to instill in all our cadres and in all party members the desire to attract new supporters. But this is necessary if we want to penetrate the most remote parts of the country, bring to these areas the party's message and open the eyes of many people. We still confine ourselves largely to developing work within our own organizations, among party members. We have not yet gone beyond our own framework, into the masses, to counter the pressure of the ruling classes and their ideological influence and increase our own influence throughout society. We tend to speak more at home than in the streets, more among ourselves than among the people.

'However, it would be wrong not to notice the changes that have taken place over so short a period, and it would be a mistake to underestimate them.'[1] In a short space of time we won freedom of the press, freedom of association (which the Communist Party of Spain was denied as a result of a plot engineered by Francoists and former Francoists and in which Willi Brandt and other social democrat leaders had a part), the right to demonstration and strikes; we wrested our comrades from prison, won an amnesty and now, though with difficulty, are pushing ahead for a work amnesty, that is, the return to work of those who were victimized under the Franco dictatorship. Parliament and the Senate, elected by universal suffrage, now meet in the building that formerly housed the Franco Cortes and National Council of the Movement (Falange). The nationalities and regions that make up Spain have been given pre-autonomous status and mechanisms for self-government which, despite their limited character, signify a definite change and give justified hope for the continued development of democracy. The political parties, class trade unions, women's movement, youth organizations are now functioning openly — no longer do they have to conceal their activities. A new Constitution inspired by the ideals of democracy is being framed. And though it is not entirely satisfactory, it does pave the way to social and economic transformations.

What we have is a struggle of two forces. On the one hand, there are the supporters of the former dictatorship, who still control the machinery of government, which obviously will require restructuring along democratic lines. They threaten, insult and attack communists, church functionaries, army officers, even ministers, perpetrate dangerous terroristic acts and sabotage in an attempt to distabilize the

economy. On the other hand, there are the progressive forces working to consolidate democracy. They are displaying increasing determination to carry the political changes to consummation. The impressive success of the Workers' Commissions and the General Workers' Union at the trade union elections despite all the employer and government moves to start yellow unions, and working-class resistance to attempts to violate the Moncloa Pact — all this is an indication of the growing determination of the progressive forces. But it is our duty to keep the people on the qui vive, mobilizing them for active participation in bringing about change, working in such a way that will unite the widest sections of the population. And, to quote the General Secretary of the Communist Party in the Basque Country, Roberto Lertxundi, we must wipe out terrorism by the joint efforts of all the peoples of Spain, isolate those who want to bring back the dictatorship and prevent them from developing into a serious danger. In short, this period calls for sound judgment, fimness, perseverance and patience so that the changes we have won become irreversible and a new chapter is opened in the history of Spain.

The theses and the draft Rules were widely discussed (sometimes throughout the night) in 16 commissions. After that the proposals of the majority and of the minority (if the latter received one-third of the vote) were placed before the plenary session of Congress. In the case of thesis XV (which deals with the new definition of the CPS) the presidium, with the agreement of the delegates, allowed a speaker from the minority, though it did not receive the required number of votes in the commission.

The definition adopted by a considerable majority emphasizes that the Communist Party of Spain is 'a Marxist, revolutionary and democratic party based on the theory of social development elaborated by the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, and on their method of analysis.' This is followed by the explanation that 'the CPS has absorbed Lenin's contribution to the extent that it is still valid, as it has absorbed the contribution of other great revolutionaries. However, the party proceeds from the fact that today it is not possible to adhere to the restrictive formula "Leninism is the Marxism of our epoch".' 'We consider ourselves the inheritors of those who in the difficult conditions of 1917 Russia were able to carry out, under Lenin's leadership, the world's first socialist revolution, which began the present world revolutionary process. That explains our historic distinction from the social democrats.'[2]

Thesis XV, approved by Congress as one of its resolutions, emphasizes that 'the CPS rejects all dogmatic concepts of Marxism. Marxism is of a scientific, not dogmatic character. The CPS has always sought to raise its ability to take into account the objective

changes in society, the new scientific gains, the experience of revolutionary practice. The CPS strives to assimilate, in a critical spirit, the new elements in the development of Marxism.'[3]

The CPS continues to criticize social-democracy. However it welcomes the steps toward Marxism by certain socialist and social democrat parties or their sections. The CPS stresses the need for an effort to re-establish unity of the international working-class movement on a Marxist basis. Our party stands for united action of Marxist and social democrat forces, of all the popular forces, in the battle for peace, disarmament, self-determination and independence of peoples, for equal cooperation between them, for progress, social justice and democracy, for the building of socialism.

By developing these ideas, the CPS 'is working to create — as our Manifesto-Program says — *a new political entity* in Spain made up of parties striving for socialism, trade unions, cooperative movements and other social and political organizations. This new entity will respect the identity, independence and philosophy of each of its members and will unite their forces to become a realistic alternative to the government of the bourgeois parties, an alternative capable of leading the country to socialism in conditions of democracy.'[4]

Other basic elements are democratic centralism and internationalism.

'We are guided by the principle of democratic centralism,' the resolution says, 'applying it in conditions of legality, in the conditions of our epoch, thereby facilitating the flourishment of internal democracy.

'The CPS educates its members in the spirit of international solidarity with the working people and liberation movements of all countries, in the spirit of the ideas of socialism and communism.'[5]

As Santiago Carrillo said in his concluding remarks, 'some maintained that we would never be able to conduct a democratic congress. Even on the eve of the Congress, when it was perfectly clear that it would be a democratic forum, they still maintained: "the Communist Party will disintegrate," "the CPS and the USPC[6] will come out against each other," "there is bound to be a split in Communist Party organizations".' Yes, different views were discussed and upheld at the Congress, but I would say that, essentially, they were not as contrary as may seem. However, the responsibility felt by all Congress delegates, both by those who made up the majority and those who were in the minority after the resolutions were voted, the spirit of loyalty to our party, of unity, dedication, which was so manifest at this Congress — all this is the most eloquent proof that, though the discussion was spirited, at times even heated, we have remained

united in our determination to fight for the policy approved by the Congress.

'And let no one entertain any hope of the party becoming divided into Leninists and anti-Leninists. All of us are communists. All of us are fighting for the cause of socialism. All of us are fighting for communism. We are all Marxists, revolutionaries and democrats. And all of us regard Lenin as the greatest revolutionary in history and as one of our teachers, from whom we will continue to learn just as we are learning to this very day. No, we will not be divided into Leninists and anti-Leninists.'[7]

The Congress resolutions provide rich material for reflection and activity. They are not a substitute for the Manifesto-Program, adopted by the party's National Conference in 1975. That document concentrates on aspects which stand in need of change, which should be rendered more precisely or developed to meet the new situation. The propositions of the Manifesto-Program retain all their validity with regard to matters left unchanged by Congress resolutions. And to this category belong such important subjects as the policy of democratic concentration, political and social democracy as a stage on the road to socialism and communism, trade union policy, emancipation of woman, rural affairs, the youth, cultural and educational policy, cultural and civil movements, foreign policy and defense, emigration, small and medium businesses and self-employed workers, fishing and the merchant marine. On all these matters the policy of the party is spelled out in the Manifesto-Program.

The Ninth Congress met against the background of the profound economic, political, social, cultural and moral crisis of the capitalist system. There is also the crisis of the postwar neo-capitalist illusions and the political concepts in which they find expression.

That is why international problems were dealt with from this standpoint, with the focus on the situation in Europe. The main aims of the party's international policy are to ensure Spain's sovereignty and independence, the right of the people to determine their future without foreign interference, the security of our frontiers. Accordingly, the CPS advocates a policy of *non-alignment,* with Spain favoring peaceful coexistence of states, détente, disarmament, dissolution of exiting military blocs. Such a policy would guarantee the right of all peoples to freedom, self-determination, human rights, and would promote cooperation, political, economic and cultural relations between all countries on the basis of friendship and mutual advantage.

In supporting Spain's membership in the European Economic Community, the CPS reaffirms its desire, together with other West-European left forces, to change the present character of the community, now dominated by the big monopolies. We want to see even

capitalist Europe a Europe of labor, a Europe of the peoples. We want to see Western Europe economically and politically united, with its own independent policy that would facilitate the dissolution of military blocs, democratization of international affairs, granting all its peoples maximum freedom so that they should themselves be the masters of their destiny.

In other words, if the political orientation of power in Western Europe is changed, this could be followed by changes of economic and social structures. And that is helped by the emergence of subjective conditions: the increasing weight of the working class, the trade unions and parties, the more progressive orientation of the cultural forces and the sharper contradiction between the middle strata and the monopolistic oligarchies. We are working toward a Western Europe in which it would be possible (unless we are lulled by the false idea that the erosion of the imperialist system will automatically lead to the collapse of capitalism) to create the conditions for a pluralistic and democratic road to socialist society, and at a lesser cost in terms of human, social and economic expenditure than has been the case in other countries.

The international climate in which the forces that will refashion society are working, favors such changes in Western Europe. The imperaialist system is hardly likely to recover from the blows that have been dealt it. Alongside the capitalist countries there are today other countries that have broken out of domination by the bourgeoisie and imperialism and are carrying out far-reaching social transformations. Having traversed a difficult path, one that has not been free of conflict, contradictions and even negative aspects, these countries represent the socialist alternative to the capitalist system. World imperialism is no longer the only system and its opportunities to re-establish its positions are becoming increasingly limited. Imperialism's defeats have been further aggravated by decolonization, cooperation between ex-colonial and dependent countries in defense of their interests, particularly the price of oil and other raw materials. All these factors account for the unprecedented nature and duration of the present economic crisis; they undermine imperialist relations and lead to the emergence of more democratic international relations.

And if it is true that as long as imperialism exists, as long as there are blocs and the arms race, the danger of a world war cannot be fully precluded, it is equally true that such a war would not produce a revolutionary crisis as the one in Russia in 1917 or in Europe and Asia in 1945. On the contrary, it would be a terrible regress for the whole of mankind, a holocaust the victims of which would include both the forces of progress and of conservatism.

But even without war the tension between the two systems is

beginning to have an adverse effect on the ecological equilibrium, on the quality of life and threatens the very existence of our planet. We communists, and together with us all thinking people, attach immense importance to the campaign for peace, elimination of military blocs, disarmament and cooperation between all nations and states. The Soviet-American SALT talks, the conferences on European security in Helsinki and Belgrade, and the one to be held in Madrid in 1980 if Spain remains outside NATO, should continue until favorable results are achieved. The fact is that the struggle for peace has now become a struggle for the survival of humankind, for the defense of civilization.

The CPS is making its own concrete contribution to the struggle by advocating 'effective measures to guarantee the security of countries and nations, halt the arms race, the results of which are having a serious and adverse effect on the living conditions of the masses.' The Communist Party of Spain is categorically opposed 'to production of new types of mass-destruction weapons such as the neutron bomb.'[8]

Another essential element of the present situation is our party's clear and categorical opposition to Spanish membership in NATO. 'Entry into NATO,' the Congress resolution says, 'would, dialectically, strengthen the European military blocs, accelerate the arms drive with all its negative effects for world security and peace. Besides, Spain's NATO membership would lay an onerous burden on the country's economy and would cause considerable damage to her armed forces despite all the propaganda to the contrary. And there would be still another serious consequence: Spain, and in particular the Canary and Balearic islands, would be drawn into the strategic plans of the U.S.-led North Atlantic Alliance.'[9]

On the other hand, Spain's NATO membership — or even its intention to join the alliance — would release international factors that would have a clearly negative effect on the democratic process.

The Communist Party favors a policy of non-alignment, a policy involving abolition of existing military blocs with the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. As for the U.S. bases on Spanish territory, it is 'our firm desire to see Spain free of all foreign military bases, of all treaties and agreements that tend to restrict our national sovereignty.'[10]

At the same time, the CPS welcomes as a progressive step the normalization of relations with the socialist countries of Europe. The CPS stands for the development of economic, political and cultural ties based on mutual advantage.

The CPS wants to see equal diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the African countries that have broken out of colonial oppression. It reaffirms its full solidarity with the peoples of Sahara and the Polisario Front. It expresses its solidarity with the Palestinian

people and supports their right to establish their own independent state. At the same time, the CPS recognizes the right to existence of all the states of the region including Israel. The Spanish communists fully support the struggle of the Latin American peoples. And the Spanish people have a sincere feeling of sympathy with the peoples of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Central America languishing under the yoke of fascist and reactionary dictatorships. We have very close ties of friendship with socialist Cuba, and we highly appreciate the efforts of the Cuban revolution in building a socialist society and upholding the country's independence. The CPS considers it necessary to establish a new type of relations with the countries of the third world, which will put an end to the methods and survivals of neo-colonialism.

The CPS is helping to strengthen the working class and anti-imperialist movement in every part of the world. It will continue to do everything within its power to lessen and overcome the differences and disagreements that only weaken the mass struggle against colonialism and imperialism. It will work toward a broad worldwide anti-imperialist front within which there will be respect for the independence and positions of every party and every movement, a front that will strive for united action and will accept the multiplicity of forces and circles ranged against imperialism. The Communist Party of Spain maintains fraternal relations with many communist and workers' parties and is prepared to establish such relations with all parties on the basis of non-interference, equality and mutual respect. It is in this sense that we are striving to improve relations with the CPSU. At the same time, the CPS desires normal relations with the Communist Party of China.

The Ninth Congress approved the new Party Rules. They have been substantially altered to meet the new conditions of legality and to promote inner-party democracy at all levels.

Santiago Carrillo's concluding remarks were imbued with confidence in the victory of our cause:

'We will continue our struggle for democracy, socialism and communism. We will go ahead together with all who are desirous of strengthening and expanding democracy. We will exert every effort to recruit new allies in the fight for a socialist and communist society in conditions of freedom and democracy. We want to build such a society in this country, and there should be no doubt that we will build it in the course of a definite historical period.

'The future does not belong to the oppressors. It does not belong to the exploiters. The future belongs to the forces of progress, to the men and women who by their labor in factory and field create all the wealth of our country. The future belongs to the workers in the field

of culture who are contributing to the greatness of our country. The future of this country belongs to us. And in saying that I do not mean that it belongs only to the communists. It belongs to the communists, socialists, democrats, to all the forces of progress who want to prevent the conservative and reactionary forces from rearing their heads again.

'And with this determination, and with this party whose Ninth Congress has shown that it is a serious and responsible party, let us boldly go ahead to a stronger democracy, to socialism and to communism!'[11]

1. *Mundo Obrero,* April 20, 1978.
2. 9 Congresso del PCE, 19/23 Abril. Resoluciones. p. 43.
3. Ibid., p. 44.
4. Ibidem.
5. Ibidem.
6. United Socialist Party of Catalonia. — *Ed.*
7. *Mundo Obrero,* April 23, 1978.
8. 9 Congresso del PCE, 19/23 Abril de 1978. Resoluciones, p. 38.
9. Ibid., p. 40.
10. Ibid., p. 41.
11. *Mundo Obrero,* April 23, 1978.

Young Italy: anxieties and hopes

FIVE INTERVIEWS

The vast, complex and contradictory world of youth . . . The 'outcast generation,' 'social dynamite,' 'more confused than angry,' are some of the terms used to describe the young generation. But all agree that it presents one of the most pressing of the many problems afflicting present-day bourgeois society.

More than 7 million West Europeans under 25 are without work. Behind the figure are human suffering, broken lives, forced idleness, the humiliation of having to live on the family or on the dole, the feeling that you are not needed and that there is no hope ahead. It is against this background that many enter adulthood in the capitalist world, with its vaunted 'equal opportunities.'

Economic recession is not the only cause. There is also the profound crisis of education and vocational training, both of which are not fully in touch with what society really needs. By dooming millions of able-bodied, energetic, eager young people to idleness, capitalism

has revealed not only its economic, but also its moral and political insolvency.

Explosive material is accumulating in the 'jobless ghettos.' That was acknowledged by Western leaders at their May 1977 summit in London: massive youth unemployment, they said, could produce a new discontented generation.

The communists, always in the thick of the fight for youth's demands, are fully aware of the situation and point to the danger of the young generation being 'desocialized,' left without work, denied a meaningful part in society. And the danger is all the greater, considering the influence of left and right extremist groups. They are out to impose their fatal 'shock tactics,' or inculcate a feeling of hopelessness, social inertness, and steer the youth away from the democratic and working-class movements.

There is the proof of experience that a movement lacking a solid ideological base, a scientifically substantiated program and a united organization is doomed to failure. And that can happen to the youth movement if the tortuous, often perverted, search for an ideology does not bring it into the mass political struggle, into association with the working class.

Bringing the youth into that struggle is a highly complex, often contradictory process. Youth has become the object of a hard ideological and political tug of war, and is influenced by widely disparate forces. The communist policy toward the young generation and its various groups is based on a class analysis and is designed to win over the youth for democracy and socialism.

The communists are uncompromising in their struggle for the youth, and they have to be just as uncompromising in assessing their achievements and miscalculations. Objective factors are, of course, important, but more important still is the subjective factor, especially organization and political work by the communists, their ability to influence the youth and to ease its conditions without, however, yielding to momentary interests and needs, without losing sight of reality and of the movement's end aim.

This journal has published a number of articles on youth problems. This is only natural — these problems figure prominently in party work, for youth plays a bigger part in the world of today; there have been changes within its own ranks, and much discussion of its problems and future.

These interviews deal with the position of the young generation of Italy, a country in the throes of a severe crisis: structural rather than temporary economic crisis; crisis in the organization of society and the state, beginning with the school and ending with the judicial

system; and political crisis, i.e., crisis of the leadership, centering largely on the problem of public order.

Things have reached a point when the economy and the institutions of government might well find themselves on the brink of catastrophe. There is an urgent need, the Italian communists point out, to change the development pattern of society and government, and the successes, gains and greater strength of the working class and the democratic forces make needed changes possible.

What is the position of the youth in these circumstances? What forms does its social activity assume? We, an Italian and a Soviet journalist, tried to get the answers to these questions through interviews with young workers, farmers and students, and with the National Secretary of the Italian Young Communist Federation. Of course, our interviews do not provide an exhaustive or even detailed picture. They do not cover every aspect of the youth problem. Nevertheless, we hope that the reader will get a fair idea of why the Italian youth is today the object of great hopes and of grave apprehensions, the center of attention and of unscrupulous speculation.

EXPLOSIVE SITUATION

Massimo d'Alema
National Secretary, Italian Young Communist Federation,
Central Committee Member, Italian Communist Party

One of the most dramatic manifestations of Italy's social and economic crisis is youth unemployment. Its scale can be judged by the lists of those who, unsuccessfully and with little hope, have been looking for their first job. The registered number is 1,500,000. But the actual number is, of course, much greater, for many young people, especially girls, are not registered. The total figure would add up to about three million, and it includes a sizable and constantly growing group of school-leavers and university graduates.

And so, the youth problem is first and foremost a social problem, the origins of which should be sought in the specific features of capitalist development in Italy. And one of these features, now as in the past, is the contradiction between adult workers (men between the ages of 30 and 40) who have always been the backbone of our labor force, and the second-class, marginal part of the work force, made up of young people and women. They were relegated to the so-called 'black labor market,' that is, to jobs in the smaller shops, or work at home without any protective labor agreements, or had to rely on casual or seasonal jobs. As the ability of the capitalist-regulated economy to expand is reduced, (and this is characteristic today not only of Italian capitalism), more and more people are denied productive work, are consigned to the backwaters of society. Above all this

affects the youth, women, whole communities, rural and highland areas, the lumpen proletarians and other sections of the disinherited.

For a long time the problem was obscured and played down by the government's policy of inflating the government apparatus, providing temporary jobs, charity handouts, and also mass migration and emigration. These outlets no longer exist and the problem of 'unemployable Italians' has become a very severe one. Especially in the socially and economically backward southern regions, where the crisis is more painfully felt. In Campania region, for instance, more than 200,000 young persons are still looking for their first job.

Toward the end of 1976 Parliament enacted a law on combating youth unemployment. It provided for the appropriation of 1,060,000 million lire to subsidize industries that put young people to work. The idea was to create 350,000 new jobs. Nothing came of it. Employers took advantage of the fact that the law was not binding, merely a recommendation, and refused to take on young workers.

We need cardinal changes. We need a new economic policy based on expanding the country's industrial structure, particularly in the southern regions.

There is much concern over the growth of crime and drug addiction, both of which are largely the result of mass young unemployment. Some resign themselves to their lot, others go in for 'negative activity,' enter into open conflict with society — fight society, as they understand it.

There is the danger of a substantial part of the new generation falling away from the democratic system, from the labor movement. It is in this sense that we consider the youth problem one of the main aspects of the crisis of Italian society. Since the 1968 events there has been a marked leftward shift among the youth. But its political strength has been sapped by the economic and social crisis. There was even the danger of regression, 'barbarization.' In other words, the economic crisis is fraught both with opportunities for winning over the youth, but also with the danger that a considerable part will fall prey to the maneuvers of the reactionary forces, perhaps after sterile attempts at rebellionism.

It has to be said that this shift was largely spontaneous and did not develop into conscious and wide acceptance of the policy, ideology and traditions of the working-class movement. For all their positive significance, the changes contained many elements of weakness, duality, conditioned mainly by the fact that no solution was offered, let alone found, for the problems confronting the youth. Hence, the signs of a crisis in the youth movement, its decline even among those who voted for the left parties.

Q. The facts suggest that the Communist Party and its organiza-

tions were to a certain extent confused by the new developments in the youth movement and did not properly understand and assess them. Why was this?

d'Alema. The dominant view in the party and, of course, within our own federation, was that the youth was steadily and directly coming over to our positions. We did not always realize that we were dealing with a contradictory situation. Nor were we fully aware of what was happening within the youth world, of the social phenomena that determined the ideological and political sentiments of the new generation. Ours was an over-optimistic view, conditioned partly by the party's significant progress and impressive victories at the polls. But precisely because the working class was coming nearer to governing the country, the social and political struggle was bound to become sharper, and the tactics of the ruling class more subtle and insidious. Reactionary anti-labor views were gaining ground among certain sections of the youth.

Q. What sections of the youth movement criticize the Communist Party?

d'Alema. Sharp criticism of our policy comes from the extreme left minority organizations and groups. They maintain that ours is a policy of concessions, and some even speak of betrayal of the interests of the working class. For ten years now these left extremists have acted as political adversaries of the Italian Communist Party. But they have not gained more influence or more supporters; on the contrary, in some areas their influence has declined. Politically organized extremism is on the decline, though there is a growing number of extremist trends and groups not affiliated to any political organization. Some of them try to maintain relations with the working-class movement, try to act as its far-left wing. They engage in polemics with the trade unions and the Communist Party, but avoid frontal clashes. I have in mind such organizations as the Proletarian Unity Party, Proletarian Democracy, and the Workers' Movement for Socialism.

A somewhat different type of extremism is represented by the Lotta continua (Continuous Struggle), an anarcho-syndicalist political group formed around the newspaper of that name.

Then comes a hodge-podge of professional terrorists from the Red Brigades, 'proletarian armed nuclei' etc. and semi-legal groups.

Faced with growing support for our unity policy, the left extremists have stepped up their campaign against the Communist Party. Their attacks are becoming more open, more violent, often degenerating into open clashes. Some of these youth groups began by polemicizing with the Communist Party; today they are outright and avowed anti-

communists, demanding the physical destruction of the Communist Party as 'enemy number one.'

Using pseudo-revolutinary slogans and parading as champions of the workers' interests, these extremist organizations (there are about 80 of them) serve the interests of extreme reaction, the interests of those who are frightened by the successes of the Communist Party, its steady advance to the sphere of government power. These groups are made up not only of provocateurs; undoubtedly there are also many misled young people. But that does not alter matters: the criminal sallies of the leftist elements and bands of provocateur-terrorists camouflaged as leftists, are meant to create an atmosphere of tension, fear and violence, undermine democracy, shift the political axis to the right. All of them are subverting the constitutional system and undermining faith in the ability of the republic — that product of the anti-fascist Resistance — to ensure the people elementary security.

These are the same aims the reactionaries hoped to achieve through the neo-fascists. (There have been many press reports of contacts between the ultra-left and neo-fascist leaders, of left and right extremists receiving financial aid from one and the same source). A new dimension has now been added to the strategy of building up tensions, namely provocation, assassination, bomb attacks, very often organized by members of leftist groups who describe their dastardly actions as 'proletarian vengeance.' There can be little doubt that this is part of a wide-ranging plan of internal and international subversion centers directed against the Communist Party and the left forces.

The extremists are trying to build up a mass base within the youth movement. So far we are dealing with a very small part of society: in the last parliamentary elections extremist candidates polled only 1.5 per cent of the vote. But their methods and activities give cause for serious concern. There is also this consideration: the masses have not been properly immunized against these groups (as they had been against the Black Shirt terrorists). There have been cases of tolerating, shielding and helping these leftist terrorists. And though these groups are more isolated today than a year ago, when the main mass media practically justified attacks on communists and trade-union leaders, as was the case, for instance, in the University of Rome.

And yet I am inclined to think that this is not the main danger. There is a much more serious problem, one that concerns not only minority groups, but much wider sections of the youth. I refer to a loss of faith in politics, in political methods of struggle as a means of emancipation, as a means of resolving the problems of the individual. The retreat from politics, escapism, individualism, the search for answers in existentialism — all this is causing much concern. There is also a certain revival of Catholic mysticism. I say mysticism, and not

religious faith, which, to my mind, can in certain circumstances stimulate social activity. At the same time there is the spread of oriental religions and doctrines of small sects and a penchant for irrational and ecstatic means of self-expression. Drug addiction as a form of individual happiness, or feminism, with its accent on relations between the sexes, and similar phenomena, stripped of their decorative trappings, are really forms of escape from social and political problems into the sphere of one's personal life and should be seen as typical manifestations of the organic crisis of capitalism. The reactionary forces make little attempt to conceal their satisfaction, for passivity plays into their hands. Our attitude, of course, is different, for our policy is based on active, conscious participation in social progress.

Q. What course should the youth movement follow?

d'Alema. This question is central to a document we have drawn up for our federation's congress. Essentially, we believe there has to be a qualitative leap, a serious change in the youth movement based on the accumulated experience of recent years. There are three main aspects of the problem.

First, the selection of political democracy as the basis for our initiative and struggle. We are resolutely opposed to violence, believing that it is an indicator of submission to capitalist society and to the designs of privileged and reactionary groups, designs meant to prevent the working class, the broad working masses, from achieving political leadership of the country through democratic methods. Democracy should not be identified with existing democratic institutions — the decisive factor is their class substance (and that is why already during the anti-fascist Resistance the struggle for democracy merged with the struggle to transform society). But the youth movement cannot disregard the peculiar link between the democratic institutions of Italy and the struggle for socialism.

Second, there has to be a radical improvement in the material conditions of the youth. If we compare the gains of the working class and other social strata over the past decade with what has happened to the youth, we will find that its material position and its social status have actually deteriorated. The youth is being thrown out of the production process, relegated to the background. This is fraught with the danger of a split between it and society.

Third, there is a need for an organized pluralist youth movement representative of diverse ideological and political trends but based on democratic principles. The ideals of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle, of democracy and progress, are deeply rooted in the minds of most young Italians. The task now is to concretize this general tendency, direct this potential force to practical and effective

social struggle. The youth has still to find a form of mass organization. Its present political organizations do not have a mass membership and all of them, to one or another degree, are in a state of crisis (this applies also to our own federation, though it remains the biggest and strongest).

We are working for the broadest possible unity of the Italian youth, without however concealing or obscuring the specific features of our organization and maintaining our fidelity to communist principles. We are in contact with the young Socialists, Social Democrats, Republicans, with the Catholic organizations, primarily the youth sections of Catholic Action. There is joint action against violence and terrorism, against attempts to bring back fascism, for more jobs and better material conditions, reorganization of the education system and so on.

Of course, some of these organizations are not very big, but they represent a component of the political reality of Italy today. The communists and the Catholics have the biggest youth organizations. That is evident from the elections to the school councils. Of the 1,200,000 votes cast, the communists and socialists polled 44 per cent, the Catholics, 40 per cent. The youth, therefore, mirrors the general sentiment in the country, the predominant influence of communist, socialist and Catholic views. Considering the strength and character of these views, we are looking for ways to promote unity of the young generation, without which it cannot find solutions to its material and moral problems. The kind of unity we want would be based on concrete social issues, but with the understanding that the way out of the crisis, which afflicts not only the economy, but also politics, morals, culture, can be found only in solutions that contain elements of an advance to socialism.

Q. What tasks confront the communists, your youth federation and the trade unions in the present situation?

d'Alema. The position of the youth is one of Italy's central problems, and a key factor in the working class strategy of alliances. There is a growing understanding of that within the working-class movement and among the working people generally. The Communist Party is the most consistent champion of youth interests, the most energetic organizer of joint action with all contingents of the workers' and democratic movements. And the communists have launched an all-out 'battle for the youth' to counter the new tactics of the reactionary forces of using the youth movement in the fight against the growing influence and authority of the left forces, primarily the Italian Communist Party.

The party's efforts are directed to the renewal of society as a means of overcoming the deep crisis, from which the youth is the first to

suffer. The party's priority aims are development of the economy and larger production in the southern regions, reform of the educational system. Meetings are being held throughout Italy, also conferences to explain and popularize the party's policy. Efforts are being made to recruit new members to the Young Communist Federation, extend its influence in the youth movement and popularize communist ideas.

Our new weekly, *La Citta Futura,* founded in May of last year, plays an important part in this. Its main function is to promote closer contact between young communists and the working class as a whole and educate the young generation in the traditions of the communist and workers' movement.

The party is making a careful study of youth problems and their solution. They were the subject of a Central Committee Plenum and a research conference at the Gramsci Institute on 'Crisis of Italian Society and Youth Ideology.' Another research conference on 'Ten Years After 1968' is to be held at the same institute in the near future.

The trade unions have a part in all this. They have started 'unemployed leagues,' the idea being to unite this large contingent of Italian workers, made up mostly of young people, with the trade union movement. The political significance of this, especially at a time when the reactionary forces are trying to sow discord between the trade unions and the youth movement, should be perfectly obvious. Another significant development was the national conference in Rome last October on the problems of the youth. It was sponsored by the United Trade Union Federation (IGCL, ICLU, IWU) and attended by leaders of trade unions, democratic youth organizations and representatives of the unemployed.

In conclusion, I would emphasize the following: the working class, the working people generally, their economic, trade union and political organizations, have acquired such strength and are so widely represented in the structure of society, in the democratic institutions, that they can act as the decisive and irreplaceable force in preventing a catastrophe. Not only can they rescue the country from the crisis, but they can make it a different country after the crisis.

This requires changing the abnormal political situation in which the party that has made the greatest contribution to Italian democracy and was one of the creators of the Italian constitution, is denied a part in government. A party, moreover, that holds decisive positions in the municipal, provincial, and regional governments, accounts for more than one third of the seats in Parliament and holds the chairmanship of the Chamber of Deputies. And the facts show that denying direct participation in government to a party that has won such high prestige and enjoys such wide support, makes it impossible, under present-day conditions, properly to administer the country, solve its

most pressing problems, and the most pressing of them all, the problem of the youth.

GUARANTOR OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND THE WHOLE NATION

In Italy, working-class youth, its social and political activity, are having a substantial influence on the youth movement as a whole. Together with the working class, it is in the van of the struggle in defense of the democratic order, sanitization of the state, and for a new economic and social orientation for the benefit of those who create all the national wealth. It has demonstrated a militant spirit and a high level of consciousness, breadth of vision, and ability to choose its targets.

Pietro Agostinelli
Worker at the Pertusola factory (Crotone, Calabria), Member of the factory council, secretary of the ICP section

The conditions in Crotone are relatively favorable as compared with those in Calabria and in the South as a whole. We do have unemployment, but there are several large enterprises, like Monteedison, which employs almost 1,000 persons, or Pertusola, with 900 persons, apart from smaller ones.

Our factory is owned by a Franco-Belgian multinational, and produces zinc, germanium and some derivative minerals. Its products cover more than 80 per cent of the country's requirements. Even in the crisis and despite the price fluctuations on the European market, business is not bad. Here the workers, who have been acting as a powerful organized force, deserve considerable credit. At the factory we have 550 communists, and nearly 800 persons are unionized. These are mainly members of the General Italian Confederation of Labor (GICL), which has a majority on the factory council, with the Italian Confederation of Working People's Trade Unions (Catholics) and the Italian Labor Union, which supports the social democrats and Republicans, having one representative each. So our council epitomizes joint action by the three main trade union confederations in the country. That is quite natural, for it is substance and not name that matters, and the substance is that we are all working people, we all have to face the same problems, and make the same demands. We do differ on some points, but we all look forward to a fairer and more organized society.

Just now, we have started a drive to increase employment at the enterprise. Our demands are based on the results of our studies, which show that it is quite possible to increase the output of zinc in the country from 250,000 tons to 450,000 tons by 1985. Our enterprise

could raise the output of zinc to 130,000 tons, as compared with the present 70,000 tons, for that is just what the management loudly claimed it could do when it was lobbying for subsidies. This would create an additional 350 jobs. For Crotone this would be a lot, although, of course, it would not solve the whole problem. After all, the list of young men and women seeking their first job runs to over 1,000.

Meanwhile, there is the threat that the enterprise could be transferred or its staff cut. The general director, a Frenchman, says that other similar plants in Europe turn out more with less men. He deliberately forgets to say that our technology is extremely backward. We are the first to feel the results of this backwardness and we have had cases of death from cancer and cirrhosis of the liver.

We said: good, let us postpone, for the time being, the question of investments into expanding production; let us discuss a remodelling of the factory, which is in a sorry state; let us think about a long-term program for the enterprise to guarantee, say, the present level of employment. We met with a flat refusal. Only today my comrades called a strike and within a few days there will be action throughout the region by young people and unemployed under such slogans: we refuse to have the working class alone bear the burdens of the crisis; we want a real renewal of the production facilities and the whole management structure.

Where do we young communist workers get the political and moral power which is so pronounced at times of trial? What is it that helps us to overcome the daily ordeals of our life? I would say that it is an understanding of our role in society, of our historical mission, and active participation in the life of our massive and democratic party, the party which has set itself the unusually complicated and bold task of saving the country and simultaneously renewing it, of stopping the decay and simultaneously transforming the social structures, political relations, human relations, and the way of life.

Vittorio Simonin
Communist worker, FIAT plant, Turin

Some have sought to present the working class as turning a deaf ear to the demands of the population in the South. However, the facts show that it is a force that most sensitively responds and most resolutely fights for the revival of the South, as it would for its own vital cause. It is increasingly aware that the country cannot afford the monstrous waste of resources and the consumption which the sociologists and economists call 'affluence.' Similarly, in the next few years we cannot set ourselves the goal of further raising wages and expanding the personal consumption of working people with jobs, unless we want to see an extreme worsening of the economic and social conditions. We

cannot do so if we want to solve the problem of the South and of unemployment.

The economy must develop along different lines. There is a need to put much more into investments, into the renewal and the enlargement of production facilities and into greater employment.

The communists have proposed a package of measures designated by the 'stringent economy' formula. Its purpose is to put the heaviest burden on the wealthy, to secure greater social justice, and to put an end to ostentatious parasitic living and spending. But it is also aimed against the habits and urges which were widespread among fairly large sections of the working people in the period of the 'economic miracle' and the praise of consumerism. Abandonment of these habits will only improve the quality of life and make it more humane. The workers have met with understanding the Communist Party's call to introduce in society and the economy some of the goals, criteria and values inherent in the socialist ideal. We have here, in effect, two conceptions of civilization.

Unless we hit out at privileges and parasitic living, unless we put an end to the waste of funds and the haphazard use of resources, unless we attain a more humane way of life, permeated with a sense of solidarity, the country's problems will not be solved. I am sure that the positions of the working class of the North, the guarantor of democracy in our country, will not be weakened but strengthened to the extent to which it does not confine itself to defending what has been gained but takes hold of the processes of creating a new socio-economic order, one that is based on the principles of general maximum labor productivity, rationality and social justice.

The working class has also shouldered the burden of a task like defense of democracy and isolation of the terrorists. The results of one year of terrorism in Turin are: 160 criminal acts, and plastic bombs planted in 85 party or trade union offices. Our industrial capital has become the capital of political violence. The expectations of those who commit these acts are transparent: people will be intimidated, they will withdraw into their shells, and could succomb to the temptation of authoritarianism, under which it is easier to break down the people.

But the workers of Turin present a powerful barrier in the way of the political adventurers' moves. Tens of thousands of workers and students walked in the funeral procession for Roberto Crescenzio, who fell victim to the criminal acts of the 'autonomists.' The regional anti-fascist committee has held thousands of meetings to protest against terrorism. Tens of thousands of FIAT workers and employees put their signatures to a call by political and trade union organizations for an end to the violence.

Whatever the garb donned by the terrorists — be it black or red — they remain our enemies. Saving the social order in Italy today is a task that is as important as saving the economy. And the working people are aware of this. Nineteen million took part in a general strike in December of last year. It was staged to demand the demilitarization of the state security units and their transfer to civilian status with the right for policemen to set up their own trade unions and freely to join the working people's unitary confederation. This would provide them with active support from the masses. The strike went on for only one hour, but it involved virtually all the categories of working people. In this way they showed that the protection of public order is now of exceptional, nationwide importance.

RED FLAGS OVER GIULIANOVA

Agriculture is the Cinderella of the Italian economy. For a long time, it has been a source of manpower for industry, which was getting most of the investments. It has been most heavily damaged by the Common Market's policy, which makes the country cut back production and import the foodstuffs it could well produce itself. Thousands of farms have been ruined in competition with the multinational monopolies. This produces yet another problem: a growing area of wasteland. *Unita* reported that almost 5 million hectares of land lies fallow. The steady fold-up of agricultural production has led to an overall growth in unemployment.

There is now much interest in the broad movement started over the past two years by unemployed young people and farm laborers for putting the fallow land to the plough and setting up cooperatives. There are now about 300 such cooperatives, whose members cultivate 69,000 hectares.

We visited one of these — the Giulianova cooperative in the Abruzzo Region — and spoke to Domenico Arboretti, its 21-year old chairman.

A year ago, a group of us — 10 young men and a girl between the ages of 19 and 24 — decided to set up an agricultural cooperative, and do work which none of us had ever done before.

Who suggested the idea? It was life itself. None of us could find jobs. We could not even become trainees, although seven of us had school-leaving certificates. We could go to the black labor market, and like millions of other people in this country who work 'illegally,' earn a casual living without any future prospects. We could also emigrate. But we decided to stay where we were born and bred and where our parents and friends lived. We decided to stay and engage in work to which we were unaccustomed, but which is so natural on this bountiful soil.

In the region of Abruzzo, there are 200,000 hectares of unfarmed land. We realized that people need land which bears fruit. Some of the most absurd things have been happening in our agriculture: Frozen meat has been widely imported, while the peasants are being offered bonuses to reduce the cattle production, including pedigree cattle. A country with a climate like ours is importing dried fruit, wine and even flowers. This tends to inflate the already monstrous foreign-trade deficit.

We started out with a purely token capital, with everything on loan and on credit. That is, apart from our hands and the will to work. We needed a tractor to farm 57 hectares of land. That meant 5 million lire. We managed to obtain a credit. Up to now we have repaid 1.5 million lire. We now have 1,200 poultry, we have remodelled an old stock-breeding farm, and are trying to arrange the production of feed grain.

We have to work much, frequently without days off, and for the time being, without any pay. We work and thumb through various books in search of answers to the host of questions we have to face on every hand. We also consult the local peasants, who are always willing to give advice and to help. They no longer smile sceptically, as they did in the first few weeks. They realize that we are in earnest, and that we have made some headway. In general, the attitude of the older people is one of good will and concern. We have been receiving assistance from the factory councils of local enterprises and from peasant federations. Perhaps only the Christian Democrats are somewhat irritated: 'What's the idea of hoisting red flags at your cooperative? Dancing to the communist tune, aren't you?' We had to explain that the red flag is a symbol of labor, and our cooperative is the result of struggle by young people for the prime human right, the right to work. But we have made no secret of our attitude to the communists. Half of us are members of the Communist Youth Federation and we all understand those who in the last elections gave the Communist Party 35 per cent of the poll in the region. Who has done more than the communists to make the young people's cooperative movement the leading force in the struggle for renewing agriculture, to get the movement out of the isolation into which some forces wanted to drive it? Who has been more active than the communists in preventing the young people from being burdened with the full weight of this initiative?

The movement is gaining momentum. In Abruzzo Region alone, there are 22 youth cooperatives with 450 members. The fact that young people, and not only of peasant stock, are joining the farmers and farm laborers, helps to overcome the old structures and to lift the agricultural industry out of its isolation and to boost it. The movement for the cultivation of unfarmed land is one way of extending the

country's productive base and making rational use of natural resources, and this is what makes it of national importance.

But we still have very many difficulties to face. The young cooperatives, especially at the initial stages, need financial, technical, organization and management aid. We need courses for training young cooperative workers. These could be set up by arrangement with the higher schools or state institutions engaged in agricultural research. We shall have a very tough time without the support of all the democratic forces. We shall hardly be able to build up a profitable farm on our own. Without this, with the spur of enthusiasm alone, it is impossible to go on for long. But we believe in the success of our endeavor.

'A HUGE MACHINE CHURNING OUT EMPTINESS AND DESPAIR'

After polling 7,500 students, sociologist K. Tullio-Algan reached this conclusion: 'The present situation is highly conducive to individual revolt, which could spark off dangerous phenomena of a definitely reactionary character.'

The facts show that this alarming conclusion is well grounded. Millions of students in Italy make up one of the main reserves of the army of unemployed. Today, 425,000 young unemployed have a secondary education, and over 100,000, a higher education, and their numbers have been steadily growing. In the atmosphere of hopelessness, despair and protest, the students provide fertile soil for leftist, anarchist and neo-fascist ideas. We still remember the 'Black Saturday' of March 12 last year, when subversive elements in Rome used a student demonstration for provocative purposes, and turned the center of the city into an arena of excesses and vandalism. At the same time, extremist grouping in Bologna, Emilia-Romagna Region, held a march which led to widespread violence with the use of firearms, looting of shops, and attempts to destroy local sections of political parties. In clashes with the carbinieri, Francesco Lorusso, a student and a member of the 'Lotta continua,' was killed. Large forces of police and carabinieri used armor to clear the university area.

'How do you assess today the events of that tempestuous period in March?' was our first question to Andrea Forti, a student of Bologna University and a member of the Secretariat of the YCF Provincial Federation.

That was not just an explosion of student discontent over their conditions. It was a result of action by extremist groups who were rabidly anti-communist, like the 'autonomists.' Their resort to violence not only destablized life in the city, but also shook the founda-

tions of democratic life and public order in the country. I must stress another aspect of the matter: when the events got under way, other political forces and parties, notably the CDP, took a very dangerous stand. Actually, they tried to capitalize on the fact that these groups of young people came out mainly against the communists. They sought to create the impression that the responsibility for the conditions in which the students found themselves lay with the communists, who run the city, and on the wider, national, scale, with the Italian Communist Party. At the same, the CDP called for harsh repressive measures against all students indiscriminately, although it was quite clear that gangs of hooligans and provocateurs were operating among them. This political move was aimed to convince the people of the city that students as such presented a social danger.

We faced great difficulties in seeking a joint political approach to solving the student problem. But we finally managed to overcome these. Now, a year later, one could say that relations between the democratic forces in Bologna have been maintained and largely improved.

How did we manage to do this? First of all, by mobilizing all the forces in defense of democracy and driving home to broad masses of young people the truth, which has been borne out by the long years of experience in struggle gained by the communists and the working class, that when the spiral of violence starts to unwind, when in the absence of any revolutionary situation, some elements or social groups resort to terrorism, there is always the risk that the reaction may be similar: use of force by the state, its agencies and its armed forces. And not only against these groups. The framework of democratic life tends to be narrowed down in general. The rightists are activated. There is a rapid growth in the number of those who are prepared to re-establish public order at any price, even at the price of emergency laws, curbs on freedoms, and the lifting of some constitutional guarantees.

On March 16, we staged a grand — 200,000-strong — demonstration with the participation of all the constitutional parties.* You must have seen the enlarged photographs at the entrance of the federation building. They were taken on that day. That was when the situation took a turn for the better. The communists emerged from the temporary isolation in which they found themselves not only in Bologna and other cities where disorders also broke out, and where the Christian Democrats also tried to make use of these. After all, just then the democratic parties were negotiating a policy agreement. It contained a whole section on the protection of public order. The negotiations

*That is the parties — from the communists to the Liberals — which voted in the present Constitution. — *Ed.*

were slowed down because of the CDP's attitude during the discussion of that section. It used the student disorders as an argument for curbing democratic freedoms. This was cancelled out by the powerful demonstration. It reaffirmed complete support by the working people of the region for the self-government agencies they had elected, and for the communist line in uniting all the democratic forces.

This was also reaffirmed a little later, in September, when extreme leftist groups decided to hold in Bologna a so-called international symposium against repression. Why such a topic? Let me explain. In the vocabulary of the left-radical ideologists 'repression' is a generalized term used to designate the political, ideological and cultural mechanisms of the capitalist society which ensure its suppression of the individual. They claim that repression includes everything that prevents the individual's free and spontaneous self-expression: politics, culture, customs and morals, social institutions, and social consciousness. But the participants in the symposium gave the term an even narrower interpretation: with the development of unitary processes among the political forces, and with the advance of the Communist Party toward the government of the country, a repressive regime which curbs freedoms has allegedly been taking shape. Hence, the primary task of any opposition movement — in which they include themselves — is to fight the regime, to fight the repression. But that was only a cover, only a pretext for a get-together of the left extremist groups. They have a very checkered pattern, ranging from 'Lotta Continua,' the anarchists and the feminists, to those who use blatantly fascist methods in their action. Their common feature is absence of any clear-cut political proposals, isolation from the organized working-class movement and its repudiation.

We feared a repetition of the March events, and so were on the alert, but tried to prevent the city from taking a stand of open hostility, a stand of preventive isolation of the participants in the symposium. This would have played into the hands of those who sought to push the students into violent action. We called on the young people who arrived to have an open discussion on all the crucial issues. We held hundreds of meetings in all the neighborhoods. It is true that only a few of those who came took part in them, but there were no incidents. The clashes occurred at the symposium itself, between those who favored peaceful tactics and those who urged the use of arms.

Considering the positive achievements over the past year, I should like to note the following: we have brought out the social and material problems which agitate student minds and which have to be dealt with by the city agencies and all the democratic forces. Their causes have yet to be fully eliminated, and it is not easy to do this with this crisis in

the economy and the state institutions. The 'open door' policy in higher education, which is not backed up with study aids or guarantees of job placement, has led to a threefold increase in the number of students in Bologna over the past decade: from 20,000 to 60,000. Most of them come from other cities, or are foreigners. Meanwhile, the student hostels can accommodate only 620. The university is beset by difficulties: faulty structure, the shortage of housing, inadequate services, etc. But the main thing, of course, is that upon graduation there are no jobs at all. The university increasingly looks like a huge machine churning out emptiness and despair.

The problems remain unsolved. There are, first of all, the political problems, as some groups of young people ever more obviously slide down the path of violence, armed confrontation with the state, democratic institutions, parties and the trade unions. Some of the young generation have a sense of mistrust, apathy and alienation with respect to the whole democratic system. Although in the past few years, democracy has further developed in this country, this question, as a component element of the party's line to transform the country, continues to be of special concern to the Italian communists. There is a need for massive support for its solution. Unfortunately, we have to admit that broad sections of the students have turned out to be on the sidelines of democratic development. The reason is the degradation of the higher schools, where no form for democratic participation by the students has been found.

Q. Some say that along the way the Italian students have lost the working-class movement, the working-class world in general. What do you think?

A. This is surely one of the most serious problems facing us today. The relations between the students and the working class to some extent entail the problem connected with the type of socio-economic development in the country over the past 30 years. These relations, I would say, bear the imprint of the handout (assistance) approach on the part of the state, the policy of public maintenance the CDP has ruled with all these years. An unwarrantedly large unproductive sphere has taken shape alongside the production sphere. It includes all those who are engaged in the service sector, in the state administration, broad sections of young people and the population in the Southern region, all those who, in one way or another, through diverse mechanisms, are maintained by the state and consume the goods produced by the working minority.

This has necessarily had an effect on the schools. While losing their elitist character and becoming mass schools, they increasingly moved away from the real requirements of economic development and helped to spread among the young an attitude of avoiding and scorn-

ing productive labor, ideas that one can live without working, or at any rate, without producing material values — let the others produce them — while the state, with its system of handouts will keep one afloat. The schools began to be seen as a means of going up the social scale, as a means for obtaining cushy jobs as far away as possible from productive labour.

At first, this separated the young people from the way of life, attitudes and interests of the working class and other working people, and then with the emergence of anti-communist theories and aspirations among the extremist groups they began to see the working class virtually as an adversary. It is now regarded as a force which wants to shape society according to its own image. That is, it wants to build a society on the basis of other values, with productive labor prominent among these. Those who regard labor as a curse are simply terrified by the prospect. Look at the political platforms of the leftist student outfits. The ultra-leftist catchwords are a screen for the public maintenance and corporate approach, an urge to preserve the existing forms of social order and administration, leaving the young in their present niche in society, and perhaps even increasing their share of the material goods. Let me note, by the way, that bourgeois propaganda has latched on to these attitudes, especially the sense of 'deprivation.' It is quite willing to hold forth about the share of the pie the industrial proletariat has secured for itself, its status (legislative prohibition of mass sackings), earnings (establishment of 'compensation for lost earnings funds,'* usually called 'integration funds') and protection against inflation (sliding scale for wages, i.e., a mechanism by means of which wages are more or less automatically raised as the cost of living goes up).

It would, of course, be wrong to suggest that the only mood among the students is to range themselves against the working class. No, the intricate socio-political experience of the student movement does not boil down to this. There are sections for which the working-class movement is an example, and which regard the trade unions, their thoughtful and well-considered policy with respect. We, for our part, like to see the readiness of this section of the young to march in step with the working class develop into a permanent political organization and lead on to a stable revolutionary consciousness. This is to some extent favored by the objective conditions: with the growing influence of the ICP, Communist ideas have undoubtedly been spreading to ever wider sections of Italian society, including the young.

There is a need to fight the capitalist use of education, and not the

*This is a fund made up of payment by employers and tax receipts, from which the working people are paid a part of their wages in the event of a full or partial stoppage of the enterprise. — *Ed.*

schools, as such; that is what the students must understand. The main task today is to mesh the students' struggle with the strategy of the struggle by the whole people, and to set up new political ties between students and the working-class movement. A critical comprehension of the experience of the past several years will help young people to discover for themselves the instruments which since the First International and the exposition of Lenin's ideas, have become an integral part of the working-class movement: the party and the workers' organization.

Despite the natural shades and even differences in evaluations and judgments both among those who answered the questions and among those who posed them, they turned out to have in the main common views and conclusions.

First of all, there is the obvious fact that the young people have found themselves at the heart of the crisis that has gripped Italy and have been going through it with extremely acute and dramatic feelings. The solution of the young people's problems is closely connected with the need for a deep and radical renovation of society and a change in economic and social development. If the young are truly to become one of the motive forces in the country's renovation, they must realize that pure negation is an abstraction, and that any important social movement seeks to work out its own system of political values, and that the attempts to carry out a revolution in the auditorium are hopeless.

The new negative elements which have manifested themselves among the young people and students as a result of the massive influence both of the right and the 'left' anti-communists cannot conceal or push into the background the prevailing trends in the Italian youth movement: its democratic and unitary orientation.

Furthermore, the communists' work among the young people requires tremendous efforts and skill, it is a part of their overall struggle and is based on an analysis of the balance of social forces. The duty which history itself has imposed on the communists is to involve the young in the struggle of the working people and the democratic masses for renewing society. That is the only way in which it is possible to overcome the impatience and political infantilism that is found among a section of the young, to give it the right ideological orientation, to show the close connection between the ends and the means of social action, and to prevent ambiguous acts which are subjectively regarded as revolutionary, but which are objectively ineffectual and harmful. After all, the irrational, anarchist vacillations among a section of the young merely serve to fuel anti-communism, which is the only basis on which the enemies of the working class and all the other working people can get together. Italy's young generation

can make an independent and original contribution of its own to the country's socialist transformations only by looking to the real problems, and to the working-class movement and its strategy and tactics.

The situation in the Apennines continues to be complicated and contradictory. The conspiracy against the republican system is being woven by means of the 'exploits' of the fascist raiders and the members of the notorious 'Red Brigades,' who insist on 'meting out justice.' The abduction and murder of Aldo Moro, Chairman of the CDP National Council, is a component element of this conspiracy, whose purpose is to do away with the Italian people's democratic gains, to prevent the working class, which stands up for the interests of the whole nation, from performing its historical mission in creating a new and democratic Italy. Not by accident, this criminal act was committed just when a qualitatively new step was made in the country's political leadership: under the agreement reached by the parties, the government now relies on a parliamentary majority, which includes the communists for the first time in 30 years. Thus, the necessity of the ICP's participation in administering the state, the fact that government policy cannot be framed without it, and that it is impossible to govern without the communists or against them has now been recognized both *de facto* and *de jure*. By means of terrorism and chaos the reactionary forces seek to frustrate these political developments. All of this calls for vigilance on the part of the working class, which, because of its high level of organization, restraint, thoughtful policy and ability to mobilize broad masses of people and isolate the provocateurs, has invariably thwarted the schemes of reaction.

Interviews taken by *Lucano Antonetti* and *Vladimir Golubkin*

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viewpoints

Cosmopolitanism of capital and internationalism of the working class

Michael O'Riordan
General Secretary, CP of Ireland

Internationalization is now the most important aspect of monopolization. It has developed in a state-monopoly 'integument' and is reflected in two interconnected processes: integration on the inter-state level (as in the European Economic Community) and the formation of multilateral concerns of unprecedented proportions on the private level. Let us note that in the past few years such concerns have developed much faster than inter-state associations.

In a magazine article it is hardly possible to consider the origins of the multinationals, to bring out their politico-economic character and to determine their place in the economic system of world capitalism. I intend to consider one basic problem, which is the relationship between the cosmopolitan character of the accumulation of capital on the level of the new type of monopolies and the internationalization of the proletariat's working conditions and the class struggle. In other words, I intend to deal with the economic basis of bourgeois cosmopolitanism and proletarian internationalism.

The establishment of the new type of multinational monopolies is a relatively new phenomenon, but today virtually no meeting of trade unions and other working-class organizations can ignore the problem of the multinational corporation.[1] Each of these monopoly octopuses has spread its tentacles to dozens of countries. Direct investment by the multinationals is now growing two or three times as fast as the gross national product of most countries. These multinationals, being, as a rule, private outfits owned by small groups of shareholders, have built up a greater economic power than the overwhelming majority of sovereign national states. Bourgeois economists expect that in 1985, 300 major monopoly groups will account for roughly three-quarters of the capitalist world's industrial production, while the number of decision-making centers will be even smaller.

The enterprises of the 100 biggest industrial monopolies located abroad already turn out goods worth $500 billion, which is much more than the whole export of the capitalist world, valued at $350 billion.

The multinationals, above all those controlled by U.S. capital, have accumulated vast financial resources. The assumption is that these monopolies are able at short notice to muster $250-300 billion of uncommitted capital, that is, an amount which is double the currency reserves of the whole capitalist world. (This feature, in the Irish context, was asserted by Justin Keating, Labour Minister for Industry and Commerce, Republic of Ireland, in the great national debate as to how the country's new found rich mineral resources should be developed by a state company or by the multinationals.)

Among the key factors behind the trend toward the cosmopolitan power of the monopolies one should note the following: exploitation of workers in countries with low wages and the working of cheap raw material sources; avoidance of national tariff barriers, monetary regulations and foreign-trade quotas through the establishment of their own enterprises; transfer of profits to countries with liberal tax legislation ('tax havens') and availability of credits in low-interest countries; compensation of losses in the face of fluctuating exchange-rates through participation in international financial operations. All of these spring from the urge to maximize profits.

But there are other motives as well. The intensified concentration of capital in the form of multinational super-concerns is imperialism's response to the political changes in the world and springs from its efforts to slow down the changing balance of forces in favor of socialism.

The emergence of multinational corporations, resulting from the vast socialization of the productive forces in the obsolete private-property integument, tends to aggravate the contradictions which are immanent in capitalism, including those between wage-labor and capital. It introduces some new features into the struggle between them.

The outflow of capital and hardware from the country as multinationals intrude into the economy of other countries 'exports' thousands of jobs and results in a growth of unemployment at home. From 1966 to 1970, U.S. multinationals created in other countries over 600,000 jobs, which could have been created in the United States itself. In that same period, the number of jobs in Sweden dropped by 17,000, while the number of those employed at Swedish enterprises abroad went up by 35,000.

This does not at all mean that the process helps to solve the problem of unemployment in the host countries. After all, the infiltration of such corporations, involving technologically more advanced production processes, tends to raise the organic composition of capital and so relatively to reduce the demand for manpower. Here are a few examples showing that the multinationals tend more inten-

sively to expel manpower from production than to attract it. After the U.S. Westinghouse group took over the Belgian electro-technical combine ASEK in 1968, it got down to folding up the unprofitable lines of production and to reducing the number of personnel. As a result, 2,000 — not only unskilled, but also engineers and technicians — lost their jobs. The Marion engineering corporation of the United States took over some shipbuilding yards in the Upper Clyde area of Britain, 'reorganized' them and forced the trade union to sign a no-strike contract for four years, and dismissed almost 1,000 'discontents.'

In the West European countries, U.S. subsidiaries put only one-third of their capital into expansion of production, and the rest into remodelling and modernizing plant, thereby helping to spread unemployment on the European continent. According to *La Vie Ouvrière*, a weekly of the General Confederation of Labor of France, the establishment from 1961 to 1969 of 6,000 multinational subsidiaries within the Common Market Six led to the loss of 400,000 jobs.[2]

The multinationals' operations in other countries and establishment of their control over key industries, which determine the main line of economic development, frustrate government economic programs. Experts of the UN Secretariat say that the multinationals could undermine the economic, fiscal and monetary policies of governments and their incomes policies and also have an unfavorable effect on the balance of payments. They can do this by exerting all kinds of pressure. To get their way they frequently use extra-economic instruments as well, jeopardizing national independence and state sovereignty. In the old days, it was only the former colonies which suffered from the sway of foreign capital in the economy, but today these problems also face the developed capitalist countries as an aspect of inter-imperialist contradictions.

The influx of foreign capital carries with it not only new technology but also inflation. Grave structural disproportions result from the artificially inflated share of foreign trade in the economy of some countries, especially the small ones, following the establishment of exporting subsidiaries by multinationals. Thus, the export quota in Ireland's GNP comes to 47 per cent. This kind of artificial dependence on foreign trade is also dangerous because it is increasingly dominated by the multinationals, whose activity also deepens the disproportions in the regional structure of Irish industry and increases the gap between the extent to which the working people's requirements are satisfied and the potentialities arising from the modern level in the development of the productive forces.

The use of advanced technology and labor organization at enterprises built or bought by multinationals in other countries, and the use

of the cheaper labor of women and untrained young people as a rule leads to a higher level of exploitation of manpower than will be found at the enterprises of local companies. What is more, the intrusion of foreign monopolies into the economic life of other countries tends to raise the average national level of exploitation because of the much more acute competition, which allows local employers to intensify labor. The scattering of enterprises over many countries gives the monopolies greater room for maneuvering on an international scale and to transfer the most efficient methods of exploitation from one country to another.

The multinationals seek to create special conditions for those they employ and to isolate them from the bulk of the working people. This is done primarily through higher wages. But that is the carrot that is followed by the stick. The workers soon discover that the higher wages do not make up for the greater intensity of labor, for the extremely intensive outlay of their physical and mental energy in the creation of surplus-value.

Under various pretexts, the multinationals seek to set up associations as an alternative to the trade unions. Thus, at its enterprises in Britain, the American IBM has set up consultative councils, and Eastman Kodak, committees of workers' representatives. Such associations (of workers with the bourgeoisie) have the purpose of standing on guard of the 'class peace' at the enterprises, to increase the opportunities for impelling the working people toward social integration and to corrupt their minds with the myth of a unity of employers' and workers' interests. The antagonistic class character of the relations between labor and capital is camouflaged as 'human relations.'

An effort is made to cover up the mechanism by means of which the wage workers are oppressed, by creating the impression that the latter take part in the management of production. Thus, a draft charter for a 'European joint-stock company' produced in the EEC provides for the establishment of a production committee at each company to include representatives of the working people. However, the trade unions have taken a cautious attitude to this scheme, and not only because the workers' representatives on the committee are to have fewer rights than those already enjoyed by the trade unions in some European countries. They regard it as a threat of integration with the capitalist system, as in that case the trade unions would be responsible for managing the enterprises, so being deprived of real power in taking key decisions. In some countries, the trade unions have rejected this policy and have announced their opposition to the idea of 'participation in management,' calling for effective worker control.

The substance of the multinationals is obviously contradictory. On the one hand, they are an internationally interlaced force of capital, and on the other, a product and instrument of detachments of the international financial oligarchy based in one country. Hence, the contradictions between the multinationals' global strategy and the still basically national orientation of the individual imperialist states. Hence, the checkered pattern of cosmopolitanism and nationalism in the state and private economic practices of capitalism. But the capitalist governments and the multinationals are at one in their efforts to get the working people to bear the social costs of the cosmopolitanization of production.

The multinationals' purpose is to extract the maximum profits with a minimum of resistance to capitalist oppression. This has led to their drive on the working people's socio-economic gains. This has also produced their urge to avoid locating their subsidiaries wherever the working class has strong revolutionary attitudes, militant traditions and Marxist-Leninist parties. To this end there has been built up a wide intelligence and information service as shown, for example, in the report in *The Irish Times* daily newspaper (June 22, 1978) which stated: 'U.S. corporations considering potential investment projects in Ireland have been advised to be cautious about their investment programs in view of Irish labor problems. The advice comes in the *Kiplinger European Letter,* a private monthly business news letter that circulates widely in U.S. business circles.'

However, the hope of securing a pliant labor force willing to accept the will of cosmopolitan business as law has proved to be illusory. The class contradictions at the multinationals' enterprises are extremely sharp. Among the basic causes of the tensions is the higher degree of exploitation, the especially oppressive working conditions, the practice of establishing 'labor relations' with personnel instead of dealing with the sectoral trade union, the brazen dodging of the country's laws and the adoption of decisions by anonymous home-based boards.

In all the countries where these monopolies are predominant, the workers' demands acquire common features, without, however, obliterating the specific features of each individual country. These demands usually bear on an evening out of wage levels and social security, establishment of a common work week, and trade union rights. Workers employed by the same multinational compare their condition, rights and advantages and gradually come to realize the character of the exploitation to which they are being subjected. The overall result of the multinationals' development is internationalization of the proletariat's working conditions and struggle.

The strategy of struggle against the multinationals is a component

part of the overall struggle by labor against capital, which is carried on at the individual enterprises, on the scale of state-monopoly associations, and between the capitalist and the socialist world systems. In principle, this is a struggle against capitalism, which is why the working class is its main force.

The working people and their organizations have been seeking effective ways of fighting the multinationals, and the logic of the struggle shows best how to organize it.

In the automobile industry, for instance, coordination committees on the level of the monopolies were set up back in 1966. They included representatives of the personnel employed at the enterprises of the same concern located in different countries. At a congress in The Hague in 1970, delegates from these committees and representatives of the International Federation of Metalworkers discussed an extensive program for joint action and problems in evening out working conditions at enterprises of 32 major multinationals, with over 4.2 million workers and employees.

The use of information provided by the secretariats of international federations to put pressure on the multinationals has become an effective form of this struggle. When the management of the French St. Gobain declared that it was unable to meet the demands of the trade union of those employed at its U.S. subsidiary because the latter had not made any profits over a certain period, the secretariat of the International Federation of Workers in the Chemical Industry sent the American trade union information about the company's overall profits and the details of negotiations with it by West German and Italian trade unions. On the strength of this information, the trade union secured satisfaction of its demands after negotiations lasting 26 days.

Strikes staged at enterprises turning out goods within the framework of the same corporation are in important line of struggle. Nowadays, the end product is made up of components turned out in different countries. This strategy of the multinationals is aimed to use the advantages of the conditions of production and tax regulations and helps them to make the highest possible profits. But now and again this division of labor tends to work against the corporations themselves. Thus, as a result of a month-long strike at the Ford plants in Great Britain, output at its enterprises in Belgium and the FRG using components made in Britain dropped by $26.4 million.

In an effort to reduce the negative consequences of this division of labor the multinationals try to counter the strike in one country by increasing output at enterprises in other countries through more intensive labor. In these conditions, solidarity strikes by workers employed by the same company in different countries become the crucial

means of struggle, as it did the Pirelli enterprises in Belgium, the FRG and Great Britain, where the workers refused to do overtime because they realized that the management was seeking to compensate for the losses incurred through strikes at Pirelli's Italian plants.

However, resistance on the part of the working people to the drive by the multinationals has to face grave difficulties, which spring from the fact that the multinationals have used ways and means to put pressure on their workers which are beyond the reach of national monopolies.

First of all, every multinational is a clockwork mechanism which is run from one center. Through their well-geared ties with their subsidiaries and a system of precise and reliable information, they are in a position rapidly to take important decisions, when the trade unions and even the government are frequently unable to find out who and why had taken the decisions on a change of policy in this or that matter. When Remington Rand closed its plant in France with a thousand workers, the Minister of Industry was unable to learn of the reason: he was told that the plant has been closed down under a decision taken by the head office telexed from the United States. The government could do nothing, despite the fact that the plant had been built with its financial assistance..

Relying on their financial strength, the multinationals frequently refuse to recognize trade unions and to negotiate with them. They manipulate transfer prices[3] in order to understate their profits in any discussion on improving the material conditions of the working people. When faced with a possible strike, the multinationals threaten to switch production to another country and to reduce investments. The vast resources at their disposal enable them to withstand long strikes. In some countries, they have secured the adoption of laws banning international acts of solidarity by workers and employees at their subsidiaries.

The growing resistance to the multinationals is, above all, a practical task facing the trade unions. In the recent period, the urge for cooperation and unity in fighting the multinationals has been growing within the trade union movement of the capitalist countries. They have already set up international trade union councils on the level of the multinationals in the oil, chemical, glass and paper industries to provide liaison in the class battles within a national framework. Their activity is, in effect, aimed to secure unification of national labor legislation at the highest level, and is a stage in the collective bargaining within the framework of the monopolies.

The possibility of international coordinated action by the trade unions first emerged in the industrialized countries, but it is also of much importance for the developing countries. As the multinationals

are involved in production for the domestic market in these countries, their interests are no longer confined to the extractive industry, and this provides the trade unions where the multinationals are based with an incentive to support the trade unions of the industry concerned in the developing countries, so as to turn them into their allies in international concerted action.

The trade union battles are already being fought on an international scale. Still, on the whole, the international trade union centers have not yet worked out an effective or adequate policy which could help the working people to resist the power and flexibility of the multinationals. Lack of unity on a national scale and the ideological pluralism of the trade union movement are having an effect. Another complicating factor is that in making their demands on the multinationals the trade unions are unable to rely on international labor legislation or inter-governmental agencies: everything in such negotiations depends on the balance of strength between the monopoly and the trade unions. Another factor is that the working-class movement in each country has its own features and traditions arising from the social structure, the influence of the state on economic processes, the political orientation of the trade unions and the strength of the communist parties. In these conditions, the proletariat's international organization have to work out their own program to take account of the interests of the national contingents of the working class, without being a mere repetition of individual national demands.

The working people and the trade union movement need a well elaborated strategic line. To promote the most effective cooperation among trade unions, whatever their orientation, the World Federation of Trade Unions has set up a Commission on the Multinational Monopolies. Broad participation in its work by regional and international bodies and international sectoral associations will help to make an in-depth study of the problems and to formulate clear-cut proposals for mounting joint trade union action. The significance of this to the Irish trade union movement was shown by the attendance at the Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions, Prague, April 1978, of Betty Sinclair — veteran Irish communist and trade union leader — who was officially delegated to represent the single national trade union center, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, which is affiliated to the European Confederation of Trade Unions and not the WFTU.

With the spreading power of the supranationals, the revolutionary vanguard of the international working class is faced with the task of using new phenomenon in the internationalized accumulation of capital to unite the working people on a common *political platform*. When working out its strategy for class battles in the interests of all the working people, the proletariat cannot confine itself merely to

economic struggle on the trade union level. For all the importance of action in defense of economic interests, resistance to the monopolies can be successful only within the framework of an overall strategy, which combines a struggle to curb and overcome the power of the monopolies, with a struggle for a socialist perspective.[4]

In its struggle against the globally interlaced business, the international working class relies on the experience of socialist economic integration on the basis of social property, which is free from the contradictions that divide the interests of nations and corporations under capitalism. It is a higher form of economic drawing together, which is basically distinct from the private-property conflict-ridden internationalization of production under capitalism. No wonder there is much greater interest in the developing countries as well in the internationalization of production on socialist lines and in the experience of the socialist countries in their relations with the multinationals. This is yet another aspect of the effective alliance of the three factors which have the crucial role to play in the evolution of the modern world: the socialist countries, the working-class and revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement. Their cooperation enriches the social content of internationalism and adds fresh political facets to it.

The socialist community, as a type of internationalization, meets the interests of the working people and nations of all the countries because it is an embodiment of the historically promising trend in the worldwide drawing together of the nations. The multinational is in effect its socially antithetical type, because it uses the policy of the bourgeois state to establish the imperialist form of internationalization, that which the ideologists of bourgeois cosmopolitanism call 'macropolicy.' The two types of internationalization clash as a reflection of the two ideological conceptions: proletarian internationalism and bourgeois cosmopolitanism.

Only one force — the internationalist policy and ideology of the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties — can successfully resist the subtle tactics of the new type of super-monopolies. The activity of the multinationals is one of the main factors which now determines the growing importance of internationalism and the growing need for internationalist unity of the revolutionary forces. Today, as never before, there is much truth in Lenin's idea that only in joint class action, 'only by casting off every savage and foolish national prejudice only by uniting the workers of all nations into one association, can the working class become a force, offer resistance to capitalism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 308). The rise of the strike struggle, the ever more radical demands of the trade unions, the political successes of the communist parties and the obvious swing of

general democratic movements to the left, all of this has forced international capital actively to concert its action in defending itself as a class, and this confronts the working class with the need to resist such action through its own international solidarity. A feature of the working class is that its social condition, its ultimate interests and its class enemy are international. This is especially evident in our day, with the presence of the multinationals, with the ongoing process of capitalist integration, and with the stepped-up cooperation of world reactionaries. Hence the specific feature of the communist parties' activity consisting in the fact that alongside the national interests they express the overall international interests of the working class which do not depend on nationality. This was reflected, in particular, in the document of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe. In our view, it is wrong to claim that the national task of the working class and its Communist Party is the *only* main content of internationalism, its chief criterion.

Imperialism brings to the fore the antagonism between globally coalesced capital and the international working-class movement. The universal system of wholesale exploitation being set up by capital has an adequate form of expression in the multinational corporation. Quite naturally, the problem of organizing resistance to the multinationals was central to many forums of the communists, notably the conferences of the communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries in Europe in 1970 and 1974. The political declaration issued by the Brussels Conference gave a comprehensive analysis of the effects of the multinationals' activity, which harmed the working people: 'The activity of the multinationals, which have extended their tentacles in every direction, is an encroachment on the economic and even the political independence of European capitalist countries. Their strength gives them additional means for intensifying their exploitation and worsening living and working conditions. They also try to ignore the trade union rights and the social gains the working people have won in the various countries. They support the most reactionary and the most authoritarian trends, including fascist trends. Through sudden and massive switches of their capital and their operations in search of maximum profits, they deprive thousands of working people of their jobs at one stroke. They are directly responsible for the inflation. They appropriate an ever larger share of public finances.' The Conference emphasized 'the need for a concerted struggle by the workers, at the level of capitalist Europe and within each firm, in favor of measures which guarantee the workers' and peoples' interests.'[5]

Having analyzed the activity of the multinationals, the Irish com-

munists believe that the working class must carry on action along these lines:

— action aimed to consolidate solidarity and joint struggle by workers in Western Europe against the multinationals;

— action aimed to secure some accountability by the multinationals to the national governments;

— nationalization of the international monopolies and their conversion into social property.

The peoples are coming increasingly to realize that it is unnatural for production complexes, frequently operating across many countries, to remain the private property of a handful of millionaires. That is why the demands for democratic control over the multinationals' operations and the subordination of their activities to the national interest are increasingly important in the programs which the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries have put forward to consolidate and expand the social basis of the anti-monopoly movement. The growing examples of unity and coordination of political action by many contingents of the working people in different countries and their organic inclusion in an anti-monopoly coalition will ultimately carry the masses to a solution of the problems of the multinationals and of monopolies in general.

1. See *WMR*, July August 1978.

2. The Republic of Ireland has still the highest unemployment rate in the present Common Market Nine. Figures published by the EEC Commission showed that in March 1978, 9.7 per cent of the Irish working population were out of work as compared with the equally frightening figures of Italy and Belgium which stood at 8 per cent each, Denmark, 7.5 per cent, France 5 per cent, West Germany and Holland, 4.3 per cent.

3. Prices which are not determined by the market but are fixed by the management for corporate purposes. — *Ed.*

4. The developing countries offer an example of how the struggle against the power of the multinationals acquires a political aspect. Consolidation of the forces of neo-colonialism hampers the liberated countries' struggle for economic independence, but also makes it more purposeful and gives it greater depth. Broad application of the idea of nationalizing natural resources and major installations owned by the multinationals is a process of fundamental importance which will undoubtedly have telling consequences.

5. *Information Bulletin*, No. 3, 1974, p. 45.

The socialist ideal: theory and reality

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The first non-exploitative society, a society relying on the labor of free people, which came into being in October 1917 and is based on the alliance of forward-looking science and consistent democracy, is the greatest revolutionary achievement of the twentieth century. Even the captains of the capitalist world are compelled, with various reservations, to admit this fact. After the events of May 1968, Charles de Gaulle, who could be described as a bourgeois politican of the classical type, declared liberal capitalism to be unworkable though he did not, of course, forget to declare communism unacceptable as well. The government program of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and Valery Giscard d'Estaing's book *French Democracy* contain essentially similar assertions: they can also be discerned in a recent statement issued by chairmen of the social-democratic parties of the EEC countries in connection with the elections to the European Parliament to be held next year.

The SDPG program openly claims that the West German social democrats want to produce a model for a society that would provide an alternative to capitalism, on the one hand, and communism, on the other. Such statements from the champions of reformism, even taking into account their anti-communist reservations, could scarcely have been made with any credibility even as recently as the 50s. The desire they express to be morally dissociated from capitalism, if only in words, takes into account the general leftward trend in the economically developed capitalist countries of the West under the impact of new manifestations of the general crisis of the monopolistic system and of the dynamic, confident development of the world socialist community.

It would, of course, be naive to congratulate oneself on the 'anti-capitalism' that part of the bourgeoisie preaches today. Socialism's ideological opponents have certainly not thrown in the sponge. On the contrary, they have become even more resourceful and consequently more dangerous. In addition to their frontal attacks, they

have begun to make wide use of more skillfully veiled ways of misrepresenting the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

1

In the opening paragraph of the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels name the forces of the old Europe that had formed a holy alliance to exorcise communism. The ruling exploitative classes of the 1840s could still allow themselves to speak out openly against communist doctrine because the masses had not yet tasted its real and palpable benefits. However, in a letter from Paris, dated January 21, 1850, reporting on the successes of red republicanism, Engels already indicates other tendencies and particularly the fact that 'at the present time all the public men and newspapers that are not openly reactionary are vying with each other to assume the once despised name of "Socialist." Socialism's oldest enemies are now declaring themselves socialists.' The bourgeoisie have resorted to such quick-change methods whenever a revolutionary storm loomed on the horizon. It need hardly be stressed how thoroughly capitalism's ideologists have had to redisguise in the face of the socialism that now exists as a reality. One of their latest 'inventions' is criticism of the already existing socialist societies not from outside, but from within, from a stance of supporting the socialist ideal.

It should perhaps be explained in passing that Marxists have never attached a subjectivist, fantastic or normative-dogmatic meaning to the concept of the ideal. For them ideals have always been their most important, long-term aims and principles, ultimately deducible from the objective trends of social development. For an ideal to be taken up and promoted it is not enough for it to appeal to some politician or some of his electors, as happens in bourgeois practice. On the contrary, an ideal can appeal to individuals and capture the public minds not by pandering to some passing fad or fashion, but only by being consonant with the profoundly felt and persistent demands of the masses. The learned men who serve the monopolies and the supporters of reformism do not encumber themselves with this, solely scientific approach to the question of ideals. They interpret ideals mechanically, trying to make the masses believe that they are something that must be accomplished literally and at once without any adjustment to meet the demands of circumstance and possibility.

However, between the proclamation of an ideal and its realization there is, as most people are aware, a considerable historical distance that can only be covered by determined organizational and creative work and unrelenting struggle. Our opponents exploit this fact when they compare the ideals of socialism and communism, which are essential components of the scientific prevision of the future social

structure, with its current, in many respects far from perfect, state. They then let loose their demagogy and castigate the communists not for taking the lead in setting up a society without capitalists and oriented against capitalists, but for building this society 'badly' or at any rate 'not as it should be.'

The number of such 'experts' and 'advisers' from among the opponents of socialism is steadily growing. At the same time their arguments are becoming more and more cynical and more and more sophisticated. References to Marx, whose statements are given a twist that makes them safe for and even favorable to the bourgeoisie, are increasingly brought into play. The anti-communist crusaders readily don the mantle of 'orthodoxy' and restorers of the 'true spirit' of Marxism. We are thus confronted with one of the paradoxes of the present age, when a direct attack on the socialist idea might well discredit the attacker.

Attempts are also made to elucidate the 'prospects of socialism' — by the West German politologist Richard Löwenthall, for instance — without the slightest reference o the socialist states or the socialist movements in the developing countries, that is to say, without any reference to socialism itself.

Another device employed by socialism's opponents is to persuade advocates of the new system, by fair means or foul, to disown its 'Soviet model,' which incidentally no one is imposing on anyone, in favor of some as yet unrealized 'model for the highly developed country.' Indisputably, international experience gained in the struggle for democracy and socialism and socialist construction comes in a great variety of forms. Each country, each people enriches it with new elements arising from its national pecularities. In the future the specific forms of transition to socialism and its construction will be even more varied. In the course of this complex process, however, certain general, fundamental features emerge without which no society can be called socialist.

This is why the attempts to 'project' the kind of model mentioned above without regard for these features prove unproductive and the discussion around it purely academic, whereas the socialist society in the USSR and other fraternal countries, which have certainly not copied the Soviet model, has existed and successfully developed for decades. History has already 'attuned' the new system to such a degree that victorious socialism in the countries where it will replace economically developed capitalism will differ from existing socialism only in respects that Marxist-Leninists do not regard as decisive, but which the anti-communists would like to present as an insuperable barrier. We must proceed from the fact, Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the CP Finland, declared last year, that today socialism exists in the

form it has taken in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. 'One can, of course, proclaim and accentuate differences in the models, colors and forms of socialism,' he observed, 'but a solid foundation for practical comparison will arise only when a socialist system is realized in practice in some West European country. ... Along with all the differences in the building of socialism there are certain general regularities.'* This is a remark with which it is hard to disagree.

Obviously no one would deny that the proletariat in the West European countries and its Marxist-Leninist parties are fighting for the democratic and social renewal of society, for socialism, under specific conditions. And no one seeks to limit their right and duty to make creative decisions concerning their road to power. What is more, this right and duty derive directly from the principles and standards of the relations between the fraternal parties which have become firmly established in the international communist movement, such as respect for the independence and equality of each party, non-interference in the each other's affairs, the unconditional independence of parties and their sovereignty in policy-making. However, the need for creative decision-making on the road to power does not, as we see it, imply a need to disparage the work done in the same field by others. It would seem, to the contrary, to demand respect for what other fraternal parties have achieved for the victory and consolidation of socialism in their countries and hence for the advancement of the communist cause across the world. This is not just a matter of practical politics, but of revolutionary comradeship, of internationalist class morality.

2

The various opponents of Marxism-Leninism, particularly the anti-communists, make much of the problem of ends and means in socialist and communist construction. If you are urging people to build an ideal society, they say, surely you must build it by ideal means. These arguments affect not only those who are prejudiced against socialism, but also the politically inexperienced and uninformed. A conveniently simple list of problems is compiled: the communists in the ideal are supposed to be against violence, but they themselves do not deny the necessity for its use; the communists advocate peace and universal disarmament, but they themselves maintain powerful armies; the communists call for complete social equality, but they themselves practice uneven distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done, and so on. This is all presented outside its historical context and, of course, with tendentious commentaries.

**Pravda*, August 18, 1977.

What is our view on this matter? We are resolutely opposed to the two extremes. First, we categorically reject the cynical principle that is maliciously attributed to revolutionaries but that is in fact a maxim of bourgeois individualism: the end justifies the means. Second, we are not at all dogmatic about what means should be applied in a given case, and in the final analysis choose those that are the most effective, that are worthy of our great goals and correspond to the standards of humanism; we have recourse to violence only in the last resort, in reply to the terrorism and violence of our enemies.

It is no secret that the main target for the imperialist ideologists' attacks in such cases is the power of the working class resting on a broad alliance of workers of town and country, workers by hand and brain, the vanguard role being played by the Marxist-Leninist party — a power defined in scientific communism as the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bourgeois propaganda has spent a good deal of effort trying to discredit this concept, to give the communists a kind of 'inferiority complex,' a persistent 'sense of guilt' over the fact that the setting up of proletarian statehood did not come about without miscalculations and sacrifices.

In this connection one must be more careful not to give the erroneous impression — an impression which does arise, unfortunately, from certain individual writings — that only the proletariat supports its own dictatorship. The reality is quite different. In the first place, the working class is the first class in history to establish the power of the majority of the population and, secondly, it is far less interested than any other class has ever been in consolidating its own domination. What is more, the proletariat does everything to make its class democracy a democracy of the whole people, to create the premises for genuinely mass social self-administration.

The concept of working-class dictatorship arose not of its own accord, but out of the necessity to oppose the organization and will of the working masses to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to the centuries-long dictatorship of the exploiting classes. The political power of the oppressed, no matter what you call it, is the only realistic means of confronting any fully equipped oppressive dictatorship, of overcoming it and eradicating it entirely from the life of the people. This is the historical truth that emerges from a realistic conception of the paths of social transformation and the practice of millions of people. This is a truth drawn from life itself, and life is not to be argued with.

The revolutionary, the enemy of capitalism and imperialism, cannot misinterpret the successful realization of proletarian dictatorship as a love of taking repressive measures. Still less can be acknowledged any parallel between it and the revolting progeny of the imperialist

epoch — the fascist regimes. Underestimation of the specific historical situation, for example, in the period when the Soviet state made its first appearance in the world, of international reaction's desire to crush the young republic of the workers by every possible means, of the desperate resistance put up by the deposed exploiters, of the sometimes unintentional hostility of the small-proprietor element — underestimation of all this not infrequently builds up into a huge historical falsehood.

Sometimes this is connected with a sincere but misguided desire to help: we want to help you analyze and overcome your mistakes. But when the instrument used for this purpose is not the healing scalpel of Marxist-Leninist methodology but the kitchen chopper and clichés of the capitalist press, the effect is quite the reverse. Ignoring the fact that even the political mistake as a social phenomenon cannot be correctly understood outside the context of the great historical cause within whose framework it was made, can and often does result in examination of the regularities of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction being reduced to unproductive, abstract rhetoric about the conflict between good and evil, genius and mediocrity, civic virtue and envy, mean-spiritedness and magnanimity, in fact, all the virtues and vices, about which quite enough has been said in the literature of past centuries. Here one cannot surpass Tacitus and Shakespeare. But it suits bourgeois propaganda perfectly to shift the discussion from the vice of the private-property system to the defects of the whole human race or, more particulary, certain individuals who have been 'corrupted' by power. For years it has been doing very well out of the fact that some people, including some quite progressive individuals, get lost down this narrow path that spells no danger to the exploitative system and has no political prospects whatever.

Such disregard for the scale and meaning of the communists' historic cause, for the progressive or reactionary trend of social activity can only disorient the masses and cause irreparable miscalculations in assessing the existing premises for revolution when broad sections of the population are being ideologically prepared for it. Take, for example, the question of terror. For the working class it is only a temporary defensive measure to which it is forced to resort in reply to the armed actions of the class enemy. For the latter, however, terror in its most diverse forms — consider, for instance, such outwardly dissimilar cases as the massacre of communists in Indonesia, the tragic end of the Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther King, the atrocities perpetrated by Pinochet's storm-troopers and the murder of Aldo Moro — is an intrinsic element of the political system of the exploitative society, a means of settling accounts with its rivals in the

power struggle, and of imposing obedience on the exploited majority. Of course, the ideological servitors of capital find it to their advantage to spread as much 'democratic' fog as possible whenever this question is raised. And it is the duty or progressive forces the world over not to be led astray by them.

Of course, in the process of implementing proletarian dictatorships mistakes have been made, and sometimes very serious ones. This happened in our country. The CPSU has spoken about them frankly and straightforwardly. But in our view it is quite wrong, and also dangerous, to turn the necessity for dissociating oneself from mistakes made in the course of the actual building of socialism into a reason for dissociating oneself from all the tremendous positive experince it has to offer. It is dangerous because this may be followed either by a rapid spread of mass disbelief in the socialist perspective, that is to say, a consolidation of the moral-political positions of capitalism, or else by even worse mistakes, which can be avoided if those travelling the paths already explored by others treat their revolutionary and patriotic duty seriously enough.

Consideration of the 'growing pains' of the new society either from prejudiced, bourgeois-class positions or from the individualist standpoint is always unobjective. It never adopts standards that would measure up to the significance of mankind's general abandonment of the private-property structure in favor of the collectivist structure, of the capitalist formation in favor of the communist. It was with these standards in mind that Lenin said: 'If our enemies blame us and say that Lenin himself admits that the Bolsheviks have done a host of foolish things, I want to reply to this: yes, but you know, the foolish things we have done are nonetheless very different from yours. We have only just begun to learn, but are learning so methodically that we are certain to achieve good results. But since our enemies ... lay stress on the foolish things we have done, I take the liberty, for the sake of comparison, to cite the words of a celebrated Russian author, which I shall amend to read as follows: if the Bolsheviks do foolish things the Bolshevik says, "Twice two are five", but when our enemies ... do foolish things, they get, "Twice two makes a tallow candle".' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 33, p. 429.) In the present epoch, when the peoples already have at their disposal an established socialist social system that has proved its advantages, the very preservation of the capitalist system, which brings and, also, has yet to bring countless disasters upon the world, is a colossal mistake. This is a fact to which, in our opinion, world attention should constantly be directed.

3

Generalizing the experience of three Russian revolutions and the

development of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, Lenin in his book *'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder* showed that bourgeois parliamentary democracy had outlived itself historically, but that it had not yet outlived itself politically, that the possibility and necessity of a transition to a higher, socialist democracy had matured, but that parliamentary illusions had not yet been overcome among the masses. The fate of these illusions is highly instructive. Their ups and downs are connected with the internal contradictions in the given capitalist country and determined by the fact that its social development does not follow a single channel.

We know, for example, that after the First World War the decline in the prestige of bourgeois parliaments harbored potentials of the opposite order. The organized proletariat could make use of this decline to propose a convincing democratic alternative in the event of a new upsurge of the revolutionary wave. At the same time it could have been used and, in fact, was used by the monopoly bourgeoisie, which provoked fascist putsches in Italy and Germany. The brown thundercloud of fascism spread out over Europe. It became a system for trampling humanist culture and democratic traditions, for the imposition of mindless militarism and an ultra-reactionary racist policy, for the mass extermination of human beings, a system of which dozens of nations became the witnesses and victims during the Second World War. And all this in some measure helped to promote the subsequent 'rehabilitation' of parliamentarianism: after all, parliament guaranteed a certain legality. It granted, albeit on a formal basis, certain civil rights and freedoms, and ensured a curtailed right to express one's will that had been inconceivable under the fascist tyranny. Such was the political reality that the communist and workers' parties and other revolutionary and democratic forces had to face immediately after the defeat of Hitlerism in Europe and Japanese militarism in Asia. Both subjectively and objectively the restoration of the former bourgeois democracy that had been crushed under the iron heel of the occupation forces was a substantial step forward and now it was for the peoples themselves to decide on their further course of development.

But even here there was outside interference. International capital saw a threat to its own interests in the vigorous upswing of the general democratic, anti-militarist movement that followed the defeat of imperialist reaction's strike force — nazism. By a paradoxical twist of the dialectics of history, obeying the logic of their class interests the Western powers, allies of the USSR in the Second World War, took up and continued the dastardly cause of the defeated enemy, which was to try to contain the spread of socialism, its moral and political influence, and to exhaust it economically. One of the culminating acts of the Second World War, which clouded the joy of victory, was the

militarily pointless, cannibalistic nuclear destruction of hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. By this act U.S. imperialism demonstrated its strength and its misanthropic determination not so much to its wartime enemy as to its ally in the anti-Hitler coalition, which had borne the brunt of the struggle and suffered incomparable losses.

The war-ravaged countries of Western Europe, whose old-regime stability was 'suspect,' were firmly shackled to the United States first by the dollar chains of the Marshall Plan, and then by the iron chains of the North Atlantic bloc. The subsequent renewal of fixed assets, the onward march of the scientific and technological revolution, the whipping up of war hysteria by the mass media monopolized by the big bourgeoisie, the myth of the 'Soviet threat' calculated to justify the arms race morally, all these things allowed the capitalist system to mobilize additional reserves without in any way changing its nature. And thanks to these reserves it became possible to ensure a relatively stable internal market in a number of countries and raise the level of employment (without abolishing unemployment, which in periods of crisis assumed considerable proportions). At the same time the switching of capital to less obvious forms of exploitation of the proletariat on the basis of application of the latest advances in science and technology, the extraction of increasing returns from the skill rather than the muscular effort of the worker along with the general huge growth of labor productivity made it economically and politically advantageous to the ruling class to grant its wage slaves many material concessions. The power of the working-class movement and the force of the example of world socialism raised the living standard of part of the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries (although even in those countries, and particularly on the fringe of the capitalist world, dire poverty remained widespread).

Meanwhile, with its command of the key positions in the ideological sphere, the monopoly bourgeoisie has been able in some degree to separate these two factors in the consciousness of some strata and, by using the experience of right-wing social democracy, it has even managed to set one against the other. In the postwar period a considerable mass of the working population has been able for the first time to acquire a more or less substantial amount of personal property and to become thoroughly aware of this fact. They have acquired human standards of consumption and are able to share in many benefits hitherto reserved for the upper classes. Who have they to thank for it? The current age as such? The proletariat, which is at the center of it? Its basic creation — socialism? But to understand all this means making a bold and decisive break with ordinary consciousness and rising intellectually above contemporary bourgeois

society. Is this possible at a time when big capital is stepping up the power of its press, radio and television, crowding the minds of its audiences with the clichés of anti-communism and the all-pervasive pleas of advertising? Is this attainable when imperialism's ideolical machine continuously floods the intellectual scene, the mass market with all kinds of alternatives to the theory and practice of scientific socialism — with such rapidly changing concepts as the 'welfare state,' 'people's capitalism,' the 'consumer society,' the 'industrial society' the 'post-industrial society,' 'post-capitalism' and dozens of other 'posts,' and finally the concept of the 'quality of life' which, it would seem, is even more cunningly adapted than the others to the present conditions of competition between the two systems?

In our view this is both possible and attainable. But first one has to allow certain strata to 'get over' their imagined prosperity, which as is now becoming fairly obvious satisfies the relatively elderly, with their memories of the hardships of the 1920s-1940s, but has less and less appeal for the young and relatively better educated. By their own bitter experience the latter are coming to realize the difference between private property that yields an unearned income, and honestly earned personal property, which does not save one from but, on the contrary, reinforces the need to constantly renew the act of selling one's labor power. Equally harmful are the reformist, right-opportunist pessimism, which with affected hopelessness holds forth about the 'lack of revolutionary spirit' among the present-day proletariat, and the assumed optimism of the leftists, which presents any more or less radical anti-capitalist action as a sign of a revolutionary situation.

And secondly, while constantly searching for more effective forms of uniting scientific socialism with the working-class and generally anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly movement, one must, in our view, organize generalizing theoretical, propagandist and mass-agitational work, taking into account all the methodological tools of Marxism-Leninism, the whole wealth of the social experience of the present epoch, particularly the numerous examples of proletarian, people's democratic and national-democratic revolutions, socialist and communist construction. And one must do this with breadth of vision and a high degree of skill.

The experience of the transitional period yields a good many well analyzed examples of the revolutionary substitution of proletarian socialist democracy for the more or less open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners, who had relied mainly not on parliamentary traditions but on military strength. Today the character of the social-historical material that is destined to be transformed by the socialist revolutions maturing in the citadels of the old system is

essentially different. A transition has to be made from the developed, thoroughly elaborated, 'cultured' bourgeois democracy to which the whole population is accustomed and which has done everything possible to refine the means of hiding its exploitative and dictatorial essence, to the democracy of the toiling majority. This is the direction in which the collective creative thought of the communists in the developed capitalist countries is working at present. The main object of this search is, as we see it, to discover ways and means of effecting such a transition without a painful break-up of the existing democratic institutions and standards, to regenerate bourgeois democracy qualitatively, from within. It is sometimes suggested that the propositions of Marxism-Leninism on smashing the bourgeois state machine as a condition for the creation of an apparatus acting in the people's interests and under their control are not applicable to these countries. As yet there is not sufficient evidence to permit any categorical statement in favor of such an approach and, unfortunately, there are a good many facts indicating that one of the causes of the defeat of revolution has quite frequently been the sabotage practised by the old civil service caste and the military opposition (Chile provides a striking example). Evidently time will tell us whether the above-mentioned view can produce any real fruit.

4

No serious person has ever asserted that socialism is a society without problems. Nor is it in doubt that developed socialism continues to develop. But the acknowledgement by the communists, by the peoples of the socialist countries of the mistakes that have sometimes been made, their willingness to criticize themselves, cannot be used for writing off the historical account that the working people present to the bourgeoisie and to capitalism, and cannot repeal the great sentence passed on them by history. Maybe not every builder of the new society acts according to the strict demands of communist morality, it could scarcely be otherwise. But we have no right to allow our ideological opponents to substitute rhetoric about individual shortcomings and the difficulties of establishing the new system for a serious and general human discussion about the essentially pernicious nature of the social system of private ownership as a whole, about its inability to solve the vital problems confronting the peoples, and finally about the deadly danger that it presents now not only to world civilization, but to every living thing on earth.

Our class enemy has had many centuries of experience in instilling the false notion that there is an organic link between freedom and private property, the unrestricted expression of man's 'selfish nature.' In point of fact there is no more profound, more fundamental or

broader premise for democracy than the common ownership, use and distribution of the means, objects and products of labor. As the practice of existing socialism convincingly shows, it is only with the establishment of social ownership of the means of production that democracy reaches down to the bedrock of all social life — the production of material goods, the economy, an achievement of which no system with inherent class anatogonisms was capable. Such is the initial premise of socialist democracy that marked the beginning of real, collectivist democracy, which is not limited to the observance of generally accepted constitutional procedures, but leads to the general establishing of political and social equality, the drawing of ever increasing numbers and finally the whole population into the work of state and social administration.

Our ideological opponents attribute to us, Soviet communists, a number of absurd dogmas, which they then have no difficulty in exploding.

For example, even professors of history in the capitalist West often argue that the Bolsheviks deliberately set out from the very beginning to create a one-party government and one-party system. In fact, there was a government bloc consisting of the Bolshevik Party and the Left Socialists-Revolutionaries, which existed from October 1917, i.e., from the time of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, to July 1918, when the Left Socialists-Revolutionaries, dissatisfied with the conclusion of peace with Germany, staged a counter-revolutionary revolt.

The one-party system in Soviet Russia was not ordained by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, as the anti-communists assert. It took shape historically, and this fact has to be fairly judged, and not misinterpreted.

The allegations that the CPSU applied the same standard methods of leadership throughout the country in the course of its work of social transformation can only evoke irony. It is widely known that a characteristic feature of pre-revolutionary Russia was its unique diversity of social, cultural and natural geographical conditions. Its peoples in the tundra and the sub-tropics, in well-watered zones and desert, the industrial workers and the nomads, the traditional tillers of the soil and the hunters, were sometimes separated from one another by a historical distance of one, two or even three social formations. This has been expressively recalled by the Chukotka writer Yuri Rytkheu, a representative of a people which before the revolution had no written language of its own. 'The little boy of my childhood,' he writes, 'when he came out of his tent and went to school literally stepped across whole millenia without even being aware of it.'* As a

**Kommunist,* No. 6, 1972, p. 43.

proletarian state, the Russian Soviet Republic first organized its relations with the working people's states that had arisen in Central Asia, and which Lenin defined as 'peasant-Soviet republics.' If one considers the fact that at that time Russia was three-quarters and, in its outlying areas, totally illiterate, that its hundred-tongued population had at various times felt the influence of all three world religions, one can imagine just how heterogeneous a mass of problems there was to deal with.

In all these and similar devices of bourgeois propaganda one can detect the same underlying purpose: to discredit the experience of the motherland of Lenin and October, the experience of a most far-reaching and profound revolution and, if not to discourage the masses altogether from their revolutionary quest, at least to direct them on to a provincial and locally restricted road.

The Bolsheviks were victorious not least because, from the very beginning, they waged a campaign against the national exclusiveness advocated by the Narodniks (Populusts), the supporters of the Bund, the national-deviationists, and not least because they always relied on their knowledge of the lessons of the European and the whole international labor movement. The Bolsheviks could not have led the armed uprising in Petrograd and laid the foundations of the socialist state so successfully if their actions had not been guided by a thorough knowledge of the history of the Paris Commune. We, said Lenin, stand on the shoulders of the Commune. And he, better than anyone else, knew the extremely rich traditions of the Russian revolutionary-liberation movement, beginning from the peasant wars of the 17th and 18th centuries, which involved the masses to a greater extent than any similar event in world history, continuing through the Decembrist movement and ending with the three Russian revolutions that occurred within the relatively short span of 12 years, which is not very long even in terms of human lifetime.

The growing might of the world socialist community, on which the intellectually and politically maturing international working class has, according to the laws of international solidarity, the right to rely, their close alliance with the national-liberation movement, which in a number of countries has acquired a stable socialist coloring — such in our day are the guarantees that in the near and not so near perspective the future of all peoples of the world is linked with the ideals, theory and practice of scientific socialism.

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exchange of views

The imperialist policy of destabilization and the developing countries

WMR ROUND TABLE

In the recent period, the imperialists have been stepping up their subversive activities in various parts of the world. Imperialism has responded ever more sharply and aggressively to every important and large-scale advance of socialism and the forces of social emancipation and national liberation. This is most evident today in the developing countries, where social polarization has become more pronounced and there is a rise in the anti-imperialist struggle, with a simultaneous extension of the front of imperialist intervention.

The new forms of imperialism's subversive policy have been analyzed in *WMR.*[1] The Commission on National-Liberation Movements in Asian and African Countries has continued its discussion, with emphasis this time on the strategy of destabilization, which is aimed against the progressive and anti-imperialist regimes. This strategy is regarded as the number one threat in many developing countries. Among those who took part in the Round Table were representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Algeria, Cyprus, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordon, Philippines, Senegal, Syria, the Sudan, and South Africa, and a Soviet scientist. They examined mainly the neo-colonial aspect of the imperialist strategy of destabilization in the context of Africa and Asia, but also considering some of the most characteristic cases of destabilization in Latin America.

New content of old policy

Speakers at the Round Table noted that in our day acts aimed to destabilize progressive and anti-imperialist governments in developing countries have become a key line of neo-colonialist policy. But is destabilization something new, or is it an expression of earlier neo-colonialism, with its traditional subversive acts? In response to these questions, participants in the Round Table first strove to determine

the elements of continuity and recurrence in imperialist acts aimed to overthrow progressive and democratic governments, acts which now and again have an interval of decades between them.

As in the past, so today, said *Milton Paredes,* CC Political Commission member, CP Honduras, imperialism generally makes use of a similar set of subversive methods like economic pressure, intelligence operations, provoked acts by internal reaction, and so on. That is why there is a parallel between various periods, with a scenario under the direction of one external producer, like the overthrow of the Mussaddyq regime in Iran (1953), or Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala (1954), on the one hand, and (two decades later) the fascist putsch in Chile (1973), on the other. The subversive methods used in Guatemala in the past are in effect identical with those which the progressive forces now qualify as destabilization. These included an externally organized intimidation campaign around an alleged 'communist threat' and blatant pressure by the U.S. embassy in the hope of getting Guatemala to abandon its independence orientation. The Arbenz government was faced with an economic boycott. A counter-revolutionary plot was being hatched against the legitimate authorities along every line and it was inspired by the U.S. monopolies and the CIA.[2] Imperialism used similar methods in Guyana to overthrow the Jagan government, and later, to overthrow the Popular Unity government in Chile.

Satiajaya Sudiman, member of the CP Indonesia leadership, drew attention to the relatively early attempts at subversive action similar to destabilization, especially those which were most in evidence in the period of reactionary separatist rebellions in Indonesia from 1956 to 1958. They jeopardized the very existence of the republic as an integral, sovereign state. These rebellions were initiated by military and civilian circles on which imperialism then had its main stake, with the CIA being the main supplier of weapons to the separatists and their chief inspirer. Speakers also said that destabilization today, taken as a totality of subversive methods, can hardly be regarded in isolation from the past practice of imperualist subversions. Their instruments have been developed over a period of decades and have been repeatedly 'tested' in many developing countries.

Other speakers did not object to this approach in principle, but believed it to be inadequate. Continuity of method is only one aspect of the phenomenon, said *Amath Dansoko,* CC Political Bureau member, African Party of Independence of Senegal. Today, imperialist subversive activity is very much more complex. Perhaps never before in Africa have so many methods of destabilization been used as are being used today, including not only secret ones aimed to provoke counter-revolutionary changes *from inside* (especially in

countries with progressive regimes), but also overt forms like naked aggression sanctioned by imperialism against the peoples and countries taking the socialist and anti-imperialist orientation. Yesterday, this happened in Angola, today in the Comoro Islands.

However, Dansoko went on, there is more to this than methods or thier combination. The point is the policy behind them. In the national-liberation zone, destabilization is the response by imperialism to the new realities which have emerged since the growth of liberation revolutions into social revolutions has become a full-blooded process, and the anti-imperialist struggle has assumed unprecedented proportions, with a much broader content and wider range of participants, and when new lines and forms have emerged. All of this is now illustrated in Africa and Asia.

In these different conditions, and with the changed balance of world forces, imperialism required yet another form of neo-colonial policy, or rather, a new strategic line designed to block the broadly advancing social and anti-imperialist struggle in the countries of the former colonial periphery. There is good reason why the progressive and anti-imperialist states are the chief objective of destabilization: in the 60's, and especially the 70's, their number grew steadily, and this is naturally a source of special alarm in neo-colonialist circles.

This is a line of neo-colonialist policy characterizing the epoch in which the liberation revolution grows into the social revolution, a line which simultaneously takes account of the cardinal changes and shifts in international life, above all the tremendous impact of the socialist system on the historical process. Since the frontal counterattacks by the colonialists and imperialists were beaten back, since their defeats in Cuba, in Indochina and many young socialist-oriented states, the imperialist forces have laid ever greater stress on the broad and camouflaged use of subversive acts, and, as a cover-up, assigning a more active role to domestic reaction and opposition.

According to *Rustem Sevortyan,* Cand.Sc.(Hist.), a Soviet orientologist, the strategy of destabilization shows how the elements of a policy much tested in the past acquire a fundamentally new quality in a different historical setting. Let us recall that neo-colonialism did not emerge in a vacuum: the elements of the neo-colonialist policy originated within colonialism when it faced destruction (promises to grant nominal indepedence, for instance, while the colonialists kept their grip on the economic and political levers, etc.). But these elements did not grow all at once into a neo-colonialist line. The urge for colonization and re-colonization continued to be predominant among most imperialist circles even after the early liberation revolutions heralded their advance in Asia. The neo-colonialist orientation was finally established in imperialist policy only a decade later.

In the past few decades, the tactics of imperialist subversion have also undergone a similar dialectical metamorphosis. Originating as efforts to unhinge or overthrow undesirable governments for daring to challenge the almighty imperialist monopolies, but without seeking to break with capitalism (and this is equally true of Guatemala in the Arbenz period and of Iran in Mussaddyq's period), the tactics developed into a broad strategy which, in contrast to the past, now has a fully independent and ever more frequently leading role to play within the overall neo-colonialist line. That is why the current scale of imperialist destabilization in the Afro-Asian world bears no comparison with the efforts to undermine legitimate governments in the early 50s.

This policy, said *Naim Ashhab,* CC Political Bureau member, Jordanian CP, is not only a component part of the neo-colonialist line, but is also its concentrated expression. It is based on the use of neo-colonialist instruments and influence, which imperialism still wields in many emergent countries. Everyone knows about its ability to influence their economy, their socio-political situation, the local armies and frequently the men in power as well. The neo-colonialist substance of destabilization is also expressed in the fact that like the whole of neo-colonialist practice it is based on the one starting principle, which is *artificial* containment of objective processes of historical development within the national-liberation zone by preserving or reviving in a new guise the relations of domination and dependence between the former metropolitan countries and the colonies. But destabilization (be it secret subversion or blatant aggression) is an extremely aggressive variant of the policy of neo-colonialism, and is used only when the other colonialist means do not yield the desired results.

The participants in the Round Table agreed that the imperialist policy of seeking to destabilize progressive and anti-imperialist regimes in developing countries is the contemporary embodiment and development of neo-colonialist policy, and that it involves the use of a wide range of traditional and new means of imperialist subversive activity and is effected in forms which take account of the much deeper processes of class polarization in many young states, and the present balance of forces in the international arena. This policy also has broad implications: it is a response by imperialism to the much sharper class contest on a global, regional and local (country) scale. Any developing country, and ever more frequently nowadays, developed capitalist countries as well, instantly become the objective of conspiracy if their social contradictions are so acute as to jeopardize the exploitative system, the positions of imperialism.

Forms of destabilization

Some speakers said that destabilization is frequently an externally planned process of gradually eroding progressive and anti-imperialist regimes by means of subversive methods, with the eventual aim of forcibly overthrowing the legal authorities in an armed coup.

Sevortyan gave an example of how such 'scenarios' are played out: first, attempts are made to demoralize the progressive power, for which purpose ever more riotous anti-government demonstrations are engineered; efforts are also made, overtly or covertly, to increase the influence of the reactionary military on the fluid situation, and the final element in the destabilization comes in the form of the army's mailed fist.

Sevortyan was asked a number of questions. Is it right to say that there are 'typical' destabilization scenarios? Does it always assume final forms, as it did in Chile, for example?

Servortyan: Let me consider the last point first. When examining imperialist destabilization, one should bear in mind that this involves a succession of concentrated subversive acts at a definite historical period in a given country, their purpose being to change its orientation in favor of imperialism. Frequently, these are transition periods or crucial points in the national life, when despite the proclaimed progressive or anti-imperialist option, there are many contradictions or simply inconsistencies in the ruling circles' policy, which leads the imperialists to expect a reversal of events. In such instances, destabilization does not assume any final form, as in the case of outright conspiracy. Its method is to try to change the situation in favor of external reaction and to exert as much influence as possible on the overall course of the political process.

That is the kind of situation which took place, for instance, at the end of the 60s and in the early 70s in India, when internal political struggle in the country was sharply aggravated. Although imperialism did side with the right-wingers and reactionary forces, its policy can hardly be viewed solely in terms of destabilization: it was above all an effort to realize an imperialist line projected over more than one decade, with its eventual goal of putting an end to India's independent orientation. At the same time, in each crucial situation — general elections, sharpening of class contradictions — external reaction undoubtedly resorted to the tactic of destabilization, i.e., subversive acts by the CIA, lavish payments to right-wing parties, etc.

Nevertheless, such acts do not in themselves add up to destabilization. Their purpose is to give the utmost support for action by the opposition, and also pro-imperialist enemies of the regime, and to help them to deploy their forces in the hope that the whole situation

will thereby change in their favor. In other words, this is what might be called a border-line case of destabilization.

A destabilization conspiracy is something quite different. The same mechanism may be used: efforts to provoke counter-revolutionary changes 'from inside,' externally incited escalation of action against the regime, and finally, a putsch. That is what happened first in Ghana and then in Chile. Imperialism may use this method to overthrow other regimes it does not like. But there is also no doubt that in the past few years new forms of destabilization have emerged.

It would hardly be right to say in general terms that there are established forms, or even a classical specimen of this policy, whose basic features, with various modifications in the concrete condition, have recurred and will continue, to recur everywhere and in various periods, said Milton Paredes. The examples of Chile and Egypt showed that in mounting large-scale subversions against the liberation movement, imperialism in some cases has as its ultimate objective the forcible and armed overthrow of the legitimate authority, and in others, substitution, for the same purpose, of a reactionary government for the progressive government when the emphasis is more on relatively peaceful means. This can be explained: the revolutionary process in Chile was especially deep-going, which is why imperialism had, in effect, declared war on the government, mustering for the purpose all the subversive instruments at its disposal, including bloodshed, the putsch. But where the class struggle does not rise to such a pitch, where imperialism can expect to bring about 'favorable' changes in the highest echelons of power, the accent is frequently on the use of methods of 'quiet counter-revolution' in the hope of bringing about an *evolution* of progressive and anti-imperialist regimes in its direction. Experience shows that the deeper and more radical the transformations, the more consistent the anti-imperialist stand taken by the regime, the greater the aggressiveness of international reaction, and the stronger its urge to resort to open violence and terrorism.

Ashhab said that the forms of counter-revolutionary destabilization tend to change virtually before our very eyes, with the existing ones giving way to new forms. This has repeatedly occurred in the past. Take Ethiopia. There the attempts to undermine the existing regime *from inside* failed because of the consistent class stand, the will and the vigilance displayed by the revolutionaries, who rely on the masses. That is when imperialism provoked armed intervention against Ethiopia by Somalia, which at a certain point became the 'transmission belt' of destabilization.

Dansoko stressed that a rapid succession of forms is now highly characteristic of the process of destabilization. Let us recall Angola:

when imperialism failed to set up a neo-colonialist regime by means of conspiratorial methods and the CIA, it put its stake on naked aggression. Or the latest example, that of South Yemen: following the failure of the efforts to 'change from inside,' i.e., by means of a counter-revolutionary plot, Arab reaction at once got down to preparing armed intervention against the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The reactionary military coup in the Comoro Islands in May 1978 was staged chiefly by white mercenaries and with the active involvement of France's intelligence service. Today, neo-colonialism resorts ever more frequently to external aggressions against the forces of national liberation.

The chief reason for this growing military activity of the imperialist powers, said *Vasrizwe Seme* (South African Communist Party), is the sharp intensification in the 70s not only of the crisis of colonial but also of neo-colonial structures, especially in Africa. In many countries of the continent, decolonization in the 60s did not entail any changes in the socio-economic basis but was confined to a handover of political power to local pro-Western circles. Because that basis was closely tied to the world capitalist economy, it was impossible to make any fundamental changes in the economy, and in other spheres of social life, and the African governments closely collaborating with the former colonialists did not seek to do this. In consequence of their social conservatism, which was fostered and encouraged by the imperialist powers, there was a steady growth of economic and other difficulties and a deepening of internal national and social conflicts. Zaire's example is highly indicative, and the two major flare-ups of popular uprising in Shaba Province over the past few years exposed the depths of the crisis in Zaire, where imperialism is, in effect, full master of the rich mineral resources. Indeed, the effort to maintain the status quo was the crucial motivation of the NATO countries' recent extensive armed intervention in Zaire on the side of the corrupt regime.

Zaire illustrates the sharp protest against neo-colonialism, and to the imperialists' dissatisfaction the number of such examples has been growing, ever more frequently resulting in a substitution of left, radical governments for neo-colonialist ones (Benin). That is why imperialism is no longer satisfied with the mercenaries' 'fire-brigade' and has now decided to set up a permanent 'inter-African force,' i.e., an expeditionary force made up of men from countries connected with imperialism and designed, NATO hopes, to suppress the increasingly frequent emancipatory and revolutionary actions on the continent. The Military Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor has declared that the 'inter-African force' is being set up exclusively to undermine and destabilize progressive regimes.

The participants in the discussion agreed that there is no single or 'classical' form of destabilization. Imperialism's subversive activity varies from situation to situation. It was also noted that the most favored form of destabilization is 'creeping counter-revolution,' designed to overthrow or change the orientation of progressive and patriotic regimes, or, failing this, their overthrow through outright external aggression.

Scope of destabilization

The participants in the Round Table tried to determine more precisely the scope and scale of imperialist destabilization and to establish against which regimes in the developing states — in terms of their class characteristics — these are used.

There was a consensus that over the past few decades imperialism has taken new steps and moves to destabilize socialist-oriented regimes in the first place. The experience of social development in the Middle East region, Ashhab said, shows that the imperialist circles, those of the United States in the first place, tried very hard first to roll back the Arab national-democratic revolution and then, when they failed, to slow down the revolutionary social processes which began in many Arab countries in the 60s and 70s. At that time, the United States kept the closest watch on a progressive country like Egypt. When for instance, in the mid-60s the imperialist agents realized that they could not topple the Nasser government by means of an externally inspired coup, they began to consider a war against Egypt. Israel's 1967 aggression was a destabilizing factor that was to last for many years. International imperialism has used various channels and ways — military pressure by Israel, on the one hand, and Saudi Arabia's oil 'carrot,' on the other — to destabilize the Egyptian regime since Nasser's death. Today, this policy in the Middle East is still directed against all the progressive governments, to counterbalance which imperialism is building up a sinister alliance of monarchist Saudi Arabia, Sadat's Egypt and Begin's Israel.

Imperialist subversion is now directed virtually against every progressive state on our continent, Dansoko emphasized. This is not only because the revolutionary democrats who are in power there have shown themselves to be consistent fighters against neo-colonialist domination and capitalism. Imperialism is equally fearful of the growing continental influence of these circles, when the revolutionary-democratic states act as the most reliable bastions of the national-liberation movement, especially in the South of Africa.

The imperialists hate national governments which have unambiguously proclaimed socialism to be their goal, said Paredes. As the

example of Chile shows, the mechanism of destabilization is instantly set in motion against them.[3]

At the same time, speakers noted that destabilization plots pose a real threat not only to the progressive, socialist-oriented governments, but can be and is directed against states taking a different social orientation, including those developing along the capitalist road, as will be seen in Southeast Asia. This point was elaborated by *Jose Lava*, CC member, CP Philippines, who pointed to the fact that there imperialist subversive activity is also aimed at governments which, despite the pressure and long influence of imperialism, begin to take, as the liberation upswing continues, a more independent stand. Thailand is one example. Following the collapse of the military dictatorship and the installation of a civilian regime (1973), the anti-imperialist tendency was enhanced, and this had an influence on the stand of the ruling element, and in particular induced them to depart from the narrow pro-U.S. line in their foreign policy. That is when destabilization was set in motion, and it culminated in the overthrow of the Pramot government by a military junta.

Now consider the Philippines, Lava continued. There, the attempts at destabilization go back to the point at which the United States, for the first time in the history of its long and high-handed intervention in the country's internal affairs, failed to get its man elected as president in 1969. The victory went to Marcos, and this was followed by measured steps veering away from complete dependence on the United States. The United States began to destabilize the Marcos government. It encouraged and supported his opponents from both the opposition and ruling parties. Agents and allies of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines tried to create a climate of anarchy and chaos, making use of the services of local Maoists and other opposition forces. All of this forced the President to act decisively to stabilize his government through the imposition of martial law in 1972.

That was the start of the process of reforms, above all in the agrarian field.[4] The positions of the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy, which is closely linked with U.S. monopoly capital, were undermined. The changes in the Philippines seriously alarmed the United States. Confronted with acts testifying to the government's advance to an independent orientation, U.S. imperialism cast about for new ways to overthrow it. The fresh escalation of subversive action was started during the 1978 election campaign.[5]

Destabilization acts, said *Agamemnon Stavrou* (Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus — AKEL), is part and parcel of imperialism's global strategic line in its efforts to dominate and control key areas of the world. To achieve this, it is prepared to resort to fresh subversions against big and small newly-independent sovereign

states taking a progressive social stand of national independence and non-alignment. Because of its geographical localtion, our small country has become in the eyes of NATO strategists a potentially valuable bridgehead for expansion throughout the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Quite naturally, the NATO powers did not like the policy of independence and non-alignment which the Cypriot Republic chose: it threatened the military-strategic and other positions which these circles had managed to maintain after the island ceased to be a colony. In order to weaken the state independence of Cyprus, NATO circles deliberately cultivated national chauvinism in the Greek and Turkish communities, creating situations of conflict and crisis. It was obvious, however, that it was difficult for them to promote their strategic aims while Cyprus followed a policy of non-alignment. For that purpose, they sought to cultivate the 'enosis' slogan within the Greek community, and 'partition,' its opposite, among the Turkish Cypriots. NATO's anti-Cypriot activity culminated in the 1974 putsch staged by the Greek Black Colonels, which was followed by the Turkish invasion. Since then, our people have been carrying on a persistent and courageous struggle to eliminate the grave consequences of that plot.

Paredes said that in Latin America the U.S. monopolies and U.S. ruling circles implement plans to destabilize governments standing up for the national interest and advocating curbs on the rule of foreign capital and the local oligarchy, which have contradictions — in one form or another — with the United States and its policy. At various periods in the recent past, subversive action was taken against Peru, Guyana and other countries under U.S. direction.

This, Seme emphasized, probably involves not only sovereign states. Liberation movements, in Africa above all, are also a target of destabilization. It was practised against the national-liberation movement in Angola long before the country proclaimed its independence. Making use of various intrigues and subversions, imperialism and the CIA hoped to put the movement under the control of men like Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi. Those attempts failed, but today similar subversive acts are being staged in Namibia and Zimbabwe. In the latter, the racist and imperialist circles have managed to induce a handful of renegades to betray the cause, break with the national-liberation movement and make a deal with the racist Smith. At the same time, the imperialists have been trying to split the Patriotic Front, which voices the true aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, and for that purpose they spread rumors about quarrels and differences between the Front leaders, and so on and so forth.[6] All these intrigues have the same aim, which is to weaken to the utmost the militant organizations of the true fighters for independence and

against racism, and to force them either to surrender or to accept neo-colonialist alternatives.

Speakers said that imperialist destabilization posed a threat — whether actual or potential — to developing countries taking a different class orientation, but demonstrating a common urge for independence — political and economic — and fighting to strengthen national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and against the neo-colonialist rule. The same danger now looms before many national-liberation movements. To achieve destabilization, imperialism makes use of a broad range of instruments for exerting an influence on the developing countries from outside.

Complex nature of subversion

The participants in the Round Table identified the main external instruments, the character and lines of destabilization, with special emphasis on the role of imperialism's subversive economic policies. Dansoko said that multinational monopolies exploit the fact that the local economies are tied to the capitalist economy. The monopolies create vast local economic difficulties whenever they want gradually to change in their favor the overall socio-political situation in a given country opting for a progressive orientation. This was exemplified by Nkrumah's Ghana and Allende's Chile. The substance of economic destabilization effected by diverse means is to make the 'economy scream,' and has only one purpose: to disorganize the national economy and thwart any progressive economic measures. Today, this effort is spearheaded by the transnationals and international financial institutions whose policy is determined by imperialism. *Jaakoub Garro*, CC member, Syrian Communist Party, said in this connection that his country was being subjected to pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The latter, for instance, has sought to impose on Syria terms of financial aid largely similar to those which brought the West its biggest political dividends in Egypt. A characteristic and typical specimen of neo-colonialist pressure is provided by the FRG, which looks forward (so far, unsuccessfully) to Syria's concluding economic agreements, such as allowing branches of foreign banks, reviewing labor legislation and participation by local private capital in joint projects with the FRG. However, said *Ali Malki* (Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria), the methods of economic destabilization can hardly be reduced to some single element, for this is not always economic pressure or boycott. Just now, for instance, imperialism is trying to sell the idea of arranging 'economic interdependence' between the developed capitalist and developing countries, and there is good reason for this. Interdependence could later

help to bring these countries closer together along other lines, above all helping to influence the radical policy of some progressive countries and to pave the way for a pro-Western and pro-capitalist substitution. In this sense, efforts to influence Algeria are now being made by the United States, which has become a major importer of Algerian gas and oil. (In 1976 U.S. oil purchases were worth $2.2 billion as compared with $200 million in 1973). At the same time, the multinationals have continued their attempts to weaken Algeria's growing national industry, as will be seen from the numerous attempts to delay and frustrate the start of production facilities going up with the help of French and West German firms, Berliet, DIAG and others.

The discussion also dealt with the question of whether economic destabilization could be seen as the central element of plans for counter-revolutionary plots organized from outside. On this question, Dansoko said that imperialism regards economic destabilization as one of the most important elements, but he suggested that destabilization should perhaps be seen as multifaceted, complex subversive activity. It is mounted in various fields — economic, political, ideological — and includes political terrorism, intelligence operations, etc. Take Ghana's example: before Nkrumah's overthrow there were signs in the country not only of economic destabilization. The conspirators maintained close contact with the CIA, from which they received money. Imperialist agents provoked anti-government disorders. In other words, the subversive actions were mounted on every front. The attempts to destabilize the situation in the Congo were similarly diverse.[7]

The complex character of plans for imperialist subversive activity in Iraq aimed against the achievements of the revolution was emphasized by *Naziha Duleimi,* CC member, Iraqi Communist Party. In the political field, special efforts are being made to undermine the alliance of national and progressive parties and forces, which make up the Progressive National Patriotic Front. For that purpose, anti-communist attitudes are being provoked. The imperialists seek to incite the Kurdish people against their Arab brothers, and this is objectively promoted by the incorrect action and mistakes made during the implementation of the law on Kurdistan's autonomy. On the economic front, imperialism tries actively to influence the evolution of the state sector, so as eventually to control it. The multinational oil corporations, and now Saudi Arabia as well, have been trying to make Iraq abandon its anti-imperialist stand in OPEC. In the ideological sphere, external reactionaries try to capitalize on the different views of socialism taken by members of the National Front,

although it is well-known that both the communists and the Baathists reject capitalism as a future for the country.

Participants in the Round Table said that imperialism constantly kept adopting new methods of subversion attacking revolutionary and democratic gains by progressive and anti-imperialist states in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The bigger and more important their transformations, the more stubborn and diverse the resistance by international reaction.

New outposts of neo-colonialism

It was said in the discussion that in the past several years the scale and scope of the imperialists' subversive activity have sharply increased, with the emphasis on joint action. This is true not only of individual developing countries but also of whole regions, like the Middle East and Africa. This was largely due to influential reactionary Afro-Asian regimes following the imperialist line. Reactionary governments closely allied with imperialism, above all those of Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Israel and Iran are extensively involved in acts of destabilization.

Let us recall the sinister role which Saudi Arabia now has to play in the Arab world. Ashhab noted that for years now it has carried on attacks on every progressive Arab regime, and unfortunately not without some success. But many regimes stand firm. That is when the Saudis' subversive acts, which are encouraged by the United States, become blatantly aggressive. An eloquent example is offered by the latest events in North and simultaneously in South Yemen (June 1978),[8] behind which, as the world's press has unanimously said, lurks a Saudi-U.S. shadow. In the Arab peninsula, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is the objective of a permanent conspiracy of imperialism and Saudi reaction, and the recent developments showed once again how deep and ramified it is. The plots of imperialist and African reaction against Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Algeria, and certain other revolutionary-democratic states are similar.

Moreover, Dansoko said, the reactionary regimes often act together. Thus, Saudi reaction finances the armed anti-government groups operating from RSA territory in Mozambique and also the counter-revolutionary organizations in Angola, which are supported by the South African racists. Some African leaders and governments which have made a deal with the neo-colonialists have an important role to play in the plans for subversion against the national-liberation movement.

A great danger for the developing countries comes from the plans for economic expansion framed by reactionary regimes in Asia and

Africa, which have a large potential in terms of finance, resources and production. *Ahmed Salem* of the Sudanese Communist Party considered the present subversive role of petrodollars, billions upon billions of which are being ever more widely used by Arab and other reactionaries to influence the development of the young countries and even of whole regions. Everywhere they cater for the interests of counter-revolution, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. In some Arab countries, Saudi and other reactionary Arab capital is closely connected with the social forces which are now openly surrendering to imperialism (although in the past they opposed certain forms of neo-colonialist dependence).

According to Garro, Israel's military pressure in the Middle East is now supplemented with financial and economic pressure from reactionary oil-exporting countries. The Israeli aggression has forced Syria to spend a large part of its budget for military purposes. This causes shortages and other economic difficulties, which are being used by Saudi Arabia in an effort to jack up the petrodollar pressure. In return for financial aid, the Saudi regime wants Syria to abandon progressive changes and cooperation with the USSR. Reactionary Arab capital has stepped up its infiltration of Syria and has managed to acquire large interests in some enterprises in the state sector. These same elements, particularly the Saudis, have plans to weaken and neutralize the progressive elements within the Baath party and to undermine cooperation between the Baath and the communists. Such are the additional external factors which objectively favor the destabilization plans in the Middle East.

Speakers voiced profound concern over the dangers arising for the national-liberation and anti-imperialist movement in Asia and Africa with the growing economic, military-political and ideological expansion there by influential reactionary regimes and Arab reaction, which coordinate their policies with that of international imperialism.

Role of internal factors

While noting the definitive role of the external factor — imperialist policy which sets in motion the destabilization machinery — speakers also stressed that the reactionary bourgeoisie and conservative feudal circles, the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy, the bourgeois bureaucracy and the right-wing militarists still have considerable influence or maintain dominant positions in the developing countries. Working together with them on acts of destabilization, the imperialists also manage to manipulate some urban middle sections, the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen proletariat. Finally, even under a revolutionary-democratic power and an anti-imperialist regime, neo-

bourgeois groups, parasitic elements and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie frequently provide a social basis for destabilization.

Sevortyan noted that imperialist destabilization 'scenarios' are usually acted out not by one social stratum or one political organization (group), but by all of them together. Their actions may coincide with the schemes of imperialism, but only on the objective plane. Still, such coalitions always have their hard core: preparation for ousting the progressive and anti-imperialist governments, like the counter-revolutionary coup itself, is carried out mainly by circles that benefit from their ties with neo-colonialism and are therefore prepared to betray the revolutionary cause.

In the Philippines, Lava said, this hard core is made up of the big bourgeoisie, which closely collaborates with the imperialist monopolies, the biggest landlords, who hate the Marcos regime for its policy of agrarian reform. A section of the bureaucracy, relatively high-paid officials, and even some workers at multinational enterprises also take an anti-government attitude.

Dansoko said that representatives of the influential social section in the developing countries whose life style has been shaped by the colonialists and imperialists can and do play an exceptionally important part in destabilization plans. They will criticize a progressive regime on every pretext, for instance — as has actually happened in some African countries — for a shortage of the cheese which in colonial days used to be served after meals. Many of those who come from this milieu hold high posts in the administration and the army.

The changing social set-up could also objectively further destabilization. In Iraq, for instance, the agricultural and bureaucratic bourgeoisie has become much stronger in the past few years, and the number of private subcontractors in building and industry has increased. The Communist Party has emphasized, Duleimi said, that these growing parasitic bourgeois sections, the big landowners, like the surviving feudal elements, present a potential threat to the country's progressive development. Sudiman said that this also applies to Indonesia. In the late 50s and early 60s, there was a steady build-up of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie — civil and military — and of new exploitative elements in town and country. Objectively this provided the setting for the imperialist-masterminded plan to destabilize Sukarno's anti-imperialist administration. Today, bourgeois-bureaucratic and neo-comprador groups present a considerable threat to the progressive development of some African countries, as will be seen in particular from last year's events in democratic Guinea.[9]

Speakers at the Round Table listed a number of factors which could objectively promote destabilization plans under progressive and anti-imperialist governments, namely, outstanding socio-economic prob-

lems, lack of initiative in tackling these by progressive anti-imperialist circles, motley class composition of government leadership, prevalence of bourgeois-bureaucratic elements in the organs of power, anti-democratic urges and national-chauvinistic trends in the behavior of the ruling forces, continuing opportunities for activity by right-extremist groups, religious and tribal strife, and lastly, mistakes by left and democratic forces. These factors are carefully weighed by imperialism when it draws up concrete plans for destabilization.

The fight-back

The keynote of the Round Table was that at the present stage of social development and with the sharpening class contest in the world arena it is important to beat back imperialist counterattacks on the revolutionary and progressive forces. Resistance to its moves should be carried on along a broad front and should include struggle against the latest methods of neo-colonialism. Purposeful activity by broad masses and patriotic circles to frustrate plans for destabilizing progressive and anti-imperialist regimes is of especial importance.

It was emphasized that despite temporary setbacks in some sectors, considerable positive experience has been gained in blocking attempts at counter-revolutionary destabilization. Among the gains made by the international revolutionary and democratic movement are the outstanding victories over the forces of aggression and internal reaction in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and the frustration of the plans for anti-popular coups in some revolutionary-democratic states, notably the latest one, in South Yemen.

Quite naturally, participants in the Round Table did not set themselves the task of working out some kind of universal recipes for countering destabilization plans. The struggle against destabilization is always concrete, and those involved always take into account the complexity and nuances of the situation in the various countries and regions. At the same time, attention was given in the discussion to some common aspects of the positive experience in resisting the neo-colonialist strategy.

First, plots by international reaction failed most often in the progressive states where the revolutionary changes were especially radical and uncompromising, where the people themselves stood up in defense of the regime, and where the progressive forces were united. The victories over external and internal reaction were won with the support of the masses. Speakers emphasized that the key condition for warding off the danger of counter-revolutionary subversion is development of democracy for the working people, which enables the patriotic parties, trade unions and other mass organizations to involve

the people more extensively in political life and to mobilize them in defending the gains of the revolution.

Second, the long imperialist offensive and pressure can, as a rule, be resisted by governments pursuing a consistent policy of ridding their countries of *all* the mechanisms of neo-colonialist dependence. This means that the greater the persistance in overcoming the influence of imperialism in economic, political, ideological, military and other fields, the greater the success in resisting attempts at reactionary destabilization. Vigilance continues to be a sure earnest of success in the anti-imperialist battles, for it helps to foil any plans of counter-revolutionary conspiracy and to prevent escalation of subversive action. The important thing is to remember the subtlety of the methods of destabilization, notably in the economic sphere. At first, imperialism seems to be content with insignificant concessions, but it always asks for more, gradually forcing abandonment of the progressive and anti-imperialist line.

Third, every victory over neo-colonialist plots and external aggression is won in close interaction with the international revolutionary and democratic forces, with exceptional importance attaching to support from the socialist-community countries for the peoples and governments taking a progressive and anti-imperialist orientation. The role of such solidarity tends to increase in the light of the fresh escalation of aggressive acts by the United States and its NATO allies, especially in Africa.

To sum up the results of the round-table discussion; destabilization plans can be defeated. This is borne out by the major victories scored over imperialism and the revolutionary gains of the peoples of Asia and Africa over the past several years. In close alliance with world socialism, the forces of national liberation and social emancipation have frustrated many reactionary plots and subversive actions. There must be the same approach to all the others. This is the earnest of further advances by the international revolutionary and national-liberation movements.

1. See 'Organize resistance to the schemes of neo-colonialism.' International Exchange of Views, *WMR*, May 1978.

2. The CIA carried on a psychological brainwashing of Guatemalans through its radio stations in Guatemala and Honduras against the government and in an anti-communist spirit, in an effort to spread fear and panic in various groups of the population, and so to sharpen the class hatred harbored by the opponents of Arbenz. CIA men started secretly to recruit members of the local armed forces. Just before the reactionary coup, they also organized an invasion of Guatemala by 150 mercenaries from Honduras. This act was accompanied by a rumor campaign about the country being invaded by a 'big army,' the purpose being to intimidate the people and the vacillating elements in the government and the democratic camp and to precipitate a counter-revolutionary putsch, by traitor officers.

3. For details, see the articles by leaders of the CP Chile in the book, *One*

Thousand Days of Revolution, Peace and Socialism International Publishers, Prague, 1978.

4. See, Jose Lava. 'The new in the Philippines orientation,' *WMR,* December 1977. — *Ed.*

5. For details see, Felicisimo C. Macapagal. 'U.S. Imperialism and Philippine Independence,' *WMR,* August 1978.

6. See Joshua Nkomo's interview, *WMR,* February 1978.

7. In the Congo, a beginning was made with attempts at economic destabilization: France sharply cut back oil extraction, thus jeopardizing the Congo's five-year development which was to be financed from various sources, including royalties from French oil-extracting companies. Soon, other French-owned enterprises began to curtail operations and close down. This sharply increased the internal economic difficulties. A terroristic attack on foreign specialists at a construction project going up with Western business aid was used as a pretext to stop all operations. Against this background of growing tensions came the assassination by neo-colonialist mercenaries of Marien Ngouabi, the head of state, and then on the following day, of a Catholic Cardinal. Considering that the two men belonged to different ethnic communities, the scheme was obviously to incite communal strife. But timely action by the national leadership helped to frustrate these subversive plans.

8. In late June 1978, the President of the Yemen Arab Republic was killed in a terroristic act, and an attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup was staged in South Yemen right after that. The two acts were links in a chain of conspiracy to destabilize the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. According to its Minister of Defense, Ali Ahmed Nasir, the man who led the putsch was the former chairman of the Presidential Council, Salem Rubayi Ali, who worked hand in glove with the Saudi reactionaries. He had expected his provocation to spark off a war between the two Yemens and so to distract attention from his conspiratorial activity and create the right conditions for a reactionary coup. But the forces loyal to the revolution frustrated the plans of the plotters and their external masters.

9. Repeated destabilization attempts have been staged against Guinea, with the latest one in August 1977, when the reactionary elements, above all those from the commercial and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and their supporters in the administration and organs of power provoked anti-government disorders in some parts of the republic, which jeopardized its revolutionary gains. President Sekou Toure said these forces were 'advocates of neo-colonialism' seeking to undermine the prestige of Guinea's Democratic Party. The government succeeded in frustrating the plans of reaction and the people approved its policy. But the attempts to destabilize this revolutionary-democratic state have continued. External reaction, and nowadays Saudi reaction incited by imperialism, has lavishly financed operations to change the Guinean regime's orientation.

facts and figures

Indictment of imperialism — fresh evidence

SURVEY THREE

In June 1969, an Indictment of Imperialism was drawn up and published on behalf of the Commission for the Preparation of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (Moscow, 1969).

In May 1974, on the initiative of representatives of communist and workers' parties, *WMR* presented fresh facts exposing imperialism.

Since then, imperialism has added to its record of crimes against humanity. In parliaments, at party forums, meetings and rallies and in the party press, the communist and workers' parties of the whole world have been carrying on a daily struggle to expose the criminal activity of imperialism.

We continue our surveys of 1969 and 1974 with a new exposure. The far from complete data presented here speak for themselves: imperialism has not changed its spots, and the world of capital is in the grip of a growing political, economic and spiritual crisis.

IMPERIALISM: THE CHIEF SOURCE OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES

In the grip of economic crisis

The capitalist system is unable to get rid of its endemic crisis phenomena. Economic recessions, monetary upheavals, inflation, and energy and economic crises confront capitalism with more and more insoluble problems.

The capitalist economy is still laboring under the effects of the worst postwar economic crisis of 1974-1975. The improvement in the economic outlook, which bourgeois economists have repeatedly forecast, has still to arrive. GNP growth in the developed capitalist

Prepared by the *WMR* Commission on Scientific Information and Documents from data issued by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, official statistical publications in various countries, material and documents of the communist and workers' parties, material of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Labor Organization, the International Labor Bureau, publications by research institutes and periodicals in various countries.

countries averaged 5.2 per cent in 1976, and only 3.5 per cent in 1977, with the growth of industrial output more than halved, and according to the WFTU, from 20 to 30 per cent of their production facilities idle.

The scourge of inflation

The deepening crisis of the capitalist system and galloping inflation escalates the cost of living and steadily worsens the condition of the working people.

In 1977, retail prices in the developed capitalist countries went up by 9 per cent. According to the OECD, from May 1976 to May 1977, prices in Italy went up by 18.4 per cent, in Britain by 17.1 per cent, in Japan by 9.3 per cent, in France by 9.8 per cent, in Canada by 7.6 per cent, in the United States by 6.7 per cent, and in the FRG by 3.8 per cent. There was a steep rise in prices in other OECD countries as well: in Portugal 32.4 per cent, in Iceland 39.2 per cent, in Spain 22.6 per cent, in Turkey 18.5 per cent, in Ireland 16.7 per cent, in New Zealand 13.7 per cent, in Australia 13.6 per cent, in Finland 13.4 per cent and in Greece 11.8 per cent. The cost of living has been rising mainly because of the higher prices of foodstuffs and prime necessities, and also of housing. In early 1978, food prices in the United States went up by 5 per cent, and economists expect them to increase by another 15 per cent by the end of the year.

That being so, the bourgeois U.S. magazine *Time* wrote in April 1978: 'The worker's raises have become a hollow joke; for him the '70s has been a decade of nearly zero growth in living standards.' In France in the past few months, the prices of bread, vegetables, fish and fruit rose again and in Portugal bread prices went up by 24 per cent, milk by nearly 30 per cent and vegetable oil and rice by 20 per cent.

Widening gap of social inequality

Political, social and economic inequality are built into the capitalist system. There is a steady polarization of society and a widening gulf between rich and poor.

In the United States, one-third of the national wealth is owned by 0.5 per cent of the population. And yet, 26 million citizens in that richest capitalist country live below the official poverty line, another 11 million on the poverty line, about 20 million suffer from malnutrition and almost 6 million workers have no old-age benefits. In France, 10 per cent of the top families own one-half of the national wealth. French economists have estimated that in 1975 the condition of the richest families in the country is 80 times better than that of workers and employees. In the Common Market countries, 76 million people find it hard to make ends meet; 51 per cent of Italy's population, 36

per cent of Britain's, 17 per cent of Belgium's and 12 per cent of the FRG's live in social-distress areas.

Ecological crisis

The haphazard and uncontrolled development of production in the capitalist world confronts mankind with the grave threat of a polluted environment.

The discharge into the atmosphere of great masses of gas and solid waste in the industrialized capitalist countries has increased the concentration of harmful additives in the air to a point at which it presents a hazard to human health, plants and animals. Every year, the discharge of sulphurous compounds alone comes to 30 million tons in the United States and to about 4 million tons in the FRG. In Ankara, the capital of Turkey, the health hazard has been growing: according to the World Health Organization, pollution of the air is six times higher than the tolerable level.

The state of water resources is causing grave alarm. In the United States, for instance, the famous Great Lakes face biological death. An analysis of piped water in 1,000 U.S. cities has shown that in 36 per cent of all the tests the concentrations of bacteria and chemically harmful substances were intolerably high. Every year, the poor quality of drinking water causes at least 4,000 cases of disease. Every year, 120 tons of mineral oils, 100 tons of mercury, 3,800 tons of tin, 2,400 tons of chromium, 21,000 tons of zinc and hundreds of tons of other noxious substances are dumped into the Mediterranean. Over the past 20 years, the volume of industrial waste in France has multiplied fivefold, and many bodies of water are polluted with toxic substances. In its lower reaches, the Seine has become a veritable open sewer. The pollution of the Rhine is even worse. The first and chief victims of the polluted environment are the workers and employees, that is, the basic categories of the army of wage workers. Because they cannot always choose their domicile and are limited in terms of everyday recreation and rest facilities, they are much worse off than the rich. The ruling circles make the working people bear the main burden of the cost of carrying out special measures in combating the pollution of the water, air, etc. But the real culprits, the capitalist corporations, which pollute the environment, spend very little on environmental protection.

World of violence

Crime, mass drug addiction, spiritual degradation and political scandals have become commonplace in bourgeois society.

In the United States, crime has reached such proportions that there is not enough room in the Federal jails for all the convicts. In New

York, about 2,000 grave crimes — murder, rape, burglary and robbery — are committed every day. In Washington, more than 4,000 armed assaults are registered every year. Organized crime has become a system. In the United States, the mafia owns at least 10,000 legally incorporated companies, which have net profits running to $12 billion a year. Altogether, the mafia's earnings come to $25 billion a year; this compares very favorably with the $2.6 billion in net profits earned in 1976 by Exxon, the largest U.S. corporation. From 1963 to 1976, crime in the FRG increased by more than 70 per cent. From 1960 to 1976, the number of burglaries in Britain went up 240 per cent, and the number of persons wounded or maimed in cases of violent assault, by 414 per cent. In Britain, the number of crimes now totals more than 2 million a year, and juvenile crime has been spreading: it has tripled over the past 20 years. In the United States, according to the police, nearly 50 per cent of all the crimes are committed by juveniles under the age of 18 years.

Drug addiction and hard drinking have reached disastrous proportions. According to official data issued by the U.S. Drug Institute, 53 per cent of Americans between the age of 18 and 25 years, and 22 per cent between 12 and 17 years have smoked or regularly smoke marijuana. The number of people from 18 to 35 years who die from the use of heroin, the hardest drug, is larger than those for accidents, suicide and cancer. Washington is the only capital in the world where one in ten inhabitants is a drug addict. In the FRG, three in 1,000 young people from 15 to 25 years are addicted to heroin, while the number of alcoholics has grown annually by 43,000. There are roughly 3 million chronic alcoholics. Forty out of every 100 children of school age regularly consume alcoholic drinks. In the past 20 years, the number of alcoholics in the United States increased 2.5-fold, and now comes to more than 20 million. In the U.S. armed forces, every other serviceman uses drugs, one in three servicemen and one in five officers are alcoholics.

A corrupt society

Bribe-taking, graft, abuse of official position and financial machinations are common practices in government offices, legislative bodies, the courts, the police and in business in the capitalist world.

Political scandals break out at the very top echelons of the state power in the capitalist countries. President Nixon was forced to resign following the unprecedented government crisis caused by Watergate. Hardly had the scandal subsided, when Bert Lance, one of the President's closest aides and Director of the Office of the Budget, was accused of shady financial deals and had to resign.

The Lockheed affair had tremendous repercussions. This U.S.

corporation used handouts to bribe many leaders of bourgeois political parties, among them the former prime minister of Japan, Tanaka, who received about $2 million from the corporation. For years, U.S. Gulf Oil gave financial aid to the South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee. In Italy, it bribed not only politicians, but also the mass media. Over a period of 12 years, the corporation paid out $422,604,000 in the form of 'political contributions.'

In the past few years, new names have been added to the long list of 'famous men' involved in political corruption, among them the one-time Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, former Israeli foreign minister Abba Eban, President of Italy Giovanni Leone, who was forced to resign, and former Italian ministers of defense Mario Tanassi and Luigi Gui. In 1977, another major scandal broke out in the U.S. Congress: South Korean 'businessman' Tongsun Park had managed to bribe at least 115 legislators, over a quarter of the U.S. House of Representatives. In five years he paid out $750,000 to these 'law-makers.'

IMPERIALISM DEPRIVES BROAD MASSES OF VITAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC RIGHTS

Millions of unemployed

The unabated growth of unemployment in the capitalist countries, and their governments' inability to solve this problem, which is a source of suffering for millions of working people, make up the real picture of life in the world of capital.

In 1969, all the developed capitalist countries had 6.5 million unemployed; in 1973, about 11 million; and in early 1978 — more than 16 million. The following table shows the growth of unemployment in the various capitalist countries over the past few years.

Officially registered unemployed (1969-1977) (000's)

	USA	Britain	FRG	France	Italy	Japan	Canada
1969	2,831	566	179	223	663	512	382
1971	4,993	776	185	337	613	547	552
1973	4,305	611	274	394	669	670	520
1975	8,538	1,114	1,005	860	667	1,000	697
1977	6,700	1,400	1,250	1,385	1,450	1,050	944

Trade union estimates show that the official figures do not always include all the categories of jobless, and that the number of unemployed is in fact much bigger. According to official data, at the end

of 1977 there were 6.7 million unemployed in the United States, but the trade unions say that the number of 'redundants' totalled 9 million. Economists in the capitalist countries do not expect unemployment to drop in the next few years.

Those who suffer most from the scourge of unemployment are the young: in the United States, 3 million young men and women between the age of 16 and 24 years cannot find jobs. In the Common Market countries, there are over 2 million young jobless, or nearly 35 per cent of the unemployed total. In Britain and Italy, roughly one-half of all the jobless are young people, in Holland, they make up 41 per cent, in France 39 per cent, in Belgium 34 per cent, and in the FRG 27 per cent. In the past ten years, the number of young jobless increased in France nine times over, in the FRG six times and in Britain, Belgium and Holland, five times.

Unemployment hits specially hard at women. According to the International Labor Bureau data published in December 1976, from May 1975 to May 1976, 7 million women lost their jobs in Western Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Women make up 40 per cent of the unemployed in these countries, although they account for only 35 per cent of the work force. The ILB says that women are the first to be fired in time of crisis and the last to be hired in an upturn.

Many illiterates

According to a recent survey in the United States, one adult in five is 'functionally illiterate,' i.e., he is incapable of writing a letter, filling out a form or check, reading a menu or signboard. Five million children in the United States do not go to school, and 3 million attended school for less than five years; 51 million adults in the U.S. have no secondary education. In Italy there are 12 million illiterates and semi-illiterates, almost one-quarter of the population.

Health care — a luxury

Thousands of people in the capitalist countries are unable to see a doctor because of the high cost of medical services. In the United States, there is no national health insurance or medical service system. A day in hospital costs the average American $100, and a simple operation, about $2,000. Nine in 10 U.S. citizens cannot afford hospital treatment even when they do have some form of personal health insurance. In France, a bed in the surgical ward of a state-run hospital costs 695 francs a day, and in a private clinic, 869. In the FRG, the working people's payments into so-called sick-benefit funds have more than doubled since 1960: in 1976 they took 12 per cent of their earnings.

The housing problem

More and more people in the capitalist countries live in poor housing conditions. A great many dwellings are vacant, while many working-class families have to live in crowded and run-down houses because they are unable to pay the exorbitant rent in the new residential areas. In Paris, there are 275,000 empty flats, while 250,000 families live in poor housing conditions. In London, 100,000 dwellings are vacant, while 30,000 persons are homeless. A few years ago, rent took about a quarter of the worker's income in the United States, but now it has gone up by another 30-40 and even 50 per cent. In Japan, the rent of a small well-appointed two-room flat in a high-rise building costs 150,000-160,000 yen a month; a three- or four-person family earns an average of 285,000 yen a month. In Tokyo, rented flats account for over 60 per cent of all housing. Of these, only 23 per cent have a separate kitchen with running water, toilet and bath. The rest — 77 per cent — have no such conveniences. The inordinately high rent in the FRG has forced more than half a million citizens to live in shelters for homeless people, while 1.5 million live in slums. In Spain, the number of families huddled in premises without elementary conveniences comes to over 600,000. Italy has a shortage of over 2 million flats, and about 800,000 inhabitants of Rome are forced to live in barrack-type dwellings without any conveniences.

Discrimination against women

Women are still being discriminated against in the 'society of equal opportunities.'

The U.S. Constitution says nothing about the equality of women and men. A college-trained woman is paid no more than a man with only eight years' education. In Britain, women's average wages are over 40 per cent lower than those of men doing similar work. A Greek woman has no right to take a job without her husband's consent, and if she had a job before marriage she must have his permission to go on working. In Japan, there is not a single woman among the 47 governors of prefectures and the mayors of cities. Women account for only 2.1 per cent of Japanese judges and only for 1 per cent of the attorneys. In the FRG, 75 per cent of women were able to complete only primary school, and only 8 per cent have a complete higher education or professional training.

Sweatshop

Scientific and technical progress under capitalism continues to mean growing exploitation of the working people, intensification of labor and more industrial accidents. According to the ILO, only young

people can stand the pace of work at modern enterprises. The production lines move too fast for those who are over 18. At the automobile plants, the average age of workers is under 25. In Western Europe, one in three young workers complained that the pace of work had increased since they came on the job. In the United States, accidents every year kill 14,000 workers, over 100,000 die of occupational diseases, and over 2 million persons are either fully or partially disabled. The working conditions of one in four workers have been classified as a health hazard. In the FRG, a fatal accident occurs in industry every 2.5 hours. In Austria, over 20 per cent of the workers suffer from disease caused by the high level of noise. In Italy, the number of accidents in production over the past several years averaged 1.6 million, including 4,000-5,000 fatal accidents, and 60,000, with total loss of working ability.

POLICE SURVEILLANCE, ARBITRARY ACTS BY PUNITIVE AGENCIES, PERSECUTION OF DISSENTERS — ALL ARE COMMONPLACE IN THE CAPITALIST SOCIETY

Violations of basic human rights and freedoms

Imperialist reaction tramples on the political rights of the working people.

By now, the electronic systems of 97 Federal agencies in the United States contain 3,900 million file items on U.S. citizens. In the past few years alone, the CIA has screened 28 million pieces of mail and photographed over 3 million letters.

The Wilmington Ten, who are activists in the struggle for civil rights in North Carolina, are still in jail. On trumped up charges they were sentenced in 1972 to a total of 282 years in prison. John Harris, a victim of a police plot, is still in the death cell. Assata Shakour, a 30-year-old poet, a teacher of history and an active fighter for the rights of Black Americans, was sentenced to life imprisonment on false charges. Anna Akuosh, a member of the American Indian movement, was threatened by the FBI agents arresting her, and was killed five months later.

In 1977, the European Court in Defense of Human Rights in Strasbourg heard evidence of torture and humiliation of prisoners being widely used by army and police in Northern Ireland, with the direct connivance of the London authorities. At the notorious interrogation center at Castlereagh, a 27-year-old Irishman, Brian McGuire, hanged himself after being subjected to intolerable torture and humiliation.

In the five years of the *Berufsverbote* (Ban on Professions) in the FRG, more than 300,000 men and women have been subjected to

humiliating police inquiry, 6,500 to political interrogation, and 3,000 employees expelled from government employment only because of their democratic convictions.

Turkey is the only European country where the Communist Party is banned. It still has laws against progressive, democratic movements and trade unions.

By 1979, the police computer center in Britain is to have data on 39 million persons, or almost every adult in the British Isles.

In early 1978, Canada's Royal Mounted Police was exposed in the use of illegal methods under the pretext of 'ensuring national security:' its members spied on political leaders, including leaders of the ruling Liberal Party, and kept tens of thousands of secret files on ordinary citizens.

Roll of victims of imperialism

In the past several years, new names have been added to the roll of the victims of imperialism: prominent fighters for freedom, courageous communists and democrats have been killed by the imperialists or with their involvement.

Bangladesh. President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Mujibur Rahman was killed in a military coup on August 15, 1975.

Chile. On September 11, 1976, the mutilated body of Marta Ugarte, a member of the CP Chile Central Committee, was found on a beach in Valparaiso Province. She had been among those listed as 'missing' after arrest.

Congo. Marien Ngouabi, prominent African political leader, President of the People's Republic of Congo and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor, was killed on March 18, 1977.

Guatemala. Huberto Alvarado, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, was savagely murdered on December 20, 1974.

Lebanon. Kamal Joumblatt, a leading Lebanese political leader, Chairman of the Central Council of Lebanon's National Patriotic Forces, Chairman of the Lebanon's Progressive Socialist Party, and winner of the International Lenin Prize 'For Strengthening Peace Among Nations,' was killed on March 16, 1977.

Republic of South Africa. Bram Fischer, a remarkable South African communist, a staunch fighter against racism and social injustice, a member of the Central Committee of the SACP and winner of the International Lenin Prize 'For Strengthening Peace Among Nations,' died in a racist torture-chamber on May 8, 1975.

These names, known to the whole world are only part of the long and sorrowful list. Some were veteran fighters, others had just en-

tered the struggle. In the court of history passing judgment on imperialism, their names will be included in the indictment.

IMPERIALISM MEANS DEVASTATING WARS, ARMS DRIVES, THREAT OF THERMONUCLEAR DISASTER

In the course of this century, imperialism has been responsible for more deaths than occurred in any other period of history. In the 77-odd years of this century, the imperialist powers have waged wars and mounted aggressive acts totalling 62 years and affecting the whole world, individual regions or countries. In these aggressions, 70 million people were killed, and 126 million wounded, while the material losses came to over $400 billion. The United States alone resorted, directly or indirectly, to the threat or use of armed force on 215 occasions, and threatened use of nuclear weapons on 33 occasions. From 1945 to 1977, the United States and other NATO countries staged 115 armed provocations, 22 of these since 1970.

According to a report by the UN Secretary-General, the money spent on the arms race since the Second World War comes to the astronomic figure of more than $6,000 billion. The military expenditures of all the countries of the world come close to $400 billion a year, or more than $1 billion a day. In 1977, 60 times more was spent on each soldier in the world than on the education of each child. The capitalist monopolies are the chief initiators of the arms drive, on which they make huge profits. According to a U.S. Senate Committee, 164 out of 169 military-industrial corporations receive profits from 50 to 200 per cent, three, over 500 per cent, and one over 2,000 per cent. Among the 100 major contractors of the Pentagon, which means also of NATO, 30 U.S. monopolies have assets totalling over $1 billion.

The unproductive outlays on armaments have a direct impact on the working people's living standards. Every $1 billion of U.S. military expenditure means the loss of 11,600 jobs. The latest and record-high U.S. military budget for fiscal 1979 will mean a loss of 1,360,000 jobs. Appropriations for education are much lower than the total outlays by the capitalist countries on preparations for war. Economic aid to developing countries totals less than 4 per cent of all the military expenditures in the world. The arms drive generates unemployment, for $1 billion going into weapons creates only 35,000 jobs, while the same amount allocated for civilian needs creates 150,000 jobs for unskilled labor, or 100,000 jobs for teachers, or 76,000 jobs in construction.

NATO spurs arms drive

In the past ten years, the NATO countries spent $1,300 billion for

military purposes, with one-half of this in the last four years, although the political conditions had emerged for limiting armaments and reducing military budgets. In 1977 alone, NATO's military outlays totalled $180 billion. The United States leads the NATO countries in military expenditures. In fiscal 1978/79, the U.S. military budget will be $128.4 billion, an increase of $12 billion over the year before. Even during the U.S. military aggression in Indochina military outlays did not grow that fast. The FRG ranks second: in 1978 its defense budget provides 35 billion marks for the direct needs of the Defense Ministry alone, which is 4.5 per cent more than in 1977. Together, its military outlays will come to almost 55 billion marks. Britain's military spending has been growing from year to year: in fiscal 1977/78, it will total £7 billion. Under the budget estimates in France for 1978, military expenditures will go up there to a record of 80,769 million francs. Italy's military spending will come to almost 4,314 billion lire, or 22.2 per cent more than the year before.

Sinister arsenal

The existing nuclear-weapons arsenal is now so vast that it could destroy the world's population 15 times over. Still, the industrial-military complexes keep inventing more and more sophisticated weapons. The United States is going ahead with its program for making cruise missiles. Nor has the Pentagon abandoned its plan for making neutron weapons and deploying them on the territory of Western Europe. According to press reports, work is underway in the United States on a laser weapon which has already been called 'the death ray;' next on the list is the fabrication of explosive devices from a heavier element than uranium, which are smaller in size but more effective. This is being done despite the fact that NATO already has in Western Europe more than 7,000 atomic warheads, and that the total yield of the capitalist countries' nuclear arsenal is already 2 million times greater than that of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. New types of chemical weapons are being developed, and research is being continued into bacteriological weapons. In the last fiscal year, the United States spent $94 million for these purposes, or 30 million more than the year before; $16 million was appropriated for the study of the effects on living organisms of various agents of epidemic diseases.

The military arsenal of imperialism also includes a heavy network of U.S. military bases ringing the territory of the USSR and other socialist countries. These are instruments of political and military pressure, and threaten the security not only of the socialist countries, but also of many others. Something like 500,000 U.S. servicemen are

stationed on these bases, which are situated far from the borders of the United States.

The real danger of a proliferation of nuclear weapons increases the threat of thermonuclear war. Bourgeois press reports say South Africa is technically prepared to test an atomic bomb, and Israel, too, may soon have nuclear weapons of its own.

Death Merchants

From year to year, the imperialist countries have been expanding their trade in weapons. The United States accounts for over 60 per cent of the total exports and is the leading supplier of weapons on the world market. From 1950 to 1976, the United States exported $110 billion worth of weapons. Since the Second World War, the military-industrial corporations made $100 billion on the sale of arms. Sizable consignments of arms are now being supplied to the foreign market by the FRG military-industrial complex. Thus, its NATO allies now have twice as much West German armor as U.S. armor. The FRG's arms-makers now deliver their military goods to over 50 countries. In 1977 and 1978, France sold weapons worth $4.8 billion. In the past 10 years, the value of Britain's arms exports increased five-fold, from $250 million to $1,250 million.

A sizable part of the arms deliveries from the imperialist countries goes to reactionary regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

NEO-COLONIALISM: NEW CRIMES AGAINST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Effects of colonial and neo-colonial oppression

Even today, after the collapse of the colonial system, millions of people in the formerly dependent countries still have to suffer from hunger and disease, are unable to obtain an education and have to live in poverty.

According to UNESCO, in 1973 from 400 million to 500 million children in developing countries suffered from acute malnutrition, with 40 children dying every minute. In Latin America, over 100 million people suffer from malnutrition, and 36 million, including 15 million children, are in a state of dangerous emaciation. Twenty-five per cent of the African population are on the border of starvation. In African countries, there is 1 doctor per 9,000 of the population (in Europe, 1 per 600). In the developing countries, child mortality is 10-20 times higher than it is in the developed countries, and life expectancy comes to only 40 years. UN experts have estimated that 30-40 per cent of the population in the Third World live in slums and

'bidonvilles.' President of the World Bank Robert McNamara has estimated that 200 million people in the big cities of Asia, Africa and Latin America live in total poverty. In 1975, according to UN data, the so-called least developed countries (where the GNP comes to under $100 per head) accounted for almost 240 million persons, or over 13 per cent of the Third World population.

In early 1977, the UN Economic Commission for Africa issued a report which said that from 1960 there had been no marked improvement in the economy of many African countries. Moreover, as a result of the noxious effects of neo-colonialism, economic conditions had worsened in 14 countries, where income per head was under $100-200 a year. In 22 countries with a similar income, the annual increase in income per head came to only 1.4 per cent, which was well below the UN-projected level.

Illiteracy is one of the gravest problems facing the developing countries. In Africa, over one-half of the children from 6 to 11 years do not attend school. In Latin America, 23.6 per cent of the population cannot read or write. For Guatemala the figure is 71 per cent, Bolivia 68 per cent, Honduras 55 per cent, Salvador 52 per cent and Brazil 51 per cent. The poverty, privation and suffering of millions of men and women in the developing countries spring from the tremendous unemployment. In Africa, the number of jobless totals 60 million — one-half of the continent's adult population — and in Latin America over 40 per cent of the able-bodied population is unemployed.

The plunder continues

The imperialist powers continue to use insidious neo-colonialist methods in plundering the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Consumers in the developed capitalist countries, for instance, pay $200 billion every year for raw materials coming in from the developing countries, while the exporting countries get only $30 billion, i.e., 15 per cent, so that the multinational monopolies take the lion's share of the profits. From 1971 to 1974, the U.S. monopolies repatriated $25.2 billion in profits from the developing countries. In 1975, the profits of U.S. monopolies in African countries alone topped $1 billion, as compared with the $5.7 billion of U.S. aid from 1945 to 1972, i.e., 27 years. The developing countries' debt to the developed capitalist countries has been growing. According to the bourgeois press, the falling demand in the period of crisis for 20 key raw materials only in 1975 and 1976 alone cost the developing countries $18-20 billion. From 1973 to 1977, the balance-of-payments deficit of developing countries (other than oil exporters) increased from $9

billion to $40 billion, while their external debt in 1976 came to $180 billion, or four times the figure for 1967. In 1978, the figure is expected to rise to about $250 billion. The Third World countries' debt servicing now amounts to about $15 billion a year a figure which has been growing faster than their export earnings. Meanwhile, official aid earmarked for development by industrialized capitalist countries amounted to only $50 billion.

Economic underdevelopment also results from the fact that the imperialist monopolies invest mainly in the extractive industries where they can expect to have maximum profits. Thus, at the end of 1975 U.S. direct investment in oil extraction in African countries came to 54.5 per cent of their total investments; in the mining industry, 20.3 per cent; and in manufacturing, only 9.6 per cent. African countries supply the United States with 72 per cent of its cobalt, 51 per cent of its manganese, 43 per cent of its antimony and 14 per cent of its copper. Besides, the United States imports from Africa almost 100 per cent of its diamonds, more than 50 per cent of its cacao and mahogany, and sizable quantities of gold, rubber, graphite and oil. Nor do the corporations plunder only the raw material resources of the developing countries; roughly 70 per cent of the young people from African countries trained in the capitalist countries do not return home.

Intervention and aggression

The imperialists resort to political blackmail and economic pressure, mounting aggression against countries which have taken the progressive road of development.

In the past few years, imperialist forces have mounted aggressions against the newly established People's Republic of Angola, and an invasion of Benin. The Rhodesian racists have continued their armed raids into Zambia and Mozambique. With the support of the forces of imperialism and reaction, an aggressive attack was staged against Ethiopia, which chose the socialist road of development. In May 1978, France and Belgium, with the direct and active support of the United States, staged an armed intervention in Shaba, a province of Zaire, against the forces of the national-liberation movement. The armed aggression and the subsequent occupation of various parts of Shaba showed that NATO has framed and is now partially implementing a master-plan for intensifying the military-political infiltration of imperialist forces in Africa. This is also confirmed by the setting up of an 'inter-African force,' which operates under the control and in the interests of some NATO powers. This is also indicated by France's acts of armed intervention in Mauritania and Chad.

IMPERIALISM IS A REVIVAL OF FASCISM

Brown-shirts on the march

There is a growing number of fascist groupings and parties, and fascist criminals hold high government posts in the capitalist countries.

There are nearly 100 fascist outfits in the United States. A recent congress of all the neo-nazi groups in the United States set up the National Socialist Party of America. Fascist outfits in the United States have the good will of the authorities. The John Birch Society, for instance, has its representatives in Congress, and has staged attempts on the life of political leaders, set up shock groups and stockpiled weapons.

The fascists have been moving from threats to action. Thousands of fascist thugs in Boston and Chicago broke up meetings of Black citizens. In Missouri, large-scale clashes took place between fascists and demonstrators from progressive organizations. The police did not act at any time to stop the brown-shirts.

In early 1978, fascist thugs from the paramilitary units of the ultra-rightist National Action Party (NAP) in Turkey killed more than 300 democrats and progressive leaders. During the Second World War, NAP chief Alparslan Türkas was a close collaborator of the Nazis.

In the FRG there are nearly 150 ultra-rightist fascist organizations and groups. One of the biggest — Agency for Aid to Former SS Men — has its branches in many countries, with about 300,000 members. Ninety-eight per cent of senior officers in the West German armed forces served in Hitler's Wehrmacht. The present state secretary of the FRG Defense Ministry, Karl Schnell, held high command posts during the war. In Italy, the neo-fascist party, Italian Social Movement — National Right Forces, has about 400,000 members. In addition, there are about 50 other groupings in Italy actively collaborating with the neo-fascist party and the 'Fascist International.' Their main methods are terrorism and violence. In France, a fascist group which styles itself 'Civilian Action Service' has a cadre of 5,000-10,000 trained men all over France. It has stockpiled enough weapons to arm 50,000 men. Altogether, at the end of 1977 there were 30 neo-fascist groups in France. In Spain, the Guardia de Franco, a paramilitary grouping, with about 50,000 members, is the center of the fascist movement. Altogether there are about 100 ultra-rightist outfits in the country. Although fascism has been routed in Portugal, it still holds some positions. Only 7 out of 89 convicted agents of the PIDE, the fascist secret police, were actually imprisoned, while over 1,000 former PIDE men were released without trial. Their demagogic

propaganda has helped the fascists to maintain political influence. Nazi candidates have run in elections to local organs of power in at least five U.S. states, and in Chicago they won 16 per cent of the poll. In the parliamentary elections in Italy in June 1976, fascist candidates won 6.1 per cent of the poll. In Britain, the Nationalist Party and the National Front won 10 per cent of the votes in municipal elections in London.

Neo-fascism

The threat posed by fascism is epitomized by its rule in several countries: it has brought terrible poverty, mass unemployment, savage reprisals and suppression of all human rights. In Chile, according to official data, 25 per cent of the population lives in dire poverty. At least 20 per cent of the labor force is now unemployed. Real wages have dropped by about 50 per cent since 1973 (the year of the fascist coup). In the first half of 1978, the prices of basic foodstuffs were raised once again: bread by 38.1 per cent; rice, by 56.8 per cent; milk, by 31.8 per cent; and vegetable oil, by 42 per cent. Pinochet and the repressive apparatus he has set up are guilty of countless crimes. According to press reports, one Chilean in 40 has gone through a concentration camp, prison and torture; one adult in 130 has been shot, hanged or tortured to death; a million Chileans have fled abroad; 2,500 persons have disappeared without trace after arrest.

In Uruguay, there are now 7,000 political prisoners — one per 400 of the population — the highest percentage in the world. One in 50 citizens has been subjected to interrogation. At least 3,000 Uruguayans have emigrated since the 1973 coup. The people of Nicaragua have been oppressed by a fierce dictatorship for over 40 years. Of the 2.3 million population, over 250,000 are unemployed, life expectancy is under 35 years, and child mortality si 130 per 1,000. In the course of anti-government manifestations in early 1978, more than 200 people were killed. In Paraguay, there are over 2,500 political prisoners. Following the overthrow of the democratic government in Guatemala in 1954, 27,000 people have been killed and 15,000 have 'disappeared.' In South Korea, all democratic freedoms have been abolished, and the country is ruled by military laws and extraordinary decrees trampling on elementary human rights. Torture in South Korean prisons is commonplace. Only 13 families in 100 have the subsistence minimum established by the government, and 54 per cent do not have one-half of that.

The reactionary regimes are maintained in power by the support of international monopoly capital. In 1977, private banks in capitalist countries, mainly the United States, gave the Pinochet dictatorship credits totalling $628 million. In 1978, these credits are expected to

reach $1 billion. In the first half of 1978, the U.S. government approved the extension of credits to Chile amounting to $46 million. The U.S. government has promised the puppet regime in Seoul $227 million in military aid and $59 million for economic development in fiscal 1979. In May 1978, the U.S. government decided to give the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua $20 million in 'aid.'

RACISM HAS NOT CHANGED

The United Nations has said that infringement of human interests for racial reasons is one of the grossest violations of human rights, but imperialism has scant regard for the standards of international law.

The Black population in the United States is still subjected to racial discrimination. The Blacks (11 per cent of the U.S. population) account for about 25 per cent of the unemployed, and the figure is even higher among young Blacks: in 1976, 60 per cent of Black Americans were jobless. The incomes of one half of Black families are below the official poverty line; 24 per cent of Black working people are unskilled workers, only 6 per cent are skilled, and only 3 per cent are executives. Of the 100 U.S. Senators only one is a Black. In some electoral districts in the state of Tennessee, Blacks are still barred from voting. The native population of the United States, the American Indians, are faced with extinction: there are now only 800,000 left. Most of them have been forcibly driven into reservations, where life is desolate. There, the level of unemployment is about nine times the national average. The incomes of Indian families are a quarter of the average. Ninety per cent of Indian housing does not meet the generally accepted sanitation standards. In the reservations, the mortality rate from TB is three times higher than it is among the rest of the population. In the United States, Indians have a life expectancy of only 44 years. The average income of Americans of Mexican origin is about a third lower than for the country as a whole. Child mortality in Mexican families is double the average. Seven times more of their houses are substandard compared with the rest of the country. Nearly one-third of the 2 million Puerto Ricans in the United States live far below the poverty line. About 85 per cent of the 1 million Puerto Ricans in New York live in some of the ugliest slums in the United States.

Australia has 150,000 native inhabitants, all of them are victims of racism. Over one-half of the aborigines have no jobs, and nearly two-thirds live in dire poverty in slums on vacant lots in cities and suffer from chronic malnutrition and diseases. Only 4 per cent complete secondary school. Throughout Australia, only 56 aborigines are studying at higher schools. But even those who manage to obtain a higher education cannot settle in white areas.

The ignominy of apartheid

Apartheid, an ignominious system of savage racial oppression, continues to operate in South Africa. The Black population of the Republic of South Africa is denied all civil rights and freedoms. According to official data, 12.3 per cent of able-bodied Africans, or about 2 million persons, are chronically unemployed. Per-head income of whites is 21 times larger than that of Africans. A report published in June 1977 by the UN Center Against Apartheid shows that in the RSA there is one doctor for every 400 whites and one for 44,000 Africans. Of the 693 medics who graduated in 1975, only 6 were African. Child mortality among the white population is 27 per 1,000 births, and among the African population — 300. In Soweto, a suburb of Johannesburg, which has a population of at least 1.3 million, every hut houses an average of 14 people. Soweto and other African townships are sprawling, over-populated slums. In 1976, expenditures on education came to $696 per head for the whites, and $45 for the Africans. That same year there was one teacher for 22 white pupils and one for 60 Blacks. Most African children have no more than a primary education, and only 5.5 per cent of them go on to secondary school. School education for white children is free and compulsory, but for Africans it is not compulsory and their parents have to pay tuition fees. There are now about half a million prisoners in the RSA, 98 per cent of them Black. They are subjected to tortures and beatings, which frequently result in death. In only one year, from the summer of 1976 to the summer of 1977, at least 24 persons were killed or tortured to death in South African jails.

In the recent period, the racist regime which has established the abhorrent system of apartheid in South Africa has committed mass killings in an effort to suppress the will for freedom among the Black population. That is what happened in Sharpeville, in 1960, when police shot down peaceful demonstrators. In June 1976, the world learned of another atrocity in Soweto, as a result of which about 500 people, including many children, were killed, even according to the doctored official data.

The NATO countries' leaders, while condemning racism and apartheid in the RSA, actually try hard to fortify this bastion of imperialism in Africa. NATO has helped the South African racists to build up large stockpiles of weapons and to manufacture many types of weapons under U.S., French and West German licence. In defiance of the UN Security Council resolution establishing a mandatory and universal embargo on arms deliveries to the RSA, the NATO countries have continued to bolster the racist regime's military-economic potential, notably by selling it weapons via third countries, including Israel.

In addition, the RSA racists have been getting much aid from the imperialist monopolies. There are now over 1,600 foreign companies in the RSA. Britain is the major investor in the RSA economy, accounting for $3 billion, followed by the United States, with $2 billion.

Second-class citizens in Western Europe

In the past few decades, millions of men and women have been migrating in search of work and there are now over 12 million immigrants and their families in Western Europe. The main groups are: over 1 million Turkish workers and their families, in the FRG; 885,000 Algerians and 860,000 Portuguese in France; 715,000 Irish, 850,000 Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in Britain, and about 2.3 million Italians in various countries of Western Europe. They are all second-class citizens. In the FRG, there are now about 1.9 million so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers). Together with members of their families, they number almost 4 million. They are subjected to monstrous discrimination. They are charged on average 40 per cent more than the local people for housing. According to a study, in Northern Rhine-Westphalia, 85 per cent of foreign workers' families live in tumble-down huts, including 20 per cent in cellars and barrack-rooms; 35 flats out of every 100 have no kitchens, 68 no toilets or baths, and 84 no hot water. Only 45 per cent of the foreign workers' children can attend school, and less than 1 per cent can continue their education. Forty-six per cent of all married foreign workers in the FRG are not allowed to live with their families. Hard living and working conditions make for widespread disease among immigrant workers.

Relentless reckoning

For hundreds of millions of men and women, imperialism spells privation and suffering, hunger and poverty. According to the World Bank, in 1974 and 1975, almost 650 million people were virtually on the brink of death from starvation: their income averaged $50-90 a year. Another 500 million lived in dire poverty: their income averaged $100-150 a year. About 2 billion people — one-half of the world's population — suffer from malnutrition: they have to live on a daily diet of less than 1,900 calories, the scientifically estimated minimum. Some 830 million men and women in the world cannot read or write, and about 350 million have no jobs or work less than a full day.

Imperialism's subversive activity against the socialist-community countries

Imperialism does not shun any means in its futile efforts to wipe out

existing socialism. It has set up a ramified network of subversive organizations aimed against the socialist countries, it has mounted ideological subversions, and its special centers carry on unremitting anti-socialist and anti-communist propaganda.

In the early 50s, two subversive radio stations — *Radio Liberty* and *Radio Free Europe* — were started at the expense of U.S. tax-payers. They broadcast 980 hours a week in 16 languages to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and systematically slander the socialist system. In fiscal 1979, these radio stations are to receive $79 million, which is much more than they got before, and the U.S. Congress is considering a request for an additional $10.5 million.

In early 1978, a major scandal broke out in Britain following the exposure of the underhand operations of the Department for the Study of Information, a secret Foreign Office outfit, whose task was to organize and direct a propaganda war against the socialist countries. By offering 'off-the-record information' the Department used handpicked British and foreign journalists to insinuate into the press lies and misinformation in order to give the 'independent' British press an anti-Soviet edge, and financed anti-communist publications.

Traitors and renegades of every stripe are welcomed with open arms in the capitalist countries. In 1974 and 1975, the U.S. authorities refused political asylum to 96 per cent of applicants who were being persecuted by reactionary regimes in their countries. On the other hand, they endorsed 95 per cent of applications for political asylum to fugitives from socialist countries.

In the United States, there are about 15,000 private funds, which annually allocate up to $1 billion, most of which goes to subsidize diverse anti-communist studies and measures. Altogether, there are more than 200 anti-communist research institutions. About 100 such centers have been set up in the FRG, and there are similar outfits in Britain, France, Italy, Canada and other Western countries.

The indictment of imperialist man-hating activity includes aggravation of economic, social and political crises, the deepening of social inequality, the growth of crime and corruption, the trampling of human rights and freedoms, the arms drive, which poses the threat of a thermonuclear holocaust, crimes against the developing countries, support of neo-fascist and dictatorical regimes, the fanning of racial discrimination, and subversive acts against the socialist countries.

The peoples are increasingly aware that the only way to rid humanity of imperialism and its crimes is to build a just and humane society which offers the working people fulfillment of their most cherished hopes: communism.

RESULTS OF THE PHOTO COMPETITION

The organizers of the competition 'For Peace, Détente and Social Progress' held by *World Marxist Review* and the International Organization of Journalists report the following results.

More than 2,000 photographs were submitted by professional press photographers and amateurs from 31 countries. In view of the large number of interesting and topical entries displaying exceptional artistic merit, the organizers decided to institute an additional second prize and also to increase the number of diplomas.

The international panel of judges under the chairmanship of *WMR* Managing Editor Pavel Auersperg and IOJ Secretary Aurelian Nestor made the following awards:

— *First prize, L. Sherstennikov* (USSR) for the photograph 'Cuba Sings the Internationale';

— *Second prize, T. Naryanan* (India) for the photograph 'Palm Leaf — Symbol of Peace,' and *V. Ipser* (CSSR) for the photograph 'Solidarity';

— *Third prize, J. Seymour* (South Africa) for the photograph 'The Country's Future Belongs to Them.'

In addition the judges commended the following competitors:

— *First-class diplomas and souvenir gifts: G. Heiring* (Denmark), *P.K. Patel* (India), *N. Villegas* (Colombia), *R. Gombojab* (MPR), *S. Alekyan* (USSR), *J. Horak* (CSSR), *M. Scholz* (FRG;

— *Diplomas and souvenir gifts: G. Panamski* (Bulgaria), *U. Gerig* (GDR), *M. Grimm* (GDR), *V. Tsimenderidis* (Greece), *J. Heinschel* (West Berlin), *M.K. Emre* (Canada), *S.L. Rokotonarivo* (Madagascar), *S. Barsukh* (MPR), *J. Maziejok* (PPR), *J. Mirski* (PPR), *R.J.A. Martins* (Portugal), *S. Cristian* (Rumania), *V. Baranovsky* (USSR), *G. Diakonov* (USSR), *L. Smith* (USA), *L. Stettner* (USA), *I. Akyurek* (Turkey), *K.J. Lintunen* (Finland), *R. Helexa* (CSSR).

Photographs that were awarded diplomas will be published in *The Democratic Journalist.*

The organizers of the competition and the editors of the journal wish to express their thanks to all readers who took part.

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