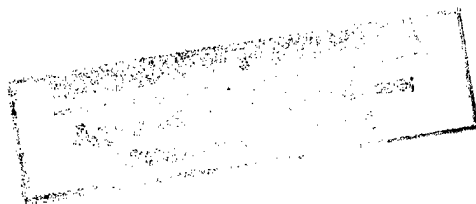


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No. 1286

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9 August 1982

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1286

SELECTIONS FROM SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY JOURNALS

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BOOK ON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY IN 1970'S REVIEWED

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 82 pp 181-183

[Review by A.A. Galkin of book Sotsialisticheskiy internatsional. Istoriya. Ideologiya, Politika" [The Socialist International: History, Ideology, Politics] by N. G. Sibilev, doctor of historical sciences, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", 1980, 334 pages]

[Text] The strengthening of cooperation between the communists and other democratic forces, in particular, with a number of socialist and social-democratic parties, which was mentioned at the 26th CPSU Congress, increased the interest of Soviet public opinion in a circle of questions connected with the history, ideology, and politics of these parties, and in the international organization which unites them. The book by Doctor of Historical Sciences N.G. Sibilev on the Socialist International may satisfy this interest to a considerable degree. It provides a broad picture not only of the Socialist International as an international center which has accumulated the characteristic traits of the present-day social-democratic movement but also about the profile of the social democracy as a whole.

The work is written with a profound knowledge of the subject. The author has not only studied previous publications but has also drawn upon new material for reinforcing the positions previously expressed. The nature of the exposition and the formulated conclusions testify to the penetration into the essence of the processes being studied, to the ability to examine them in a complex manner, in close connection with the changing political situation. All this has allowed N.G. Sibilev, by relying on the achievements of modern Marxist-Leninist science, to show quite fully such a heterogeneous and contradictory phenomenon as the modern social-democratic movement. We still have no other work which provides a multifaceted analysis of the Socialist International. Therefore, everyone who intends to study the Socialist International and the social-democratic movement will have to begin with N.G. Sibilev's book.

This monograph may be provisionally divided into two parts--the primarily informational and the critical-analytical. The author has meticulously traced the principal stages of the Socialist International's development--beginning with the struggle for its restoration during the first few postwar years and ending with the ideological activity of the Socialist International during the 1970's. This material is concentrated, for the most part, in the first half of the book.

In the second part, which is devoted to the Socialist International's foreign-policy course, its attitude toward the national-liberation movement and the problems of the labor movement's unity, the center of gravity shifts to the critical-analytical side with an emphasis on the process of reinterpretation by the Socialist International and its parties of previous positions, and this makes the corresponding chapters particularly interesting for the informed reader.

A notable place in this study is occupied by a demonstration of the reinterpretation by the Socialist International of previous foreign-policy positions (p 169 et seq.). The author is particularly interested in the question of the reasons for the positive shifts which have occurred in this field during the last few years. With justification he notes the importance which the changes in the ratio of forces have had in the world arena in favor of the cause of peace and socialism, the lessening of international tension, which has made an imprint on the entire system of international relations during the 1970's, along with the activation of the peace-loving forces in the capitalist countries (pp 195-197).

Specifying this approach, it would be possible to add that the domestic-policy ideas of the social-democratic parties have also played their role in stimulating these shifts. Being more closely connected with the mass social base than the bourgeois political forces, the social-democratic parties sensed earlier than their political rivals the change in the attitude of the masses in favor of a more realistic foreign policy and have proceeded to change their slogans, considering thereby to draw over to their side voters during the course of the competitive struggle.

Also of no small importance is the fact that it was precisely at this time in Western Europe, which had significantly strengthened its own positions as compared with the 1960's, and even more so in comparison with the 1950's, that there was an intensification of the aspirations to liberation from excessively rigid wardship by the United States. Being primarily a Western-European political force, the social democracy saw in the lessening of tensions an additional possibility for assuring the Western European countries freedom from foreign political maneuvering. This, in turn, served as yet another stimulus toward revising the earlier positions.

It should also be taken into account that the influential forces in the social-democratic movement who were advocating the lessening of international tensions were guided by calculations that such a reduction in international tensions would lay the foundation for "political erosion" in the countries of the socialist community and thereby would operate in favor of the social-reformist model of a social structure.

It seems that only by taking these circumstances into consideration can one understand the unevenness and multivalued restructuring of the foreign-policy positions of the majority of the social-democratic parties, as noted in the book, along with their lack of confidence and passivity in solving such principled questions of global importance as averting the slide toward a world war, a halt to the arms race, and disarmament.

The author attentively traces the change of the Socialist International's policy with regard to the developing countries, stating the following: there has been a notable growth in the question of interest in these problems; as a result, the topic of the developing countries proved to be the center of discussion at the most diverse forums; the meaning of the liberation struggle began to be evaluated in a different way. The Socialist International was compelled to acknowledge that the national-liberation movement is not a consequence of "intrigues" by Moscow and the communists but an inevitable form of peoples' struggle for independence (p 259).

During the second half of the 1970's the center of the Socialist International's attention was taken up by problems of the new world economic system, the establishment of which is advocated by the developing countries, expressing the legitimate aspiration to liberate themselves from the economic domination of the imperialist states and the transnational corporations. In their decisions the Socialist International supported this demand, albeit in a general form, recognizing, in particular, the necessity of establishing such prices on raw material and other products as would stabilize and increase the real incomes of the developing countries, guaranteeing them markets for the sales of their industrial goods, solving the problems of their enormous financial indebtedness, along with increasing financial and technical aid. In connection with this, N. G. Sibilev poses the question of the reasons which brought about such changes. In answering his own questions, he emphasizes that the shifts in the positions taken by the Socialist International were engendered, above all, by profound changes in the disposition of political forces which had taken place in the world and by the victories of the liberation movement. Under the conditions of detente and the great successes of the national-liberation movement that counterrevolutionary role which the United States has been playing with regard to it became particularly obvious. Under these conditions a distancing from the United States became simply unavoidable for the Socialist International. A notable role was also played by the fact that during the 1970's in the Socialist International there was an increase in the representation of parties from the developing countries (primarily from Latin America), whose opinions and positions its leaders had to take into consideration (p 273).

It is important also that the author has not forgotten the important circumstance of the intensification of attention being paid to the liberated countries and the readiness shown by the Socialist International to introduce specific adjustments into its own positions, which was also dictated, to a considerable extent, by the striving on the part of the leaders of the European social democracy to achieve an expansion of their own influence in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the transformation of the social democracy into a political force capable of exerting an influence on the policies of the developing countries, on their choice of paths of social development. It is also necessary to bear in mind the aspirations of the European social democracy by means of improving relations with the developing countries to solve the economic problems which the Western European states have encountered under the conditions of the worsening energy and raw-materials crises, as well as to expand the Western European sales markets and spheres of capital investment (p 274).

In considering the attempt at a dialog with the communists which is being manifested in certain social-democratic parties and which is exerting an influence

on the Socialist International's positions, N. G. Sibelev realistically evaluates the difficulties on the path to unification. Many of the social-democrat leaders have been infected with the virus of anticommunism. Joint actions are hampered by differences in principle between the communists and the social-democrats in their appraisal of contemporary capitalism, genuine socialism, and the paths of social changes (p 311). Effective cooperation also assumes a sincere attitude toward one's partner in an alliance, a striving to achieve joint success, rather than taking advantage of each other. This is all the more important inasmuch as the communists and social-democrats rely on a similar mass base. Even in those instances when the social-democrats have exhibited a readiness for unity, as shown in the book, they have been far from always observing this principle. One could also point to the fact that the social-democrats are characterized by a gap between words and deeds. The positive potential of many of their programs are often not realized in the form of specific actions, remaining merely good wishes. There exists a serious discrepancy between the positions of the social democracy as a political movement and the behavior of social-democratic politicians who are members of governments. The social democracy, which experiences on itself the influence of the basic masses of the population, is usually to the left of its members in the government, for the latter are additionally influenced by such factors as the ideas of coalition politics, the striving to take contradictory interests into consideration, the pressure of the administration apparatus, and their own personal ambitions and advantages. Many additional obstacles to creating a unity of action are explained by this.

All this, as the author emphasizes, of course, does not exclude the possibility of putting an end to the schism and internal struggle in the ranks of the international labor movement (p 312). And the work's concluding pages are devoted to a solution of the given problem.

Not all aspects of the problem under examination are disclosed with equal value in this monograph. It would be desirable to have a more profound and fuller analysis of the differentiation within the individual parties as well as in the Socialist International as a whole, a differentiation which has intensified particularly during recent years. The exposition of the material and the author's evaluations are not always sufficiently consistent and precise. This, however, does not weaken the overall positive impression made by N. G. Sibelev's necessary and topical book.

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THIRD WORLD RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM OFFERS OPPORTUNITIES, DANGERS

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 82 pp 3-22

/Article by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy: "A Theory Implemented: V. I. Lenin and Problems of National Liberation and Attitude to Nationalism"; passages enclosed in slant-lines printed in italics/

/Text/ I

This past decade has been marked by new victories of the national-liberation movement. The liquidation of the colonial empires has been completed in fact. The anti-imperialist movement assumed more and more expanded forms. The struggle of the peoples of the former colonial and dependent countries is at the center of attention of the Soviet people and the CPSU. In the Accountability Report of the CPSU CC to the 26th party congress the general secretary of the CPSU CC, L. I. Brezhnev declared the following: "The CPSU will continue to consistently conduct a course directed at developing cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries, at firming up the alliance between world socialism and the national-liberation movement."¹ This course was bequeathed by the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin.

Almost 90 years have elapsed since the time of V. I. Lenin's first utterance with regard to the national-colonial question.² These were years filled with revolutions, wars, and coups. The stars of how many big political leaders who proclaimed the eternal quality of capitalist civilization have risen and sunk during this period of time! The names of how many persons who have laid claim to the role of theoreticians and apologists for the domination of the white minority in Asia and Africa have been consigned to oblivion! History rapidly put such obsolete, valueless ideas into the archives. But Lenin's theoretical heritage has not become a literary monument. We read and re-read it, finding ever-new thoughts which astound us by their freshness, and they are as topical now as if they had arisen during our own times. during the 1980's. We read Lenin as if he were our own contemporary.

The secret of the vitality of Lenin's ideas lies in the combination of faithfulness to Marxist scientific methodology and a capacity of genius to creatively apply this to changing conditions. V. I. Lenin with greater force and depth than all his contemporaries provided a Marxist analysis of the new historical epoch--the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolution. With all the extremely profound shifts which have occurred, we are still living in this epoch the epoch of Lenin. And hence the complete validity of all the basic positions of Leninist thought.

K. Marx did not know imperialism. The historical merit of revealing its economic, social, and political essence, the conditions and possibilities engendered by imperialism for revolutionary activity belongs to V. I. Lenin. Everything new which was introduced by V. I. Lenin to the theory and practice of Marxism derives, in one way or another, from the solution of this fundamental and titanically complex problem, which fell to his lot. One is struck by the multi-level quality of Lenin's approach to the analysis of imperialism. One of its aspects is national relations. In examining the epoch of imperialism from the viewpoint of the new elements which imperialism had introduced into national relations, V. I. Lenin wrote as follows in his article "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination": "Imperialism is a step-by-step oppression of the world's nations by a handful of great powers; it is an epoch of wars between them for expanding and reinforcing the yoke on nations, an epoch of the deceit of the popular masses by hypocritical social patriots."³

The antagonistic conflict between the dominant and the oppressed nations, which had existed since the beginning of the colonial policy of capitalism, became a genuinely worldwide, international problem during the epoch of imperialism. It was set forth by V. I. Lenin as one of the distinguishing characteristics of imperialism and as one of the basic complexes of tension fraught with revolutionary outbreaks at the time when the leaders of the Second International were establishing themselves more and more strongly on chauvinistic positions. In the midst of the genuine revolutionaries there were also persons (in particular, R. Luxemburg), who underestimated, albeit from directly contradictory positions, the role of national movements during the epoch of imperialism. These attitudes were manifested particularly during the years of World War I as a reaction to the betrayal by the leaders of the Western European social democracy.

Under these conditions V.I. Lenin defended the Marxist revolutionary traditions in the national question and the honor of the revolutionary social democracy as an advocate of consistent democratic thought. He declared the following: "The struggle for the socialist international revolution against imperialism is impossible without recognizing the right of nations to self-determination",⁴ and he concluded that during the epoch of imperialism "national wars on the part of colonies and semi-colonies"⁵ are not only probable but also inevitable.

An extremely great merit of V.I. Lenin was the innovative solution of the national and national-colonial question within the context of the socialist revolution. He devastated the ideas of the classically pure types of social revolution, on which were based both the opportunism of the leaders of the Second International as well as the adventurism of the leftist radicals. The former were prepared to present the bourgeoisie with a solution to the problems which had traditionally been the cause of bourgeois revolution, and thereby they justified their own passivity, their own lack of desire to lead the proletariat to struggle for power. The latter, the "heroes" of the left-wing movement, who had been raised on the crest of the wave of revolutionary enthusiasm which had engulfed the oppressed classes and peoples after the victory of the October Revolution, on the contrary, considered that the agenda everywhere should include socialism, and without hesitation they relegated to the camp of reaction all those who attempted to fight for liberty, democracy, the abolition of feudal vestiges, and national equal

rights, without linking these goals with socialism or even rejecting it in principle. It would seem that this was in direct opposition to right-wing opportunism, but actually it was organically connected with it--on the level of methodological dogmatism. They also advocated "pure" revolution, albeit not bourgeois but socialist. But Lenin understood that during the epoch of imperialism, in connection with the exacerbation of all class, political, and national conflicts, in connection with the intensified unevenness in the development of capitalism and the awakening of colonies and semi-colonies, social revolutions, whether socialist or bourgeois, with "classically pure" goals and forms as their moving forces directly causing their rise were impossible. And the further one goes to the East, into a world where capitalism coexists with feudalism and a patriarchal way of life, and where in certain places it has still not seriously crowded them out, the truer this is, and to a greater extent. V.I. Lenin created a theory of revolutions for the epoch of imperialism, which broke the previously apparent unchangeable sequence of the bourgeois and socialist stages of the revolutionary process.

Imperialism extended the world capitalist market to the entire world and thereby made it unified in a certain sense. It created monstrous and seemingly unthinkable, from the viewpoint of the ideals of the bourgeois system, combinations of developed capitalism with extreme and consciously cultivated backwardness.

Having subordinated the archaic social structures and having made them a part of the world capitalist organism, having created a symbiosis of various forms of exploitation, imperialism at the same time was preparing the conditions for hurling the revolutionary fire from one region to another, and it was expanding the scope of the revolution's destructive and constructive work. And it was this possibility for spreading the revolutionary fire and switching the revolution under the conditions of imperialism from certain objects to others, as much as it was a matter of resisting the system, which had combined and sanctified all imaginable forms of oppression, which V.I. Lenin predicted. This broke the dogmatic schemes of the socialist and bourgeois revolutions.

V.I. Lenin put forth an innovative idea for a bourgeois-democratic revolution, within which the leadership would belong to the working class. To the socialist revolution he assigned the task of bringing the bourgeois changes to their conclusion. Lenin's strategy consisted in uniting all kinds of revolutionary dissatisfaction with the existing system, of merging it into a unified revolutionary flood and channeling it in the direction of socialism. An understanding of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their own liberation as not only a reserve but also an active participant in the socialist revolution became an important component part of the Leninist strategy of revolution.

Sober political calculation as well as fidelity mandatory for a Marxist to the principles of democracy led V.I. Lenin to proclaim the rights of nations to self-determination even as far as seceding and forming an independent state; this was applicable to the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia as well as to the colonies of other imperialist countries. V.I. Lenin defended this principle, as included in the Program of the RSDWP since 1903, from the attacks by nihilists on the national question, persons who concealed themselves in revolutionary phrases in

all discussions which were held on this matter both at the beginning of the century, in connection with the adoption of the Party Program, and on the eve of, as well as during, World War I, in connection with the exacerbation of national conflicts. V.I. Lenin defended this principle, after he became the head of the first Soviet government in the world, during the discussion of the Program of the RCP (b) at the Seventh party congress, when the objectively chauvinistic sub-text of the position of the opponents of self-determination (Bukharin, Pyatakov) for converting the RCP (b) into a right-wing party became obvious and hence particularly dangerous.⁶

V.I. Lenin defended the principle of the right of nations to self-determination in 1922 also, when considering the question of the unification of the Soviet republics, when he came out against the plan of "autonomization," as proposed by I.V. Stalin, for preserving the independence of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, and for attempts at federative, union forms of their unification with the RSFSR.

V.I. Lenin disclosed the artificiality of the slogan "workers' self-determination," its divorce from reality, its ignorance of the level of development of the oppressed nations and nationalities of Russia, of the degree of class differentiation among the oppressed peoples, and of the tortuous ways by which this inevitable differentiation was proceeding. V.I. Lenin took into account the fact that refusal to grant nations the right to self-determination would undermine the trust of peoples who had been oppressed by tsarism, including the toiling masses, in the Soviet regime and would extraordinarily complicate the establishment of friendly and equitable relations among peoples.

But this did not mean at all that V.I. Lenin was prepared to sacrifice for the sake of self-determination those economic, political, and military advantages which the preservation of territorial integrity within the boundaries of Russia would provide. V.I. Lenin saw these advantages no worse than the opponents of the party program on the national question, but he introduced into the problem that flexibility and precision in which they were so lacking.

As far back as in the resolution of the Poroninskiy Conference the following was emphasized: "The question of the right of nations to self-determination... must not be mixed up with the question of the feasibility of secession by one or another nation."⁷ In a letter to S.G. Shaumyan (December 1913) V.I. Lenin developed this thought as follows: "...We are for the /right/ of secession (but not /for the secession/ of all!).... Secession is not our plan at all. In general, we do not preach secession. In general, we are against secession. But we do advocate the /right/ to secede in view of the Black-Hundreds type of Great Russian nationalism which so defiled the cause of national co-existence."⁸ V.I. Lenin understood that a truly lasting and equitable unification could not be carried out without the decisive destruction of all kinds of remnants of violence and compulsion in international relations. He was uncompromising on the question of granting to all nationalities the possibility of resolving their own destinies, and he saw in this a guarantee of the triumph not only of the genuine friendship and equal rights of nations but also that of socialism. "Victorious socialism must implement complete democracy and, consequently, not only promulgate the

full equal rights of nations but also implement the right to self-determination of oppressed nations, i.e., the right to free political secession,"⁹ V. I. Lenin noted.

Resolute in its spirit of fidelity to the interests of socialism, flexible, and genuinely internationalistic, the democratic position of the working class ought to, in Lenin's opinion, raise the banner of national equal rights and self-determination and thereby deprive the reactionary forces of the possibilities for instigating national dissensions. As far back as 1894 in a work entitled "What Are the Friends of the People and How Do They War Against the Social Democrats?" Lenin wrote as follows: "There is no other means of struggling against national hatred than organizing and reinforcing the class of the oppressed for the fight against the class of the oppressors in each individual country, as a fusion of all the national labor organizations into a single international workers' army for fighting against international capitalism."¹⁰

Indeed, V.I. Lenin did transform the RSDLP into an organization for rallying workers of all of Russia's nationalities. He was categorically opposed to the attempts to fractionate it into national detachments or to construct a party or federative principles. The party's unity and its consistent internationalism created the conditions from the beginning for a military-political alliance, and then also for a state, allied unification of Soviet republics. They allowed the implementation of Lenin's plan for solving the national question, which combined recognition of the right of nations to self-determination right up to secession and a striving to achieve a broad-based unification of all the nationalities populating Russia, based on internationalism, voluntarism, equality, and fraternal, mutual aid. "The pledge of this union's lasting quality," it is emphasized in the "Decree of the CPSU CC on the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR," published in PRAVDA on 21 February 1982, Lenin considered to be complete mutual trust, voluntary agreement, and the exclusion of any form of equality in the relations between nations. As a convinced internationalist, he consistently and implacably fought for the revolutionary consolidation of all working people and against any twists in solving national problems."

II

V.I. Lenin's thoughts on the theoretical and practical solution of the national problem were not limited by the borders of Russia. He constantly kept sight of broader, world horizons, the colonial problem as a whole. "Liberation of the colonies," V. I. Lenin said, "is nothing else but the self-determination of nations."¹¹ In contrast to the short-sighted pragmatism of Bukharin, who assumed that one approach to the national question was possible in Russia and another--in the colonies, and that, while denying the right of Russia's oppressed peoples to self-determination, one could recognize it for the colonies because in this case we "are not losing anything," V. I. Lenin proceeded from the principled unity of two aspects of the problem, from their extremely close inter-connection. He understood that a consistently democratic solution of the national question in Russia would not only serve as an inspirational example for the colonial world but would also lay the foundation for its rapprochement with the Soviet regime. V. I. Lenin emphasized that our national policy "ought to be a model for the [entire] East."¹²

Similar to how the national problem in Russia was examined by V.I. Lenin through the prism of the Russian working class's struggle against the autocracy, so the colonial problem was for him one of the most important aspects of the global fight against imperialism.

V.I. Lenin was the first Marxist to turn his gaze at the colonial world as a source of the entire capitalist world's revolutionary upheavals, as a very important factor of revolutionary strategy during the epoch of imperialism. In these national movements gaining force V.I. Lenin saw an enormous revolutionary potential, emerging from the framework of the East and having world importance. For the first time in Marxist thought, as well as in socio-political thought in general, he noted that the peoples of the East had ceased to be a passive object of the actions of capitalism, that they were awakening as an independent and, moreover, revolutionary force, which, to an increasingly greater degree, would influence the destinies of Europe and the entire world, and from this he drew conclusions on the level of the strategy for fighting against imperialism and for socialism. "Those times when the cause of democracy and the cause of socialism were linked only with Europe have passed forever,"¹³ V.I. Lenin stressed. "A new source of very great world storms has opened up in Asia.... We are now living right during the epoch of these storms and their 'feedback reflection' in Europe."¹⁴ V.I. Lenin's great innovation was that he spotted the connection between the nonsocialist, bourgeois-democratic, nationalist movements in the dependent countries and the struggle not only against imperialism but also against capitalism, and with the destinies of the socialist revolution; he evaluated them as an extremely important component of the world revolutionary process, which could have only one final goal and one direction--that of socialism.

V.I. Lenin perspicaciously saw in the national-liberation movements a powerful force in the revolutionary struggle precisely against capitalism, an objective ally of the socialist revolution and the revolutionary working class of the developed capitalist countries. This was a new, powerful source of revolutionary energy, and the honor of discovering it belongs entirely to V.I. Lenin. It did not exist nor could it exist during the epoch of premonopolistic capitalism. It was unknown to K. Marx and F. Engels; at that time another course of development was presented as more natural--the victorious proletarian revolutions in mother countries would lead to liberation of the colonies (although in a number of instances, as, for example, in India, liberation by one's own efforts was not excluded, as a result of a national uprising).

The Great October Socialist Revolution demonstrated the correctness of such a way of solving the national question. But subsequently the delay of the socialist revolution in the West led to a situation whereby the principal means for solving this problem became precisely various forms of "national uprising." And their spread more broadly and deeply led to a feedback influence of the anti-colonial struggle on the struggle against capitalism itself; it turned the colonial world into a "second front" in the struggle against capitalism and opened up new ways to undermine and destroy it.

V.I. Lenin attributed exceptional importance to this new front in the struggle. "Worldwide capitalism must fall, when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers within each country...combines with the revolutionary

onslaught of hundreds of millions of human beings who have, up to now, been standing outside of history and who have been regarded only as its object,"¹⁵ stated V. I. Lenin at the Second Comintern Congress. And in 1919 in a speech at the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East he emphasized this thought, uttering words which have become oft-quoted by all those addressing the idea of the noncapitalist development of the Asian and African countries: "The Socialist Revolution will not be only and mainly a struggle of revolutionary proletarians in every country against their own bourgeoisie. No, it will be a struggle of all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries against international imperialism."¹⁶

Hence the great Leninist idea of internationalism, i.e., a unification, an alliance of the revolutionary working class of the developed countries with peoples oppressed by imperialism. It was a matter of an alliance between Europe's working class and the revolutionary but not necessarily proletarian, and in the overwhelming majority certainly not proletarian, masses of the colonial and dependent countries. This was noted particularly by V.I. Lenin at the Second Comintern Congress as follows: "The unification of the revolutionary proletarians of the capitalist, advanced countries with the revolutionary masses of those countries where there is no or almost no proletariat, with the oppressed masses of the colonial, Eastern countries, is a unification which is taking place at this present congress."¹⁷

V.I. Lenin set forth the great internationalist task of drawing closer to the oppressed peoples even prior to the victory of the Great October Revolution. After the accession of the Bolsheviks to power it took on a new aspect: the policy of alliance with anti-colonial movements began to be carried out not only on a party but also on a state basis, and this made it particularly effective and particularly necessary for those struggling in the colonies. V.I. Lenin called for "conducting a policy of promulgating the closest possible alliance of all national and colonial-liberation movements with Soviet Russia, determining the forms of this alliance in accordance with the degree of development of the communist movement among the proletariat of each country or the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement of workers and peasants in the backward countries."¹⁸

As a world phenomenon, imperialism bound together in a unity of opposites the West and the East, bourgeois progress and medieval backwardness, the exploiting and the oppressed nations. Taking this reality into account, V.I. Lenin arrived at an innovative conclusion regarding the united front of struggle against imperialism in the West and in the East, linking national, anticolonial outbreaks with the struggle of the working class in the developed countries against imperialism, and he worked out a new strategy for the communist movement.

III

The Leninist idea of various forms of alliance with the national-liberation movements, depending on their nature, assumes a class-type, differentiated attitude toward anticolonial outbreaks and toward the nationalism of oppressed nations. V.I. Lenin's thoughts on this subject have retained all their importance in our own days, when the scope of the anti-imperialist struggle in the colonial and dependent countries has broadened considerably in connection with the appearance of new revolutionary possibilities in the concluding stage of the destruction of capitalism and imperialism.

Above all, V. I. Lenin warned against a nihilistic attitude toward nationalism arising on an anti-colonial basis from left-wing attempts to cancel it out, to write it off as supposedly a reactionary force, ignoring the historical legitimacy of its rise and development. V. I. Lenin called for consideration to be given to anti-imperialist nationalism, for learning how to support it, to cooperate with it, and somehow to find approaches to it, although he did acknowledge herein its historical and class limitations, as well as its ultimate hostility to communism. "You must base your efforts on that bourgeois nationalism which is awakening among these peoples; it cannot fail to awaken and it is historically justified,"¹⁹ he declared in 1919 to the delegates of the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East. More than 60 years have already passed since the time when this was stated, but Lenin's words are just as topical as before. They sober one up from pseudo-revolutionary phrases and arouse a critical attitude toward those who would like to leap across the legitimate stages of historical development.

V. I. Lenin saw the "historical justification" of bourgeois nationalism in the fact that in the oppressed and capitalistically undeveloped nations "there are still /objectively/ common national tasks, to be specific, /democratic/ tasks, tasks of /overthrowing the foreign yoke/."²⁰ Several decades later, enriched by new experience, we can state with confidence that these common national tasks have not been exhausted by the gaining of political independence and the proclamation of sovereignty, that they include the subsequent overcoming of the influence of imperialism in international policy, in the national economy, culture, in people's consciousness; etc. This is precisely what V.I. Lenin had in mind by the phrase "overthrowing the foreign yoke." The yoke of the imperialist powers did not consist then nor does it consist now under the conditions of neo-colonialism merely in denying the right of nations to self-determination, although this is its most important manifestation. Therefore, the anti-imperialist potential of the national movement, in particular, the common national tasks as well, will still be maintained for a long period of time after the formation of an independent state, although, of course, within the national-liberation movement there is an ever-increasing growth of class differentiation and class antagonism between the forces which are participating in it.

"In /every/ bourgeois nationalism of an oppressed nation there is a common democratic content /against/ oppression, and we support this same content /unconditionally/,"²¹ wrote V.I. Lenin in his article entitled "In the Light of Nations to Self-Determination." One's attention is drawn to the categorical statement "in every nationalism of an oppressed nation." It assumes a multiplicity of forms of nationalism of oppressed nations and their distinction from each other. The Leninist attitude toward nationalism of an oppressed nation takes into consideration the internal heterogeneity of each form of nationalism, the presence in it of both the common democratic as well as the nationalistically narrow, answering the needs of the exploiters of the contents. It is a question of supporting not abstract nationalism in general but only the factors of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and anti-racist, i.e., the common democratic program within nationalism. But Lenin was prepared to support them in any liberation outbreak against imperialism, even if it took the form of a religious protest. In this connection, V.I. Lenin noted that "the outbreak of a political protest under the

cover of religion is a phenomenon which is inherent to all peoples at a certain stage of their development."²²

The message sent by V.I. Lenin and I. Kalinin to the Afghan emir Amanullah (May 1919) and the subsequent establishment of friendly relations with Afghanistan testified to the readiness to enter into an alliance even with feudal circles which had acted from anti-imperialist, patriotic points of view under the banner of religion in those countries where progressive, anti-imperialist forces had not yet taken shape. Amid the presence of a broader spectrum of such forces the duty of socialists, as defined by V.I. Lenin, consists in "supporting in the most decisive manner the most revolutionary elements of the bourgeois-democratic, national-liberation movements... and helping them to revolt--and in case of a revolutionary war there--/against/ the imperialist powers oppressing them."²³

The Leninist concrete-historical approach to evaluating the role of nationalism, Lenin's thoughts on the heterogeneity of the anti-colonial movements, the nationalism of the oppressed nations, and on the orientation toward the most revolutionary elements are topical even in our own days. Consideration of the Leninist heritage helps us to avoid one-sidedness in the question of nationalism. In an article entitled "A Liberal's Open Reasoning" (July 1914, authorship established in 1970) V.I. Lenin emphasized the following: "We Marxists know very well that besides nationalist-reactionaries there are also nationalist-liberals (or national-liberals--the Octobrists and Cadets are precisely such), and there are also, finally, national-democrats."²⁴ This was said in application to Russia, to the nationalism of a dominant nation. Undoubtedly, within the nationalism of an oppressed nation the democratic elements appear more fully and deeply. The Leninist definition of the types of nationalism constituted the foundation for the class position of its bearers. Thus, democratic nationalism in Russia was represented by the peasantry. These same class-type criteria were used by V.I. Lenin in his approach to the national movements in the East. "In Asia a mighty, democratic movement is growing, spreading, and becoming stronger everywhere. The bourgeoisie there is still marching with the people against the reactionaries,"²⁵ wrote V.I. Lenin. This is the basis of the approach to bourgeois nationalism. "The principal representative or the main social bulwark... of the Asian bourgeoisie, which is still capable of performing historically progressive tasks, is the peasant," V.I. Lenin considered.²⁶ But, he wrote in an article entitled "China Renewed" (1912), "Chinese liberty was gained by an alliance between the peasant democracy and the liberal bourgeoisie. Whether the peasants, without being led by a party of the proletariat, will be able to maintain their own democratic position /against/ the liberals, who are only waiting for a suitable moment to turn things to the right"²⁷--this, in Lenin's opinion,--was the question on which depended the fate of the Chinese Revolution. This is the question on which depend the fates of the present-day national-liberation movement and which arise again and again at each new political turning in the countries of Asia and Africa: will the peasantry, in the absence or the weakness of a working class and a Communist Party, be able to defend their own revolutionary position, or will its revolutionary outburst rapidly weaken, and will it allow the liberal, national-reformist bourgeoisie to usurp political power?

Every time we observe in today's Asia and Africa a turning away from revolutionism toward national-reformism, from a socialist orientation and a militant anti-colonialism toward capitalism and a rapprochement with the imperialist powers we can state the following without fear of error: the working people have not succeeded in defending their own revolutionary position against the bourgeoisie. Is this not what happened in Egypt, which under Nasser was in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism--as a result of the agrarian reform, nationalization of basic Egyptian capital, liquidation of foreign capital, and proclamation of the slogans of scientific socialism, but then, under Sadat, turned into a country where the return to the unrestrained development and encouragement of private enterprise, to a policy of "open doors" for foreign capital, a forgetting of the socialist ideals, the betrayal of the national interests of the Arabs, along with the alliance with American imperialism and Zionism, became state policy? Nasser's anti-imperialist nationalism was replaced by Sadat's reactionary, pro-imperialist nationalism. And this occurred because of the complete loss of vigilance on the part of the Egyptian anti-imperialist democracy with regard to the rise and the rapid development of the social stratum of the bureaucratic, especially the military-bureaucratic, bourgeoisie, nouveaux-riches persons from the petite bourgeoisie, a solid stratum of kulaks, and the sabotage of officialdom. There was no formation in Egypt of a party of scientific socialism, capable of leading the peasant masses. The inability of Nasser and his immediate circle to create a mass, democratic, and effective party force which would have been able to maintain the country on the progressive path which it had chosen also played its own negative role.

IV

The peasant problem was set forth by V.I. Lenin as decisive for determining the colonies' paths of development. Most of the peoples of the East, he noted, are "not workers who have passed through the school of capitalist factories and plants but rather typical members of the laboring, exploited masses of peasants who are suffering from the medieval yoke."²⁸ "We are confronted here," V.I. Lenin declared to the Communists of the Russian East, "with a problem which previously did not confront the Communists throughout the world: relying on general communist theory and practice, you need to, in applying this to unique conditions which do not exist in the European countries, be able to apply this theory and practice to conditions wherein the principal mass is the peasantry, when it is necessary to solve the problem of struggling not against capital but against medieval vestiges."²⁹

This presented particular demands on the communist movement in the East. It was a question of "translating" Marxism into the language of backward countries, of "adapting" the Communist Party (its composition and its particular tasks) to the level of the peasant countries of the colonial East. The peasantry, according to Lenin's plan, ought to be in the center of attention of the revolutionaries and the Communists of the colonies. He noted that in the backward countries it would be impossible to carry out communistic tactics and a communistic policy, "without having definite relationships to the peasant movement, without supporting it in fact."³⁰ V.I. Lenin called for particular care with regard to the peasantry, as well as particular attention to be paid to the vestiges of national feelings in

the cases of the countries and nationalities which had been oppressed for the longest periods of time.³¹

V. I. Lenin, as was previously noted, saw in the peasant of the East the principal bearer of democratic nationalism; he posed for him the task of maintaining his own revolutionary position as a counterweight to the accommodating platform of the bourgeoisie; he believed in the possibility of the ultimate co-opting of the rural laborer to socialism. But he was very far from idealizing the peasantry, from being enraptured with its backwardness and from hoping that the latter would have a beneficial effect on socialism. "The more backward a country is, the stronger in it is small-scale agricultural production, a patriarchal way of life and remoteness, leading unchangingly to a particular force and persistence of the most profound petit-bourgeois prejudices, specifically the following: prejudices of national egoism and national limitations."³²

Such is the dialectics of Leninist thought. Having noted the presence of democratic peasant nationalism, he immediately also revealed within it the danger of national egoism and limitedness. And this also is a lesson for our own times. No matter how positively one evaluates the influence of anti-imperialist nationalism from the viewpoint of building up an independent state, the setting up of a national economy, and the creation of a state sector, as well as the emergence of a national culture, it is impossible to overlook the fact that its depths contain elements which crystallized long ago, elements which want to put a halt to a liberating revolution, to stop its further progress, to block the road for the consistently revolutionary forces, and to occupy positions which are hostile to socialism. Phenomena and processes of a similar kind can be found in almost every present-day national-liberation movement.

V

Under contemporary conditions there appears an exceptional diversity of shades of nationalism in the former colonial world. Without claiming an exhaustive completeness and excluding overlappings and symbiosis in the precision of classification, the following types can be isolated out: the anti-imperialistic nationalism of the patriotic strata of the national bourgeoisie; the nationalism of the new, comprador [?], middle-man type of bourgeoisie; the nationalism of the military and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, bourgeois nationalism which is openly chauvinistic, great-power-oriented, and anti-Soviet; the nationalism of feudal and semi-feudal elements which advocate independence and which, to a certain extent, merge with bourgeois nationalism.

And, finally, the most developed and widespread nationalism--peasant, petit-bourgeois, i. e., national-democratic nationalism, which is essentially anti-imperialist in its nature. The national democracy expresses the interests of the broad, non-proletarian, laboring masses, primarily the peasantry and the urban, petit-bourgeois strata. Although its policy is effected by the duality of the petit-bourgeoisie, on the whole, the national democracy, and, above all, its left, revolutionary-democratic wing, which is oriented in the direction of socialism, occupies anti-imperialistic positions.

On another level, we must take note of an ugly and, at times, even frightening phenomenon--nationalism as the product of the decay and disintegration of individual detachments of the communist movement, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism covering itself with the banner of Marxism. V. I. Lenin clashed with the degeneration of the leaders of the Second International. It, as is known, led to the transformation of the social democracy into social reformism, to a split in the labor movement, to a transition of once-revolutionary parties to counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet positions. Now we are observing new and even worse forms of conversion from communist points of view to nationalist ones. Such is the essence of Maoism and the efforts to modernize it on the part of the present-day leadership of the CCP.

With all the differences between Maoism and the right-wing degeneration of the European social democracy it is impossible not to note certain common traits in their evolution. In both cases there occurred a turning away from Marxism to chauvinism, and the result in both cases was a split in the communist and labor movement. The transition of the CCP leadership to positions of militant nationalism brought about a retreat from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the parties of a number of Eastern countries (Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines). The line of the present-day leadership of the constitutes a bare-faced, adventuristic, provocative nationalism, consciously forming a bloc with imperialism and reaction throughout the world and moving to undermine the unity of the present-day revolutionary forces.

Such is Maoist nationalism, openly and completely hostile to the working class, the result of a betrayal of the working class and ideological degeneracy, deserving to be exposed and scorned, requiring persistent, decisive, and uncompromising struggle.

But there exist a multiplicity of forms and shadings of that nationalism which, to use V. I. Lenin's words, is historically justified. This multiplicity should not be lost sight of. It arises in those regions where the problem of liberation from imperialism has still not been resolved, and not only political liberation but also economic, from racism, and neo-colonialism. The attitude toward it should be determined primarily by the presence within it of a democratic, anti-imperialist potential. It is necessary to take into consideration its strength, dissemination, and the attitude of the popular masses toward it. The nonalignment movement and the struggle for a new economic order in the world represent the most active and effective forms of this democratic, anti-imperialist nationalism, in which millions of persons oppressed by international imperialism are taking part.

This objective phenomenon, a legitimate stage in the development of the former colonies and semi-colonies, is a predominant force in most of the liberated countries at the present time. It is precisely in order to split off the broad-based strata of workers, peasants, and the petite urban bourgeoisie, which comprise a powerful reserve and a reliable bulwark of the revolutionary movement, from the most advanced, consistently anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist trends, that bourgeois propaganda and members of the reactionary, chauvinistic circles inculcate the popular masses with the thought of the impossibility of joint actions between the advocates of Marxism-Leninism and democratic, anti-imperialist nationalism. This is one of the most important components of the strategy of anti-communism in the developing countries, and, in order to oppose it, we must bear in mind the Leninist directives--to exhibit the maximum of care, sensitivity, and good wishes with

regard to national and religious traditions, to know how to reveal in the nationalism of oppressed nations the general democratic content against foreign political and economic oppression and oppose it to chauvinism.

V. I. Lenin's position on the duality of nationalism is as topical today as it ever was. In real political life Marxist-Leninists strive to carefully see the various shadings of nationalism, as determined by the social, ethnic, religious, and regional conditions of its manifestation. But the main thing is to take into account the two tendencies of nationalism, the progressive and the reactionary, and to conduct such a tactical line whereby the former is supported within the overall struggle against imperialism, and the latter is exposed as pro-imperialist, neo-colonialist, and chauvinist, and that an implacable struggle is waged against it.

We spoke above about the forms of nationalism's manifestation in connection with its social nature and its two principal tendencies. But what a rich palette of regional, political, and ideological shadings there is in present-day nationalism, if we consider it on a subjective-political level! During the past decade alone the already-mentioned pro-imperialist, comprador-type nationalism of Sadat appeared on the political scene as well as the following: the nationalism of the Arabian oil states, which has demonstrated a limited capability for defending the national interests against imperialism and to resist the American-Israeli-Egyptian accord; the chauvinistic nationalism of Tshombe, overflowing with the mania of personal greatness and called upon to mask the obvious bankruptcy of his domestic and foreign policies; related to this by its internal powerlessness was the grotesque nationalism of the Central African emperor for a day, Bokassa, to whom not even the laurels of Napoleon gave peace; the boastful but, as in the last two instances, scarcely harmless nationalism of Idi Amin in Uganda, who had recourse for increasing his strength to implanting a cult of naked force, but who, nonetheless, was capable at times of anti-imperialist actions; and together with these is the restrained nationalism of J. Nyerere, permeated with the spirit of anti-colonialism, striving to draw closer to the principles of internationalism and rendering aid to the struggling peoples in the southern part of Africa.

Finally, the most important contemporary phenomenon in Asia and Africa--the revolutionary potential of the national democrats, who stand in the vanguard of the struggle of many peoples of Asia and Africa against imperialism and who are moving toward rapprochement with scientific socialism. From their ranks have emerged revolutionary-democratic organizations which are gradually casting off the outmoded clothing of petit-bourgeois nationalism, drawing closer to internationalism and scientific socialism, and then rightfully emerging as the avant-guard parties of their own people, leading it onto the path of building a socialist society. These are merely a few examples of the contradictory manifestation of nationalism under present-day conditions.

VI

Let's take the Iranian Revolution as an example. Of course, basically this revolution was truly popular--political and, to a lesser extent, social. It proceeded under the slogans of the revival of Islam's ancient principles, the assertion of justice and equality as these are understood by Islam, and under the leadership of the Shi'ite clergy. But it acquired a genuinely popular, anti-monarchist,

and anti-imperialist nature, and it became one of the most important revolutionary upheavals in the Middle East during recent decades, directed against the shah's monarchy and the U. S. imperialism which supported it. How did it come about that the bearers of religious wisdom, and they amount to approximately 300,000 persons, became the leaders of the masses, and what circumstances conditioned the furious revolutionary potential of militantly religious nationalism under the banner of Islam?

Iran had long been a complex bundle of unpleasantness, in which were inter-woven an acute dissatisfaction with the foreign imperialist domination over the fate of this ancient state and domestic, ever-growing social contradictions, a protest of the toiling masses against the feudal and bourgeois upper circles which had merged with foreign capitalists in both the economy and in politics. In the early 1950's this dissatisfaction spilled over into a broad, popular movement for nationalizing the foreign oil companies, and this essentially destroyed the Pahlevi dynasty. Only the interference of the United States allowed the fruits of this revolution to be destroyed and the promulgation of a coup d'etat in August 1953, as well as the return to the throne of the shah, who had fled from the people's wrath. The extremely active military, political, financial, and economic expansion of the United States, the inundation of the country with 50,000 American specialists, primarily drawn from the military and intelligence services, the mobilization of the domestic forces of reaction, allowed the shah's regime to be stabilized for a certain length of time. Its stability lasted for a quarter-century.

Externally speaking, the regime of Muhammed Reza seemed to be flourishing. The sale of oil allowed the shah to spend enormous sums on maintaining the army and the police, to assimilate billions of dollars into his own personal property, and to create a privileged pretorian-type guard. There was a growth of the capitalist production forces. Even some social changes were carried out, the so-called "White Revolution," designed to gradually root out vestiges of feudalism in the rural areas and clear the ground for capitalist development. The country was converted into a military-political staging area of the United States against the Soviet Union as well as in the region of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. The shah took upon himself the functions of a gendarme--of guarding the neighboring reactionary regimes and of armed opposition to the Soviet Union, which corresponded to the interests of imperialism and his own aspirations to hegemony and strangling revolution in adjacent countries. But behind the imposing facade of the shah's regime were hidden ever-growing and insoluble contradictions. The precipitously growing capitalist accumulation ruined masses of artisans and peasants, and it impelled millions of people from their rural villages. The cities became over-filled with the poor and destitute. At the same time compradors, officials, and the new bourgeoisie were enriching themselves unrestrainedly; corruption became a common national vice.

Linked with the "White Revolution," the attraction of foreign capital on a mass scale, in the first place, as the bearer of advanced technology, led to the rise of a new focus of dissatisfaction. The national bourgeoisie and the strata which had attached themselves to it began to sense the inequality of their own rights and their subordinate position in relation to foreign capital, for which the shah's regime, seeing in it their own bulwark, created the most favorable conditions.

The shah answered the activation of popular outbreaks and the growing indignation by intensifying the repressions, tightening the screws further, and perfecting the military-police apparatus. The country was dominated by the shah's secret police, the Savak, which could be compared only to the Fascist Gestapo; it hunted down all opponents of the regime and was merciless. Thousands and tens of thousands of persons, especially democrats and communists, languished in prisons, where they were subjected to torture and execution. In March 1975 the shah banned all political parties and decreed the creation of the so-called "Party of National Rebirth."

Having placed his wager on the army, the punitive organs, and foreign aid, striving to modernize Iranian society with the aid of the bayonet and the introduction of up-to-date technology, the shah had a hostile attitude toward the national customs and traditions. He was also aroused to this by the circumstance that the leaders of the dominant religious community, the Shi'ites, encompassing 90 percent of the population, had never recognized the Pahlevi dynasty; they regarded the latter as usurpers who had seized power in 1921 and maintained by force and deceit. Puffed up with a sense of his own importance, relying on the privileged military caste, on billions of plundered dollars, on universal bribery, on the cruelty of the punitive organs, the shah did not even attempt to normalize relations with the members of the Shi-ite Muslim religious cult, which enjoyed enormous influence among the masses, and he strove to crowd out Islamic Iranian nationalism by intensively propagandizing the greatness of Pre-Islamic Iran. In 1976 he abolished the Muslim calendar and introduced a new chronology, dating from the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, the Persian king Cyrus. Other measures were also promulgated, objectively aimed at undermining Islamic traditions, as well as the role and influence of the Shi'ite clergy.

In Iran a rare, exceptional situation took shape. The shah and his immediate circle proved incapable of utilizing the Muslim religion and the main part of the Shi'ite clergy as a weapon to strengthen their own despotic power. They were somewhat afraid of the Muslim clergy and did not dare to proceed openly against them or to apply those extremely harsh repressions which they were using against the regime's opponents. But the half-measures to which the shah had recourse in order to crowd out the Shi'ite traditions only exacerbated the struggle between the clergy and the shah's regime.

Many Shi-ite clergymen had come from the common people; as the sons of only fairly well-to-do artisans, hawkers, peasants, lower-level officials, schoolteachers, and traders, they had managed to save up enough small amounts to acquire a religious education. They lived among the common people, were aware of its needs and difficulties; they shared the social aspirations of simple Iranians, their dreams of equality and justice. These motifs resounded in their sermons in the mosques. Under the conditions of the extremely harsh police terror, when hundreds and thousands of progressive members of the working class and the intelligentsia, and even democratically inclined officers were being executed or thrown into prison, when all kinds of open political struggle were prohibited, when the activists of the heroic People's Party of Iran who had avoided capital punishment were languishing in prisons for decades, the Muslim religion (Shi'ism) was transformed into the only possible form of anti-shah opposition, into a kind of autonomous political force, anti-imperialist and anti-despotic in its bent, which reflected the attitude of the broadest popular masses toward the shah's regime.

Once, at the point where the Middle Ages were passing into modern times, during the Age of Reformation in Europe, popular, anti-feudal movements proceeded under the banner of religion. Europe passed through this period long ago. But in the East the Middle Ages are closer at hand; they have still not become completely history, and they are still predominant in the consciousness of the popular masses, and hence they provide ideological and emotional food for their defense of profoundly modern, bourgeois-democratic, anti-imperialist demands. Not in a single Eastern country has the liberation struggle managed to get by without religious slogans. In Iran the Shi'ite clergy not only raised the banner of the movement but even became its organizing force.

Rolling over Iran during the summer and autumn of 1978 was a new, menacing wave of strikes, protest demonstrations, and mass manifestations demanding the overthrow of the monarch. He directed the army against the people, but the days of the dynasty were numbered; on 16 January 1979 the shah fled from Tehran.

An outstanding role in the Iranian Revolution was played by the Ayatollah Khomeyni. This 83-year-old Muslim theologian was able, on the one hand, to become a banner, and on the other hand, to rally into a unified, national front the most diverse, sometimes simply class-antagonistic elements--the middle-level bourgeoisie, the urban petite bourgeoisie, artisans and small-scale tradesmen, significant portions of the factory-plant proletariat, students, peasants, which, when taken together, comprised an absolute majority of the country's population, and all this on a revolutionary, anti-monarchist, and anti-American base in the form of a universal religious protest, which spilled over into an open and thoroughgoing revolution.

Khomeyni's platform was characterized by implacability in the struggle to overthrow the shah and to eliminate all the remnants of the police regime, a course aimed at rooting out dependence on imperialism. Together with this, he succeeded in a form which was unique, permeated with Islamic traditions, and hence accessible in expressing the aspirations of the oppressed classes to change the social system, to put an end to the people being plundered by foreigners, large-scale landowners, and capitalists, to raising the standard of living of the common people, and to an affirmation of their dignity. Herein all the radical demands were cloaked by him in the form of a revival of the historically surpassed Islamic values. There is no need to demonstrate the obvious utopian quality of Islam's social slogans. Over the course of Islam's almost 1,500-year history its social calls and slogans, like those of all other religions, have served ultimately as a means of reconciling the popular masses with a gloomy reality, and they have objectively masked usurious, feudal, and capitalist exploitation.

Of course, the politicization of Islam in Iran is extremely contradictory. Many of its conservative leaders are opposed to socialism, considering it to be just as inimical to Iran as imperialism. This has found expression in the general slogan which the Islamic ideologists, particularly during the first period of the Revolution, preached in Iran: "Neither the West, nor the East!" Under such conditions Iran's consistently revolutionary forces cannot consider the revolutionary gains as guaranteed or irreversible, nor can they place their hopes on the favorable conditions which have taken shape, especially inasmuch as after the passage of

the first few years of the Iranian Revolution, having accomplished a radical political coup, has slowed down its further development and come to a halt before the necessity of a social revolution, before the tasks of a decisive upswing in the social and economic living standards of the people, primarily of the working class and the peasantry. No substantial changes have occurred in the positions of these classes.

In the Iranian Revolution, which united all the people at the stage of overthrowing the shah's dictatorship, there now appear the following two currents, two trends: the radical, popular, and the liberal, bourgeois. The laborers in the cities and rural areas, workers, peasants, intelligentsia, and petite bourgeoisie are fighting for the decisive and complete elimination of the military-police despotism and the dependence on imperialism, for a consistent democratization of the social and political system, for socioeconomic changes, and for improvements in the lives of workers and peasants. But big capital and the bourgeois strata of the population are claiming leading participation in running the country and equitable relations with international capital. They are satisfied to be free of the excesses of the shah's autocracy, they advocate the introduction of a bourgeois constitutional regime, improved conditions for reciprocal actions with foreign capital and the most important imperialist powers of the West, in the first place, with the United States. They are interested not only in preserving the capitalist system but also in cooperating under the new conditions with imperialism in the political and military spheres, for they see in this a guarantee of preserving their own privileges. In the first case it is a matter of developing the Revolution and continuing its genuinely popular traditions, of an approach to running the country by the left-wing democratic forces, of the gradual growth of the political revolution through a series of intermediate stages into a social revolution. In the second case it is a question of overthrowing the Revolution, of forgetting about its popular social nature. The former tendency is directed at strengthening the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopolist, and anti-capitalist trends, the latter--at isolating from power the genuinely revolutionary forces and at turning Iranian nationalism into a means of alliance with the West.

At the time of the shah's overthrow and then the exacerbation of conflicts with the United States both tendencies were merged, and the liberals were compelled to step back into the shadows, for they understood that the implementation of their limited, class-egotistical goals was in the hands of the popular masses, that the Revolution was developing precisely because of the struggle of the radicals. For a time the radical slogans were predominant, and they became, as it were, the common banner of the Revolution. But the attainment of the first few goals inevitably led to an exacerbation of the internal contradictions, to a differentiation in the unified anti-shah front, and to a regrouping of forces. The bourgeois liberals, frightened by the popular threat and by the crisis of the private-capitalist national economy, have leaned more and more toward a "normalization" of relations with the West, toward an activation of anti-communist attitudes, and toward utilizing nationalistic and religious prejudices for these purposes. They are attempting to attract the Ayatollah Khomeyni and at least a part of his immediate circle over to their own side. A complex struggle is being waged around Khomeyni and around those who are to replace him.

But a mighty force, to a considerable extent, aroused and brought into action by the preaching of the Islamic rebirth, is participating in this struggle for the further progressive development of the Iranian Revolution, against the backward movement of religious, anti-imperialist nationalism to reaction. Being nationalistic in its ideology and leadership, the Iranian Revolution was truly popular in its forms. Moreover, despite its obvious limited, primarily petit-bourgeois, nationalistic nature, the Iranian Revolution demonstrated mass revolutionary methods of struggle. The Iranian Revolution knew the full fury of nationwide demonstrations by many millions of people, against which the shah's army and police forces, though highly trained by the Americans, proved to be powerless. The Iranian Revolution had recourse to specifically proletarian methods of struggle--to general strikes which lasted for months such as, for example, the oil workers' strike, which fundamentally undermined the shah's economic and political positions. And, finally, the Iranian Revolution knew an armed uprising by the urban extremes: the poor, workers, students, and revolutionary youth, which in the course of 2 or 3 days led to the complete demoralization and disintegration of the shah's well-equipped army, which had been created over a course of decades and trained by American instructors.

"The revolution in Iran is special in its nature," stated L.I. Brezhnev in the Accountability Report of the CPSU CC at the 26th party congress. "It has become a major event in international life during recent years. With all its complexity and contradictory qualities, it is basically an anti-imperialist revolution, although domestic and foreign reactionaries are striving to change this characteristic."²³

The mass revolutionary methods of struggle by the Iranian working people have not passed without a trace. The liberal bourgeoisie, which took advantage of their results, is attempting to consign them to oblivion, but this is not so simple to do. The toiling masses gained confidence in their strength and acquired experience in solving political problems independently. This is a powerful factor in favor of the development of the popular, plebian tendencies of the Iranian Revolution, a pledge of its future, albeit, perhaps, not-too-imminent and certainly not-too-easy victories.

The Afghan Revolution occurred on 27 April 1978, less than a year prior to the revolution in Iran. It was national-democratic in nature and was headed up by the National Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which was formed in 1963. From its very beginning this revolution profoundly affected the country's social system--it abolished feudal and semi-feudal land-ownership and usury; it advanced to the forefront the tasks of eliminating the almost complete illiteracy, the emancipation of women, etc.

If in Iran the Islamic clergy up to the present time has managed to be at the head of the anti-imperialist revolution, in neighboring Afghanistan a considerable portion of the Islamic clergy has assisted in rallying the reactionary forces which have taken up arms against the Afghan democrats. These forces receive constant support from U.S. imperialism, Chinese hegemonists, the Pakistani militarists, and conservative Arab regimes in the struggle against the popular regime. Nationalism, in particular, religious nationalism, is always historically specific. Whether bourgeois or feudal, it is always multifaceted. And so in the given case

before us nationalism has two facets. How broad are the differences between them! How primitive and vulgar are the attempts of reactionary circles of Iran, Afghanistan, and the imperialist ideologists to present the matter as if the struggle which is being waged by reactionary Afghan groups against the popular regimes under the false banner of Islam had supposedly the same nature as the democratic, anti-imperialist, Islamic movement in Iran. This "identification" is being made in order to influence the foreign-policy course of the Iranian Revolution, to weaken its anti-imperialism, and to impart to it an anti-communist direction.

In Iran and Afghanistan at the given stage of revolutionary development in both countries the diverse directions of Islamic nationalism may be affirmed. "Under the banner of Islam," L. I. Brezhnev remarked at the 26th CPSU Congress, "a liberation struggle may be unleashed. This is testified to by the experience of history, including the most recent history. But it also tells us that the reactionaries may also utilize Islamic slogans to raise counter-revolutionary insurgencies. Consequently, the whole matter depends on the genuine content of a given movement."³⁴

Such is the complexity of the phenomena of contemporary nationalism. It may become an implacable, mortal enemy of imperialism but also fanatical, not knowing any pity for the working people which have risen to the social struggle. It is impossible not to see that in most of the Asian and African countries nationalism has remained a major ideological-political force, and the broad masses still follow it. Left-wing democratic circles have no other choice but to approach nationalism in all its specificity, to utilize to the hilt its anti-imperialist, democratic, revolutionary potential, to strive not to permit its turning to the reaction and thereby to expand the possibilities for cooperating with it in the interests of strengthening the national independence and the subsequent struggle for social progress, without ever forgetting about its dualistic nature. If the thesis of the increasing role of reactionary elements in bourgeois and feudal nationalism in proportion to the exacerbation of social conflicts is correct in principle, neither must we pass over unnoticed the fact that the democratic contents of the nationalism of the politically oppressed or economically exploited strata, classes, nationalities, tribes, and nations in the liberated states are manifesting themselves with new force during the period of crisis in the neo-colonial system of modern-day imperialism. We must take both tendencies--to be more exact, all tendencies--into consideration and determine specifically which of them is predominant at a given stage, where it is leading, what kind of struggle is being waged between them, which classes are advocating these tendencies, and what possible prospects they have for development.

VII

V. I. Lenin advocated support by Communists for democratic, anti-imperialist movements; he saw in this their unconditional duty. But he warned against the absorption of even the incipient forms of socialist awareness by nationalism, against being dissolved in it, of losing one's own personality, of forgetting the temporary and limited nature of the alliance with democratic nationalism. As a guarantee against these phenomena V. I. Lenin saw the preservation by the communist movement of its own ideological and organizational independence and purity. At the Second Comintern Congress V. I. Lenin set forth the thesis that the working class ought to struggle within a temporary alliance with the bourgeois democracy of the colonies and the backward countries, but not merge with it and

unconditionally guard the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most incipient form."³⁵ And this remains correct with a full understanding of the exceptional difficulties which have been encountered and continue to be encountered by the formation of the communist movement in backward, semi-feudal or pre-capitalist societies. In 1920 V. I. Lenin stated that proletarian parties, "if they could come into being at all in such countries," would be able to conduct communist tactics and policies only by being in definite relations with the peasant movement,³⁶ i. e., support by all measures the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist peasant movement. Thus, the very possibility of creating proletarian parties in the Eastern countries at that time seemed quite problematical to Lenin.

These difficulties have not been overcome even down to the present. The smallness of the working class, its youth, bearing in mind that, as a rule, most people engaged in hired labor are comprised of first- or second-generation workers who are not yet completely separate from the land and from peasant farming; they have been damaged by the very powerful influence of religion, tribal and caste systems, petite-bourgeois attitudes --all these factors serve as objective hindrances to the formation of mass proletarian parties and organizations. This is the reason why in many former colonial countries to the present day there are no experienced, authoritative, and influential communist parties which have become important forces in political life.

But V. I. Lenin called for the protection of the independence of even the initial young shoots of the communist movement, believing in their enormous potential on the level of the future development of the revolutionary process, assigning to them a special function, proceeding from the framework of the bourgeois-democratic, national-liberation movement. V. I. Lenin set them the task of making the transition to socialism not through capitalism but by-passing or skipping over it, for, in contrast to the leaders of the Second International, he was convinced that, under the conditions of the beginning worldwide socialist revolution the peoples of the East were not doomed to fatally repeat the path of development taken by the European countries, to pass through all the phases of capitalism, that they had obtained a unique historical possibility, by relying on the aid of the victorious socialist revolution, to completely avoid or partially cut short the formation of capitalism.

This innovative idea, based on the foresight of Marx and Engels, took on programmatic significance at the Second Comintern Congress. At this time the victory of the non-capitalist path of development was naturally associated with the leadership of the working class and its vanguard--the communists. In this form it was carried out for the first time within the national borders of the former tsarist Russia and--beyond its borders--under certain particular conditions in the Mongolian People's Republic.

During the 1960's there arose a new variant of the development along the path to socialism not through capitalism--the socialist orientation of domestic and foreign policy and non-capitalist development under the leadership of the revolutionary democracy. But what V. I. Lenin stated 60 years ago, basically addressed to the communists of the Soviet East, is fully relevant to the new possibilities for avoiding capitalism, and it resounds as the advice of a wise contemporary. It is characteristic that all of V. I. Lenin's remarks in this connection were

directed against running too far on ahead, against left-wing pseudo-revolutionism.

V.I. Lenin was decisively opposed to adventuristic proposals concerning the export of revolution to backward countries (Preobrazhenskiy, Trotskiy). When one of the founders of the communist movement in India, M.N. Roy, notorious for his numerous errors in a polemic with V.I. Lenin concerning strategic questions of the national-liberation movement at the Second Comintern Congress, conceived of a campaign of Indian Muslim immigrants and detachments of border tribes from Soviet Central Asia into India through Afghanistan, V.I. Lenin pointed out the incorrectness in principle and the unreality of these plans.³⁷

In V.I. Lenin's speeches against Roy the Marxist, objective, restrained approach to the national-liberation movement was manifested with particular clarity in contrast to left-wing adventurism. Not to force the development of events, not to set forth socialist revolution as the next imminent task, not to set before the weak elements of the communist movement the unrealistic goal of achieving hegemony on a national scale, not to put oneself in opposition to the anti-imperialist movement being led by the bourgeois democrats, but to recognize its legitimacy, to enter into an alliance with it, to support its democratic demands, to expand them, to learn how to work within the framework of this alliance, intensifying their own influence on the working people, but herein to understand excellently and to criticize the limited quality of the bourgeois leadership, to defend the class interests of the working people and preserve one's own independence--all this constitutes V.I. Lenin's position, and its correctness has also been confirmed by the present-day course of the revolutionary process.

V.I. Lenin was opposed to the mechanical transfer to the Eastern countries of the ideas of socialist revolution and the strategic positions which had taken shape in the West, or the uncritical dissemination of the Soviet experience to them. He called for "their use not of the letter but of the spirit, the sense, the lessons of experience" of Soviet Russia.³⁸

In the area of socioeconomic policy V.I. Lenin recommended that the Communists of the backward countries not be in too much of a hurry to introduce socialism, to exhibit the maximum restraint and care so as not to frighten the waverers, not to undermine the trust and understanding of the petit bourgeois masses, to take advantage of all the possibilities being offered by domestic and foreign capitalism for economic development. In his letter entitled "To the Communist Comrades of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Dagestan, and the Gorskaya Republic" (April 1921) V.I. Lenin outlined an economic and social program for non-capitalist development which had universal importance and which warned against left-wing, pseudo-socialist deviations, and which recommended, in particular: "a slower, more careful, more systematic transition to socialism."³⁹

Now those detachments of the communist, workers', and national-liberation movements of Asia and Africa which have consistently advocated a socialist orientation for their own countries, along the path of building the foundations of socialism have the opportunity for a multi-faceted development of political and economic ties and all other, in particular, military, forms of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire world socialist community. This is an enormous historical advantage for them.

"Young states," declares the "Decree of the CPSU CC on the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR,"--"and, in the first place, those which have chosen a socialist orientation, regard with a lively interest the Soviet experience in national-state building, as well as the transition of a number of peoples in the USSR to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development."

* * *

Bourgeois propaganda still asserts that the Communists and Lenin have neglected national and ethnic problems, that for Lenin nationalism (and for bourgeois political scientists the nationalistic and the national are one and the same thing) was, so to speak, a secondary problem, that he did not consider the nation to be an historical factor, while socialism and democratic nationalism supposedly seemed to him to be lying on different, completely non-adjacent levels.

The national, however, was always for Lenin that reality within which, in one form or another, the class factor appears. Being internationalists, Lenin and the Communists of all countries have struggled and are struggling for a socialist revolution within the framework of a specific nation, under concrete national conditions. Recognition of the unevenness and the form of capitalism's development by irregular leaps during the period of imperialism and the possibility of socialism's victory in any one country taken individually, and a consideration of national conditions and characteristics constitute the most important and mandatory factor in working out strategy and tactics for the national-liberation and socialist revolution. Considering the national as an historically given factor, an objective element, Lenin was utterly alien to nihilism with regard to it. He called for sensitivity, care, mutual respect, and taking characteristics into account in the relations between peoples and the revolutionary parties. Consequently, a democratic solution of the national problem was for him one of the tasks of the socialist revolution. But Lenin understood its complexity and length of time required. In practice the national question has proved to be of longer duration than the class question. And Lenin foresaw this. "National antipathies will not disappear so rapidly; the hatred--and fully justifiable hatred--of an oppressed nation toward an oppressor nation /will remain/ for a time; it will disappear only /after/ the victory of socialism and /after/ the final establishment of a completely democratic relationship between nations,"⁴⁰ he wrote.

V.I. Lenin not only did not regard the national question and socialism on differing, opposed levels, he was the first who saw in the resistance to national oppression and colonialism an important ally of the socialist revolution. He proclaimed the right of nations to self-determination as an unalterable principle of the Communist Party. He called for an alliance with the national-liberation movements, for support of their thrust against oppression, foreseeing the transition of democratic national movements from the struggle against imperialism to a struggle against capitalist exploitation in general.

V.I. Lenin, in fact, approached the national question not as an absolute, which is inherent in the thinking of bourgeois nationalists, but from the viewpoint of the interests of the class struggle of the working class and the socialist revolution.

He was guided by this principle in both domestic and foreign policy, and therein lay one of the testaments which he left to his followers.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Otchetnyy doklad TsK KPSS XXVI x "yezdu Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz a i ocherednyye zadachi partii v oblasti vnutrenney i vneshney politiki" [Accountability Report of the CPSU CC to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Routine Party Tasks in the Field of Domestic and Foreign Policy], Moscow, 1981, p 20.
2. See V. I. Lenin, "A Propos of the So-Called Question of Markets," in "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 1.
3. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 27, p 63.
4. Ibid., Vol 26, pp 328-329.
5. Ibid., Vol 30, pp 6-7.
6. Bukharin, who understood the interests of the Soviet state in an oversimplified manner, proposed to exclude from the program the right of nations to self-determination for the peoples of Russia and to replace it by the "self-determination of the working people." He was supported by Pyatakov, who called for consideration of the questions of the secession or unification of various nations upon the desire not of the entire nation but exclusively of the proletariat.
7. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Congress Resolutions and Decisions, CC Conferences and Plenums], Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 388.
8. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 48, p 235.
9. Ibid., Vol 27, p 252.
10. Ibid., Vol 1, p 155.
11. Ibid., Vol 30, p 116.
12. Ibid., Vol 53, p 105.
13. Ibid., Vol 26, p 354.
14. Ibid., Vol 23, p 3.
15. Ibid., Vol 41, p 233.
16. Ibid., Vol 39, p 327.
17. Ibid., Vol 41, p 233.

18. Ibid., pp 163-164.
19. Ibid., Vol 39, p 330.
20. Ibid., Vol 30, p 111.
21. Ibid., Vol 25, pp 275-276.
22. Ibid., Vol 4, p 228.
23. Ibid., Vol 27, p 261.
24. VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, 1970, No 4, p 5.
25. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 23, p 167.
26. Ibid., Vol 21, p 402.
27. Ibid., Vol 22, p 191.
28. Ibid., Vol 39, p 329.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., Vol 41, p 243.
31. See Ibid., Vol 43, p 199; Vol 41, p 168.
32. Ibid., Vol 41, p 168.
33. L. I. Brezhnev, op. cit., p 17.
34. Ibid., p 18.
35. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 41, 167.
36. See Ibid., p 243.
37. See KOMMUNIST, 1968, No 5, pp 39-40.
38. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 43, p 200.
39. Ibid., p 199.
40. Ibid., Vol 30, p 51.

Biographical Information on Author

Ul'yanovskiy, Rostislav Aleksandrovich, doctor of economic sciences, professor, and author of the following monographs: "Sotsializm i osvobodivshiesya strany" [Socialism and the Liberated Countries] (Moscow, 1972), "Ocherki natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by" [Outlines of the National-Liberation Struggle] (Moscow,

1976), "Sovremennye problemy Azii i Afriki" [Contemporary Problems of Asia and Africa] (Moscow, 1978), "Politicheskiye portrety bortsov za natsional'nuyu nezavisimost'" [Political Portraits of Fighters for National Independence] (Moscow, 1980), "Agrarnaya Indiya mezhdue mirovymi voynami" [Agrarian India Between the World Wars] (Moscow, 1981), as well as many other research studies on the problems of the national-liberation movement and the history of the developing countries.

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OPPOSITION, PRO-GOVERNMENT FORCES IN GUATEMALA SURVEYED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 5, May 82 pp 5-14

[Article by A. V. Kuz'mishchev: "The Disposition of Political Forces"]

[Excerpts] The deepening of the crisis in Central America is manifesting itself in the fact that since the beginning of the 1980's Guatemala has become the arena of active popular actions against the pro-imperialist dictatorship. This is a new factor, which is now determining the balance of power in the region.

It has to be noted that for almost 30 years (from the time in 1954 when the progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown in Guatemala by CIA hirelings) the struggle for the freedom of the people of that country has never ceased. It was waged in the most diverse forms, including partisan actions (one of its vivid "outbursts" was the guerilla movement in the early 1960's which was led by a number of progressive regular officers--followers of Arbenz's democratic program), and was characterized by rises and falls.

Trying to suppress the stubborn resistance of the people, the Guatemalan oligarchy which was supported by the United States used the cruelest repressions against the democrats, the cutting edge of which was directed against the communists. Since 1954, around 330,000 Guatemalans have been victims of repression, with 80,000 killed for political motives, often without a trial or investigation, by ultra-right terrorist bands behind which stands the army.²

However, the Guatemalan people was able to preserve and increase its revolutionary potential, which has been demonstrated especially vividly in the last year and a half to two when Guatemala's democrats went over to a broad offensive against the dictatorship. Characteristic in this sense is the "biography" of one of the revolutionary detachments now operating in Guatemala--the Partisan Army of Paupers (PAP). It was created 10 years ago--on 19 January 1972--by 16 fighters who had begun military operations in the country's northwest, in the department of Quiche. Today the PAP has turned into an impressive military force which is operating on six partisan fronts (named for Ho Chi Minh, Ernesto Guevara, Luis Tursios Lima, Marco Antonio Juan Sosa, Otto Rene Castillo, and Augusto Cesar Sandino) in practically the entire country.

A day does not pass without the information agencies reporting new actions by the Guatemalan partisans who are acquiring an increasingly aggressive character. Their combat actions are not only helping to activate the struggle of the popular masses against the dictatorship in Guatemala; they are also pinning down the Guatemalan army, not permitting the imperialists and their local proteges to use it as a punitive force against the victorious revolution in Nicaragua and the Salvadoran patriots who are waging the decisive battle for their liberation.

As has been noted, the new phase of the struggle in Guatemala is connected with the general crisis of imperialist dominion in Central America which has as its most vivid manifestations the events in Nicaragua and El Salvador. However, the main "spring" of this development of events consists of profound internal processes in Guatemala itself. Many years of the cruelest repressions have called forth a wrathful response from the people. The non-acceptance of the dictatorship has taken on the widest scope, embracing all of the strata of Guatemalan society.

An exceptionally important factor which underlies the present upsurge in the revolutionary movement has been the growing participation in it of the broad peasant Indian masses which in the past--during the period of the rule of J. Arbenz and during the partisan movement of the early 1960's--were relatively inert. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this circumstance, since it is clear how important for the victory of the revolution is the participation in it in an agrarian country of the peasant masses. Let us stop to give some special consideration to this factor.

More than 20 Indian tribes which live on the territory that was once one of the centers of the ancient Mayan civilization comprise two-thirds of the population of Guatemala. The involvement of the Indians in the social and economic life of the country has had a one-sided character: They were the object of oppression on the plantations of the landowners or foreign companies. Everything that did not come from their own ethnic milieu was perceived by the Indians with distrust. The social-ethnic isolation of the country's indigenous population from the surrounding world is aggravated by its general backwardness: Only 2 out of every 10 Indians are literate. This kind of situation is entirely suitable to the ruling circles, since it helps to preserve the social inertness of the rural population.

In recent years, there has been an awakening of the peasant masses, and their struggle for their rights--both economic and social and political--has become more active. This has been the result of the development of capitalism, on the one hand, and of the special characteristics of the domestic political situation and the methods of rule of the dictatorship, on the other. One of the distinctive features was the fact that the colonels and generals who had seized power began to appropriate lands which belonged to the Indians. After the overthrow of the Arbenz government in 1954, the Indian peasants, who had received fertile plots of land in accordance with the agrarian reform

which was carried out by that government, were squeezed into the low-fertility northern areas of the country. Cultivating the virgin selva, the Indians were able to achieve definite successes in developing it.

However, the discovery of petroleum and other minerals in these places turned out to be a tragedy for the peasants. Lacking the possibility of taking these territories away from them legally (according to Guatemalan law, virgin land which is cultivated for more than 10 years becomes the property of the one who has been cultivating it), the authorities resorted to intimidation and terror. Army units were put into action and began to push the Indians into the mountains. As a result of this, almost one-third of the country's population--around two million people--was victimized. No better was the fate of those whom the authorities permitted to remain in the north of the country where with the help of the army a solid zone of adjoining estates of the top army officers had been created.³ Cruel violence and impoverished living conditions gave rise among the Indians to a just protest and to resistance to the regime. In reply, the government strengthened its repressions, fearing that the new menacing social force would join the revolutionary movement.

One cannot but take note of one more important factor--in this case, not of a social-ethnic, but of a political-organizational character--which has promoted the rapid growth of the scope of the people's struggle against the dictatorship since the early 1980's. As is known, revolutions are not "exported." However, there is no doubt that the positive experience which is adopted by the revolutionaries of one country from their colleagues in other states helps the revolutionary movement (given other favorable circumstances) to attain a new qualitative level. In this sense, the "demonstration effect" of the successful, albeit difficult unification of anti-dictatorial groups in Nicaragua and later in El Salvador which were able to unite themselves in a single front, leaving aside their tactical differences, had a beneficial effect in Guatemala.

The Guatemalan communists, who are united in the Guatemalan Labor Party (GLP), proceed from the thesis that the path to victory is not a path of revolutionary groups isolated from the people, but a people's revolutionary war.⁴ The communists of Guatemala believe that in the struggle against the dictatorship there should not be any restriction solely to military methods, but that all forms of resistance should be used. But the chief thing needed for victory over the pro-imperialist oligarchical forces is unity. In their documents--the Summons of the CC GLP "To All Guatemalan Revolutionary Organizations and Forces" and the Statement of the CC GLP "Forward Through the Unity of All Revolutionary and Democratic Forces"--the communists call for the unification of the revolutionaries on the basis of a recognition of the anti-capitalist thrust of the people's struggle, and of the necessity of creating a single anti-dictatorial front and coordinating the military and political actions of its participants.

The process of the unification of the revolutionaries in Guatemala was not simple and not fast. And, in view of the broad spectrum of social and political

groups opposing the dictatorship, this is natural. However, the success here is obvious. The PAP, and also such revolutionary associations as the Organization of the Armed People (OAP), the Armed Insurgent Forces (AIF), and the Leading Nucleus of the Guatemalan Labor Party united into the "Kuatripartita" Bloc which is successfully waging coordinated combat actions throughout the entire country.

The zone of these actions has greatly expanded, compared to the middle of the 1960's, and, moreover, on the basis of the departments in which the Indian population which is joining the people's struggle lives. The PAP and OAP organizations, which are operating basically in San Marcos, Suchitepekes, and Quezaltenango have had a sharp increase in the number of Indian fighters (they already comprise around 50 percent of the OAP).

Military operations are conducted in the center and the northeast of the country by the AIF which took the path of arms struggle as early as the middle of the 1960's and has been operating in rural areas. The AIF documents place their basic emphasis on the necessity for resolving the agrarian question. The leading nucleus of the Guatemalan Labor Party is waging a partisan war basically in the cities.

The "Kuatripartita" Bloc supports the recently created Popular Front of 31 January which unites mass civic organizations--the Committee for Peasant Unity, the Revolutionary Workers' Cells, the Coordinating Committee of Slum Dwellers, the Revolutionary Christians, and the Revolutionary Student Front. The Popular Front received its name in memory of the tragic events of the "night of Colibri"--31 January 1980, when an armed punitive detachment, after breaking into the territory of the Spanish Embassy, meted out punishment to unarmed representatives of the peasants who were protesting against violence and oppression. The Popular Front of 31 January sets itself the task of finding new forms of struggle and of organizing the self-defense of the masses.

The basis of the country's ruling elite, which rests on the support of the United States Administration, is a militarist clique which controls the armed forces and the security forces. During the last two decades, the policy of imperialism and of the ruling circles has been aimed at preventing the development of democratic tendencies in the military. The oligarchy has tried to create its own Praetorian Guard from the military. In order to reliably "train" even officers who are products of the people, everyone who reaches the rank of colonel is given an estate of 1,200 hectares.

Another substantial group which actually controls power in the country is made up of Guatemala's largest businessmen and latifundistas who are known as the "300 oligarchs." They provide large amounts of money to support the government's policies, for example, through the so-called "Guatemalan Freedom Fund." This is payment to the colonels and generals for protecting the oligarchy from competitors on the domestic market and against the danger of social dislocations.

There also exists something like a club for Guatemala's rulers--the "Association of the Friends of the Country." The chief role is played in it by a leading businessman--the exporter of agricultural goods Roberto Alejos Arce (in the early 1960's the CIA used his estate to train mercenaries for a landing in the Bay of Pigs). In February and March 1980, in conversations with Reagan, they came to a complete unity of views on the situation in Guatemala. Another prominent figure in the association is Raul Garcia Granados, a personal friend of the former President Romeo Lucas Garcia and the brother of the General Secretary of the President's Office Jorge Garcia Granados. He is a large landowner in the north of the country who, in addition, owns a pedigree horse ranch in California.⁹

A large amount of influence is enjoyed in Guatemala by its colony of United States citizens who own substantial amounts of land and other property there. The landowner Robert Merrick, who has ties with certain of Reagan's advisors, and John Trotter, one of the leading figures in the Coca Cola Company, are representatives of this "American lobby" which is close to the ruling circles. With their help, the Guatemalan reaction has a direct connection with Washington, with the key role here assigned to Trotter as the founder of the "Guatemalan Freedom Fund" (together with Alejos Arce) and the "Association of Friends of the Country." Incidentally, it is these organizations which are financing the propaganda campaign in favor of the Guatemalan military regime in the United States.

Still another force which represents the elite strata of Guatemalan society and which acts on behalf of the traditional landowner circles (the so-called "coffee aristocracy") is the party of the Movement for National Liberation (MNL). It is led by Mario Sandoval Alarcon who, with good reason, is called the "Guatemalan Torquemada." He believes that half of his fellow citizens are subversive elements which have to be destroyed.¹⁰

At the present time, the positions of the MNO which has played a large role in all of the governments since 1954 have been markedly undermined, although it does remain a leading party in Parliament. The weakening of its influence is a result of a deliberate policy by the military which is trying to remove representatives of the traditional latifundista group from key posts. This accords with the interests of the new military landowning clique, leading agrarian exporters, and the big bourgeoisie. The seriousness of the conflict is indicated by the fact that the prominent MNL leaders Jorge Torrez Campos and Angel Ortega Melchor became victims of repressions. Their murders were the work of the hands of right-wing terrorists from the "death squads." This is one more proof of the gradual loss by the "coffee aristocracy" of its absolute control over the country. For the "death squads" and the other bands which bear the names of "An Eye For An Eye," "Vulture-Avenger," "The King's Host," and so forth are only masks behind which the secret anti-communist army which was created at the end of the 1960's by the military and the same MNL is operating. Now they are being used against "their own people."¹¹ And the posts which have been liberated from the members of the movement are occupied by representatives of the Institutional Democratic Party

(IDP) which was created as a pro-military political organization, and the Revolutionary Party (RP) which expresses the interests of the state bureaucracy. (The leader of the latter is the already-mentioned Jorge Garcia Granados).

The increasing contradictions within the bourgeois and landowner camp are also weakening the Guatemalan regime. This is understood by the liberal representatives of the Guatemalan bourgeoisie, and in order to avoid a further polarization of the interests of the ruling elite, which could lead to the collapse of the present social and economic system, they are posing the task of a democratization of the system through evolution. These circles are represented by the Christian Democratic Party (CDP), to a certain extent by social reformists from the United Revolutionary Front (URF), and by the Social Democratic Party of Guatemala (SDPG) which are in legal or semi-legal opposition to the regime.

For a long period of time, the Christian Democratic Party, which was founded in 1955, was a political organization which supported the repressive measures of the reactionary governments which replaced one another. However, gradually within the CDP a left-wing began to take shape which based itself on the student movement and on Christian workers' associations. At the 1974 elections, together with other political organizations of the social reformists, the Christian Democrats managed to achieve some real success. But the CDP was not able to withstand the pressure from the right and it followed the lead of the reaction. The left wing split off from the party. The prestige of the CDP fell among the masses, and at the 1978 elections it suffered a complete defeat. The party's General Secretary Vinicio Cerezo stated that if the military government would give a guarantee of free elections in 1982, the Christian Democrats would participate in them (despite the fact that in the last year around 90 of their leaders and more than 200 of their activists were killed). Thus, this party has continued the same capitulation policy which led it to refuse to participate in the formation in 1979 of the Democratic Front Against Repression which was joined by 60 diverse organizations of workers, peasants, students, progressive Christians, and trade unions, and also by the SDPG and socialists from the URF.

The position of the CDP is connected with the policies of the elite of the Guatemalan church which is led by Archbishop Mario Casarilevo, a violent reactionary who unqualifiedly supports the military regime. He practically blesses the murders of priests who are opposed to the government, saying that if this is what is done to them it means that they deserve it. Of course, the views of Guatemalan reality of the church hierarchs and of the parish priests who live in the midst of the people should not be identified. Basically, these are priests of a new formation who, in their pastoral work, follow the decisions of the Second Vatican Council and of the Papal Encyclical "Pacem in terris" which calls upon the church to turn toward the needs of the workers.

Many of them (including the products of Western European countries) are indignant about the authorities' terror and ready to struggle against the oligarchy's repressive regime. However, one of the specific features of the

situation in Guatemala--in contrast to Nicaragua and El Salvador,--is the fact that the church is under the control of conservative hierarchs.

Two other opposition parties--the socialists from the URF and the social democrats--believe that a necessary condition and the basis for solving the country's national problems is a genuine agrarian reform in the interests of the peasant masses. However, attempts by the social reformists to legally struggle for the realization of this demand called forth cruel repressions from the government during which the URF and SDPG leaders Manuel Coloma and Alberto Fuentes Moor were killed. According to the admission of Mario Solorsano Martinez, one of the leaders of the SDPG, the hopes for peaceful transformations have proven to be groundless.

Four candidates ran for the presidency in the elections of 7 March of this year. The pro-government Popular Democratic Front nominated General Hannibal Guevara (the Minister of Defense in the government of Lucas Garcia) who left this post in order to run for the presidency. The IDP, and the recently formed National Unity Front joined the Popular Democratic Front. The Movement for National Liberation decided to fight for the victory of its leader Mario Sandaval' Alarcon, who was regarded as one of the chief organizers of the ultra-right terror. The Union of the Democratic Center (the CDP and the National Renewal Party entered into it) put up the candidacy of Alejandro Maldonado Agirre, who held the post of Minister of Education under Arana Osorio. The organization "Central Autentica Nacionalista" which is led by General Carlos Arana Osorio who was the president from 1974 through 1978; and who before that gained a sinister celebrity with his punitive operations against the people (for which he was called "the Jackal from Zacapa") supported Gustavo Anzueto Vielman, an architect who had received his education in the United States and who is a reserve officer in the anti-partisan forces. The diversity of the above political parties and blocs cannot conceal their inner kinship--all of them have come out of the depths of the oligarchic circles and, as a rule, adhere to an ultra-right orientation. Washington was more or less well-inclined toward all of the candidates.

There was no place in the interweaving of the interests, contradictions, and ambitions of the right-wing leaders for an independent role for the supporters of a reformist path of development: both among the social Christians and among the social democrats. It is instructive that the leaders of the URF refused to participate in the elections and made a public statement in which it was emphasized that "the results of the elections have been determined beforehand" by the top military circles, the oligarchy, and the United States.

Thus, on 7 March another round of the struggle of the ruling military-oligarchy bloc against the traditional landowner circles was concluded. As had been expected, the government's candidate, General Hannibal Guevara, won the elections. The people in fact boycotted this farce: Despite the threats of sanctions for a refusal to vote, 70 percent of the voters did not appear at the polls. Given the very cruel terror which has been unleashed in Guatemala, this record percentage of abstainees (in 1974 it came to 58 percent, and in

1978 to 63.5 percent) is the chief and most instructive result of the elections. The Guatemalans refused to participate in a maneuver which had the goal of giving the appearance of legality to the terrorist regime.

Expressing the genuine interests of the popular masses, in January 1982 the military and political associations which are a part of the "Kuatripartita" Bloc announced the creation of an organization called the National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala (NRUG). In its address, the NRUG called upon all of the left-wing and progressive forces of the country to overthrow the dictatorship. Joining in the revolutionary struggle on an ever wider scale, the people are seeking the right to decide Guatemala's historical destiny.

FOOTNOTES

2. PRAVDA, 8 September 1981.
3. Cambio-16. Madrid, 1981, N 475, p 49.
4. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 3, 1981, p 85.
8. EL SOCIALISTA, Madrid, No 216, 1981, pp 40-41.
9. Ibid., p 41.
10. EL PAIS, Madrid, 16 April 1981.
11. AFRIQUE-ASIE, Paris, 17 August 1981.

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PAN-AMERICANISM: U. S. TOOL TO DOMINATE LATIN AMERICA

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 5, May 82 pp 33-47

[Article by A. N. Glinkin: "United States Hegemonism in the Western Hemisphere: History and Present Day"]

[Excerpts] While preserving its general direction, Washington's Latin American policy is characterized by a frequent change of doctrines, slogans, and tactical aims. Almost every president of the United States has believed it to be necessary to renew the foreign policy arsenal which is used in the region. Presidents William Taft and Woodrow Wilson were adherents of a "dollar diplomacy" which was frequently supplemented by a "gunboat diplomacy." Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed a "good neighbor" policy. John Kennedy put forward the social reformist "alliance for progress" program. Its failure was followed by the Johnson doctrine, and the "inconspicuous presence" policy of Nixon. They were replaced by the "new dialogue" of Kissinger and by Carter's widely advertised declaration of "the defense of human rights."

A characterization of these changes is fully described by Lenin's thesis that the bourgeoisie "develops two systems of governments, two methods of struggling for interests and defending its dominion; moreover, these two methods sometimes replace one another, and sometimes become interwoven in various combinations. They are, first, the method of violence, the method of rejecting any concessions to the workers' movement, the method of supporting every old and outmoded institution, the method of an irreconcilable rejection of reforms. . . . The second method is the method of 'liberalism,' of steps in the direction of the development of political rights, in the direction of reforms, concessions, and so forth."¹³ The various dosages to which a "hard line" or "liberalism" are used defines the "tone" of the Latin American policy of one or another Washington Administration.

Nevertheless, no matter what renewal is given to the forms and methods of United States imperialistic expansion to the south from the Rio Grande, the endeavour of its diplomacy to coddle and strengthen its creation--the inter-American system--remains constant.

Along with the economic expansion of United States monopolies and its armed interventions in the region, Pan-Americanism has served the goals of the creation of an enormous invisible empire of the dollar which stretches from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego.

A Declaration of Militant Hegemonism

At the current stage, the entire system of the imperialist oppression of Latin America is living through a deepening chronic crisis. At its basis are not the intrigues of "international communism," but objective causes: an exacerbation of the contradictions between the region's countries which are developing along the path of dependent capitalism and the American multinational corporations which are their chief exploiter, and the incompatibility between the policies of American imperialism and the endeavour of the peoples of Latin America to strengthen their economic and political independence. The most important factors in the deepening of this crisis are the successes of socialist construction in Cuba, and the victory of the people's revolution in Nicaragua which, as in a focus, has reflected the characteristic features of the new rise in the liberation movement in the region and the important changes in the international situation.

The influence of the revolutionary events in Nicaragua goes far beyond the borders of this small Central American state. The struggle against the anti-popular dictatorial regimes in the neighboring Central American countries--El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras--has become activated. In Granada, a small island state which recently got its independence, and as a result of actions by the broad masses of the population, imperialist proteges were removed from power.

The decline of Pan-Americanism in the 1970's has become an historical fact. The fire of the criticism of Latin American countries has been directed not at the individual aspects of the functioning of the inter-American system, but at its fundamental bases, including its military structures (the "Rio Pact," the Inter-American Defense Council, and so forth).

True, the American imperialists have not given up their hopes of restoring the lost "monolithichness" of the inter-American system; however, in its present form the OAS no longer possesses the possibility of decisively influencing the foreign policy of the Latin American states and of serving the United States as an obedient instrument of its hegemonist policy.

Despite the dissatisfaction of the "Northern Colossus," most of the countries of the region intend to diversify their foreign economic and foreign political relations, to develop mutually advantageous and equal relations with the USSR and the other socialist states, to come out jointly with the countries of Asia and Africa for the creation of a new, just international economic order, and to participate in the non-alignment movement which is playing an important role today.

In addition, the creation by the Latin American countries in the 1960's and 1970's of a far-flung system of agencies and organizations of inter-state cooperation which are not under the control of the United States, those like the Andes Pact, the Latin American Economic System, the Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, and others--is promoting the growth of the international importance and prestige of this group of states.

The events of recent years show that the ruling circles of the United States are not extracting lessons from the new realities which characterize the international situation in the region. The Reagan Administration has taken the path of "compensation" for the narrowing of the sphere of dominance by American imperialism in Latin America and the Caribbean basin by an increasing aggressiveness. One can become convinced of this by turning to the report, the "New Inter-American Politics for the 1980's," which was prepared on an order for the Council for Inter-American Security in Washington by a group of Republican Party experts who are involved in the formation of the United States' foreign policy (the so-called "Santa Fe Committee"). It is characteristic that some of them, for example, Roger Fontaine and Gordon Sumner, later occupied important posts in Reagan's foreign policy apparatus. The report contains an analysis of the situation in the region on the eve of the 1980's and recommendations regarding Washington's future Latin American course.¹⁵

The "arguments" which are used in the report are distinguished neither by novelty nor by originality. Above all, we have the myth of the "Soviet threat" in its Latin American variant. Mutually advantageous trade between the USSR and the countries of the region, the development of cultural and scientific exchanges, and political cooperation are looked at by the authors of the report through the prism of anti-Sovietism, and are called a "dangerous penetration" directed at the establishment of "Soviet dominion" over Latin America. "The enemy is already at the gates," they say, frightening people. Whipping up a military psychosis, these by no means "library strategists" assert that the "USSR-Cuba axis" represents a "mortal danger" for the United States and has its cutting edge directed toward its "defenseless southern flank." Without a shadow of embarrassment, they announced that the Caribbean basin--this, in their terminology, "strategic vulnerable underbelly" of the United States where many of its maritime routes which provide for its supplies of petroleum and other types of raw materials come together is allegedly turning into a "Marxist-Leninist lake."

In developing relations with the Latin American countries, the USSR is not seeking to acquire concessions to their natural resources or to subordinate their economies (as is done by the American multinational corporations which are the chief motive force of United States colonialism), is not interfering in their internal affairs, is not drawing them into military blocs, and does not demand territory for military bases from them. The goals of peace-loving Soviet foreign policy are clear and understandable. "We support the endeavour of these countries to strengthen their political and economic independence," L. I. Brezhnev said in characterizing the USSR's policy with respect to the Latin American republics, "and we welcome their increased role in international life."¹⁶

The myth of the "Soviet threat" is needed by the ideologists of the ruling circles of the United States in order to "justify" the hegemonist, imperialist aspirations of United States imperialism in Latin America, and to prove its "right" to hold sway over the countries of the region under the pretext of protecting them from "enslavement by international communism." Adjoining the

White House to show "firmness" and place its hopes on military force in the solution of all problems which arise in relationships with its southern neighbors, they invoke the shadows of the "great ancestors"--James Monroe and Theodore Roosevelt. All of this is nothing other than the preaching under present conditions of the policy of a "big stick" and of a "gunboat diplomacy." It is recommended that they be employed first of all in the Caribbean sub-region, where the broad popular masses have initiated an aggressive struggle against the bloody dictators and proteges of the United States.

In keeping with the purposes of the most aggressive circles of the United States, the liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America is declared to be "international terrorism," while any progressive changes in the continent's countries, be it Nicaragua, Grenada, Panama, or Guyana, are described as "subversive communist activities" or "intrigues" from Moscow or Havana. The detailed recommendations proposed in the report regarding a "new" United States inter-American policy for the 1980's reflect a militarist approach to international relations which from the very beginning has been the standard of the "Reagan command." First place has been given to measures to strengthen the military component of the inter-American system (the "Rio Pact" and the Inter-American Defense Council), which is supposed to be given functions analagous to those of NATO. The authors of the report recommend that Washington make every effort to supplement the "Rio Pact" with a series of sub-regional military alliances (in the South Atlantic, in the Caribbean sub-region, and so forth), and to cement the "joint defense" by means of drawing Canada into the regional military cooperation and substantially expanding military and other aid to all "legitimate governments" which are under attack from "international terrorism." The recommendations contain unconcealed threats of the use of military sanctions against those Latin American countries, especially socialist Cuba, which challenge the hegemony of American imperialism in the region, or which reject Washington's tutelage.

The same aggressive spirit characterizes the recommendations regarding opposition to "internal subversive activities" in Latin America, the development there of an ideological offensive in order to win over to the side of "the American way of life" young officers and the intellectual elite, the penetration with the help of the reactionary AFL-CIO trade union bosses of the region's workers' movement, and the carrying out of ideological diversions through the educational system of the Latin American countries, and so forth. Especial efforts are made in the report to whitewash the bloody dictatorships like the Pinochet junta in Chile or the Stroessner regime in Paraguay, which are elevated to the rank of the "best friends" of the United States which deserve every help and support.

Hegemonism--this is the idol to which they bow. Noting that Brazil and Argentina, along with the United States and Canada, are among the seven largest producers and exporters of agricultural products in the capitalist world, the authors of the report call for the creation of a bloc, bringing also Australia and New Zealand into it in order to dictate terms to all states which import food. In addition, they offer the Latin American countries "joint

cooperation" in the field of energy resources in order to guarantee uninterrupted supplies of petroleum and gas from Latin America, and also to ensure "a favorable investment climate" for American capital, that is, to open the doors wider for the expansion of United States monopolies.

Thus, the "New Inter-American Policy for the 1980's" can without exaggeration be called a catechism of American hegemonism in the western hemisphere, its ideological platform, and the program of its practical actions for the next decade.

The Reagan Administration: A Policy of Aggression and Interventionism

During the first year that the Republican Administration was in power, there was a clear shaping of the contours of Washington's policy with respect to its southern neighbors which the influential French newspaper LE MONDE has called the "Reagan Doctrine" for Latin America.¹⁷ Washington's new Latin American course was approved by the President of the United States at a meeting of the National Security Council in May 1981. Many leaders of the Reagan Administration have devoted their public addresses to providing a validation and propaganda for it.

A speech by Vice President Bush at a breakfast organized by the "Council of the Americas" had a program character.¹⁸ His audience was not selected accidentally. The "Council of the Americas" brings together more than 200 of the largest monopolistic corporations of the United States, which have enormous capital investments in Latin America.

Latin America serves for the American multinational corporations as the chief sphere of their operations in the developing world. In the middle of the 1970's, more than 1,100 of their branches were operating here, which was a little more than two times the number in Asia and Africa combined. During the last decade, the United States' direct investments in the region have increased from 13 billion (1970) to 58 billion dollars (1980).¹⁹ This is almost two-thirds of all of the foreign capital investments on the continent. The Latin American countries' share for this indicator comprises more than 70 percent in the entire group of developing states. Its emphasis on a further expansion of the mighty multinational corporations in the region expresses Washington's calculation that the expanding connections of the American corporations' branches with the local bourgeoisie, and their seizure of dominant positions in the economy "will help" the domestic transformation of the Latin American societies and bring them closer to Western models. In this way, their dependent position in the orbit of United States imperialism will be preserved. However, the enormous profits that the American multinational corporations obtain here are well known in Latin America.

The United States Vice President asserted that the Reagan Administration had received a "mandate" in the elections to "protect United States interests" in Latin America and the Caribbean. This area was called by him the "critically important southern flank of the United States."

Masking his disclosures with propagandistic statements about the fight against "international terrorism" and the threat of "extra-continental aggression," Bush let it be understood that Washington would broaden its expansion and strengthen its dominant positions by basing itself on military might and close cooperation with reactionary dictators.

The Vice President was unstinting in his eloquent praise of Washington's support for the Salvadoran junta and he promised generous assistance to other anti-popular regimes which crudely trample upon human rights and follow a policy of mass repression and bloody terror.

Bush also stated that the "principle" of the White House's policy in Latin America and the Caribbean is "collective defense against aggression." In the political lexicon of the American "hawks," this is the name for Washington's plans to put together new military blocs in the region under the aegis of the United States, to incite an arms race there, and to increase military support for its proteges.

The Vice President's speech abounded in attacks on the countries defending their rights and sovereignty against encroachments by American imperialism.

The Secretary of State A. Haig has acted as the same troubadour of American hegemonism in the western hemisphere. In his lengthy statements before committees of the House of Representatives and Senate, before the editors of the mass information media, and before the members of the American Association of Jurists, he devoted quite a bit of attention to the White House's Latin American policy.²⁰ Haig's arguments are in the spirit of the "White Book" on El Salvador, which had previously been published by Washington. In this falsification which was knocked together by the CIA, "documents" and "evidence" of so-called "Cuban and Soviet intervention" in the Caribbean were cited. Manipulating the usual collection of "stereotyped assertions about 'international terrorism'," to which the United States Administration resorts in order to distort the essence of the events occurring in Central America and in other areas of the world, A. Haig threatened Cuba and also Nicaragua with "punishment" for certain "subversive actions."

The speeches by the Vice President and the Secretary of State left no doubt that the United States intended to conduct an interventionist policy with regard to its southern neighbors and would create new military-political and economic mechanisms in order to strengthen its dominion there, protect the profits of American multinational corporations, weaken and, finally, suppress the liberation movement of the peoples, and isolate socialist Cuba.

In the western hemisphere, as in other areas of the world, the Reagan Administration is making special efforts to increase American mobile military might. Large-scale Pentagon maneuvers are being carried out practically without interruption in the region, the United States Navy Second Fleet is being strengthened, and the military bases in Puerto Rico and in the former Panama Canal Zone are being modernized. During the Caribbean phase of the largest postwar NATO

naval maneuvers which had the code name of "Ocean Venture-81," in August 1981 American units practiced an operation in Puerto Rico which included the overthrow of an "unfriendly government," an occupation, the holding of "elections," and the establishment of a "democracy" according to the American model. On 1 December 1981 the Caribbean operations unit (the Latin American variant of the "Rapid Deployment Forces") which had been created by the Carter Government in Key West (Florida), only 90 miles from Cuba's shores, was transformed into the Caribbean command, and its zone of operations was substantially expanded by means of including the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean coast of Central America in it.

The decision by the Reagan Government to build a naval base on the island of Ampala in the Gulf of Fonseca, which was accepted with approval by the dictatorial regimes of El Salvador and Guatemala, was a further step to expand the American military presence in this subregion.²¹ It represents a gross violation of international law, since it seriously affects the sovereignty of Nicaragua, whose jurisdiction, like that of El Salvador and Guatemala, applies to this island. The Nicaraguan people have angrily condemned these Pentagon intrigues.

The "demonstrations of military muscle" have the goal of intimidating the people which are struggling for their freedom, and putting pressure on the governments of the Latin American countries which are pursuing an independent foreign policy. To their accompaniment United States imperialism is intensifying its intervention in the internal affairs above all of the states of the Caribbean basin.

The eyes of the world have been fixed on the El Salvador drama for many months now. Having taken up weapons, the people of this small Central American country, under the leadership of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front, has been waging a hard struggle against the dictatorial regime which has been meting out bloody punishment to the country's population. According to the country's human rights commission, from the time of the military coup in October 1979 and through September 1981, 32,129 peaceful citizens fell victim to terror in El Salvador.²²

Following its predecessor, President Carter, the Reagan Administration is not sparing resources or efforts to save the junta which is going through a very acute crisis. Dollar injections and military aid to the Salvadoran executioners are constantly growing. "Green berets" and military advisors sent by the Pentagon to El Salvador are helping the local military to "master" heavy helicopters and other American weapons, directing the special services and other repressive agencies, working out plans for military operations against the partisan forces, and actively participating in their execution. In order to camouflage this intervention and justify it in the eyes of the American public, Reagan Administration leaders constantly make false statements about the involvement of the USSR in the events in El Salvador, deliveries of Soviet, Cuban, and Vietnamese weapons to the Salvadoran partisans, the presence of mythical "Cuban advisors" in that country, and so forth.

The patriotic forces of El Salvador, which are waging a struggle with weapons in their hands, are also prepared for a political settlement of the conflict in the country. As was stated on their behalf at the 36th Session of the U. N. General Assembly, they propose conducting peace negotiations with the military and civilian leaders of the junta in the presence of representatives of the governments of other countries which would act as guarantors.²⁴ The patriots' demand for a halt to United States military intervention in the affairs of El Salvador is meeting with growing support from world public opinion. Committees of solidarity with the Salvadoran people have been created in more than 40 countries.

Washington's military and other assistance is increasing for the dictatorial regime in Guatemala, where a bloody terror by the military is also in the saddle, and to the Honduras which is El Salvador's neighbor. In the latter case, a dual purpose is being pursued: to block El Salvador from the Honduras, and to increase pressure on Nicaragua.

In Nicaragua, the glorious Sandinista revolution is being consolidated, the restoration of the country is moving forward, illiteracy is being eliminated, and other important social problems are being solved, and a reliable defense of the revolutionary gains is being organized on the basis of support from the popular masses. It is precisely this which does not suit the bosses of the White House. The Reagan Administration has decided to freeze the credits which are extended to Nicaragua, particularly for the purchase of grain, hoping to aggravate the food problem and destabilize the situation in the country. Reports regularly appear in the bourgeois press of many countries that on United States territory, and also in special camps in the Honduras, the unbeaten remnants of the Somoza bandits are being trained for an invasion of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan government of national resurrection is resolutely protesting against the policy of blackmail being conducted by the United States.

The Pentagon and the CIA are keeping a constant aim on Grenada, where in 1979 the people overthrew the imperialist henchmen. Documents which had been made public by the progressive government of that country testify to the fact that the Reagan Administration is planning to organize an economic blockade of the island and carry out a government coup there.²⁴

Washington's pressure on Panama has increased, especially since the death in 1981 of its leader General Omar Torrijos (in an accident whose character has been giving rise to suspicion among the Panamanian public). In this way Reagan is attempting to do what Carter was unable to do--ignoring the American-Panamanian treaties, to maintain complete control over the Panama Canal which by right belongs to the people of that country.

The escalation of Washington's anti-human policy since the accession of the Republican Administration presents a serious threat to world peace. Provocational military maneuvers and the landing of the Marines on the Guantanamo base, the sending of CIA spies and saboteurs to the Island of Freedom, and ideological diversions have been powerless to move socialist Cuba off of its

selected course. However, these actions by the Reagan Administration are aggravating international tensions. For the first time since 1962 when the United States provoked the so-called Caribbean crisis, placing the world at the edge of a thermonuclear catastrophe, belligerent calls can be heard on the Potomac to organize a new intervention against Cuba.

But Cuba is not alone. Expressing the Soviet Union's solidarity with the heroic Cuban people, the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Gromyko stated from the rostrum of the 36th Session of the U. N. General Assembly: "The hostile and criminal intrigues by the United States against Cuba which have recently been intensified must stop. . . . No one has the right to tell the Cuban people how it should organize its internal affairs."²⁵

The assistance and support of the socialist states, and the extensive international solidarity with the struggle of the Salvadoran and other peoples of Latin America is creating serious barriers against the realization of American imperialism's hegemonist goals. Nevertheless, this does not lessen the danger of the various kinds of provocations for peace.

Washington's foreign policy is carried out in somewhat different forms in the continent's large states. Of course, the United States today is no longer capable of openly dictating its will to such states as Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru. Especially since under present-day conditions Washington's politicians are trying not only to consolidate the American positions here (this was always the case), but are also cherishing hopes of making use of certain Latin American countries which possess international prestige as their allies capable of playing the role of intermediates in reconciling the interests of the developed capitalist and the developing states, or giving with their participation a "guise of respectability" to the maneuvers of United States imperialism in other regions (for example, the so-called multinational forces on the Sinai Peninsula).

Emissaries of the Reagan Administration are perpetually traveling through the countries of the continent: the United States permanent representative to the OAS W. Mittendorf, the Commander-in-Chief of the American Armed Forces in the Atlantic Zone Admiral R. Train, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs T. Anders, the chief of the so-called United States Southern Command with headquarters in the Panama Canal Zone General W. Nutting, the United States representative to the U. N. J. Kirkpatrick, and others. Operating in some places with persuasion, and in others with methods of pressure and blackmail, they are trying, although without especial success, to move Mexico from its independent positions, to compel Argentina and Brazil to curtail their mutually advantageous trade with the USSR, to involve Venezuela and Mexico in an "economic development program for the Caribbean" (a kind of "mini-Marshall Plan") which has the task of camouflaging Washington's military intervention, and so forth.

Another goal in South America is to give a new impulse to United States cooperation with the dictatorial regimes of the Southern Cone: the Pinochet junta,

Stroessner, the Uruguayan government, and others. President Reagan has already abolished all of the limitations regarding aid to these "very reliable" friends, and the United States multinational corporations are extending them generous loans. With their help the Pentagon is trying to revive the plans for the creation of a South Atlantic Pact. According to the plans of the NATO strategists in American military uniform, this bloc would unite under the aegis of the United States the military dictatorial governments of the countries of the Southern Cone, and also the racist regime of Praetoria which is on the other side of the Atlantic and is a strategic ally of the Reagan Administration in the struggle against the African liberation movement. However, in 1981 the governments of Argentina and Brazil again resolutely removed themselves from this undertaking, and without their participation the entire plan is swinging in the wind.

It should be said that this is not the first and not the last misfire by Reagan and his military diplomatic "command" in Latin America. The joint Mexican-French statement in August 1981 on the official recognition by both countries of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of Salvador and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front was seen in the entire world as a major blow against Reagan's diplomacy who had been stubbornly repeating, contrary to the facts, that the liberation struggle of the Salvadoran patriots against the rotten junta was a manifestation of "international terrorism."

In February 1982 the President of Mexico Jose Lopez Portillo advanced a new initiative, calling upon the Reagan Administration to renounce the threat or the use of force in Central America and the Caribbean. He expressed himself in favor of a political settlement of the Salvadoran conflict and proposed working out a system of nonaggression pacts between Nicaragua and the United States and between Nicaragua and its neighbors. Fidel Castro sent the head of the Mexican government a message in which he stated that "Mexico can count on the support of the government and people of Cuba." Constructive proposals by the Nicaraguan government expressed a readiness to sign nonaggression and security treaties with Costa Rica and Honduras and to begin negotiations with the United States on any problem of their relations, and confirmed its intention of adhering to a policy of nonalignment.

The efforts of the peace-loving states to alleviate tensions in the Caribbean have received wide support in Latin America and beyond it. "This will be for the benefit of world peace," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized. "The Soviet Union favors such a course of events."²⁶

FOOTNOTES

13. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 20, p 67

14. N. Ugarte, "El Torvenir De La America Espanola," Valencia, 1920, pp 198-199

15. For more details about this document see: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 3, 1982, pp 5-21
16. "Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1976, p 21
17. LE MONDE, Paris, 13 August 1981
18. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4 June 1981
19. SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS, Washington, No 8, 1981, p 32
20. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 19 March, 4 April, 12 August 1981
21. EXCELSIOR, Mexico, 22 August 1981
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CUBAN ECONOMIC TIES TO WESTERN COUNTRIES DETAILED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 5, May 82 pp 48-57

[Article by P. D. Kondrashov: "Cuba's Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation With the Countries of the West"]

[Excerpt] The expansion and deepening relations of the western hemisphere's first socialist state with the developed capitalist countries testifies to the latter's increased interest in developing economic and trade relations with Cuba's economy as a result of its dynamic development and promise. This is indicated by the quite substantial amount of Cuban foreign trade with the capitalist countries. In 1971 it came to 722 million pesos, while in 1976 it was 1.84 billion pesos.³ In the second half of the 1970's, as a result of the sharp decrease in sugar prices on the world market, the amount of trade with the capitalist countries decreased; however, during the five-year plan its average remained at the level of around one billion pesos. In 1980 the developed capitalist countries accounted for 17 percent of Cuba's foreign trade (in 1975--33 percent).

Despite the objective interest of the developed capitalist countries in expanding mutually advantageous cooperation with Cuba, for more than 20 years now American imperialism has been attempting to oppose this process. America's endeavour to dictate policy in relations with Cuba is not finding understanding or support either in the Western European or in the other capitalist states. As early as 1964 the governments of Great Britain, France, Canada, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Spain, and Japan officially stated their resolve to continue trade with Cuba.⁴

In the 1970's Cuba's relations with a number of states with a different political system began to be built on the basis of long-term trade and payment agreements which provided not only for mutual goods deliveries, but also for the sale by Western companies of technological equipment and for the construction in Cuba of new industrial objects.

Its relations with a number of countries--the members of the European Economic Community which have signed a scientific and technical and economic cooperation agreement with it--are developing on a long-term and treaty basis. The basic cooperation programs are discussed within the framework of mixed inter-governmental committees which acquire the role of an important instrument promoting the development of bilateral relations.

Spain was one of the first capitalist countries to sign a long-term agreement with Cuba (1971).. Cuban-Spanish relations received a new stimulus after the visit to Cuba by Adolfo Suarez, the head of the Spanish government.⁵ During this visit in September 1978 an inter-governmental agreement was concluded which provided for the Spanish "Pier" Company to supply Cuba with a set of equipment for a semiconductor doide, transistor, and integral circuits plant.⁶

In accordance with this agreement, Spain is building ships for Cuba, including a scientific research hydrographic vessel with a dead weight of 500 tons. The government organizations of both countries maintain constant contacts for the purpose of discovering new mutually advantageous fields of scientific and technical cooperation.

Trade relations are also developing successfully. An agreement between Cuba and Spain (1979) provides for an increase in mutual commodity turnover of one billion dollars over a five-year period.⁷ In the beginning of 1982 the signing of a trade protocol for this year took place in Havana. During the course of the preparation of this document the sides analyzed the state of economic trade relations and established with satisfaction that they were developing successfully. It was also noted that in 1982 commodity turnover between Cuba and Spain was substantially increased.⁸

During the fifth meeting of the Mixed Cuban-French Committee on Economic and Industrial Cooperation (1980) plans were examined for the construction on the basis of French equipment of fertilizer and automobile spare parts plants, a steel rolling shop, and a hospital in the resort center of Varadero.⁹ During the sixth meeting of the committee (1981) an agreement was reached on supplying Cuba with equipment and providing it with assistance in the construction of a 330,000-kilowatt thermal electric power station. The agreement was signed between the Cuban "Energoimport" Organization and the French "Alstom-Atlantique" Company.¹⁰ It is planned to put the electric power station into operation at the end of the second five-year plan for the development of Cuba's economy.

At the present time, French companies are participating in the construction in Cuba of a cellulose and paper combine (the city of Jatibonico) which will produce 200 tons of dry cellulose and 200 tons of high grade paper per day. The enterprise will become operational during the current five-year plan and will operate on the basis of sugar cane stubble.¹¹ The FRG, Sweden, and France are participating on a cooperative basis in the construction of a factory for serrated cardboard which is used to manufacture packing for citrus fruits.

Cuban-French scientific and technical cooperation is expanding, particularly between the institutions of the Cuban Academy of Sciences and the French Center for Scientific and Technical and Oceanological Research. It covers soil science and oceanological problems.¹²

Mutually advantageous relations are being maintained between Cuba and Italy. In particular, the Italian side has provided technical assistance in the reconstruction of a nitrogen plant in the province of Matanzas, and has taken

part in the construction of a tool plant. With Italian assistance a plant with a production of semi-synthetic antibiotics is being constructed to the east of Havana. This enterprise which is equipped chiefly with Italian equipment will produce various types of semi-synthetic penicillin. Cuban specialists were trained in Europe for the purpose of mastering the new technology.

In the middle of the 1960's Cuban-English economic relations were set up. They included the construction by the "Simon-Karvz Ltd." Company of a chemical combine in the city of Cienfuegos which went into operation in 1975. In the same year an inter-state agreement on economic cooperation was signed, and England provided Cuba with credit to purchase industrial equipment, diesel-electric locomotive, spare parts for machinery, agricultural equipment, control and measuring devices, and electric generators from English companies. During annual conferences of the Intergovernmental Committee on Economic Cooperation the basic directions of the development of trade and economic relations between the two countries are defined.¹⁴

During the 1970's the geography of Cuba's economic relations with the Western European states expanded. It now maintains economic trade relations with almost all of the EEC member countries. A characteristic feature of the past decade has been Cuba's gradual shift from the conclusion of trade deals with individual Western European countries to the development of comprehensive cooperation with them, including the construction on the island of industrial enterprises with their assistance. Dutch firms have participated in the construction of an automated poultry slaughtering unit with a productivity of 24,000 units per shift. Cuban-Danish cooperation is being carried out in the sphere of commodity dairy animal husbandry and the production of feeds. With technical assistance from Belgium, a glass plant has been built in the province of Ciego de Avila. At the end of 1979, an agreement was signed in Havana on Belgian deliveries as a gift to Cuba of equipment for six technological institutes, including machinery and equipment for machinery and metal-working workshops, water improvement work, and also electronic equipment for laboratories.¹⁵

Since the restoration of diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1975, the FRG has been providing assistance in the construction of a cellulose and paper combine and certain other industrial objects. In April 1981 a Cuban delegation led by the First Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation Ernesto Melendez visited the FRG where he was received by the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Frankfurt-am-Main Kurt Hofmayer and other officials. During the visit the Cuban delegation met with representatives of FRG business circles and discussed with them the prospects for the development of cooperation between the two countries.¹⁶

Cuba's economic trade and scientific and technical relations with the Scandinavian states has a stable character.

At the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba F. Castro called his country's relations with Finland splendid. And this appraisal was once again

confirmed by the businesslike and friendly character of the sixth session of the Mixed Committee for Economic and Industrial Cooperation Between Cuba and Finland which took place in late 1981.¹⁷ During its work possibilities for strengthening and expanding economic relations between the two countries were analyzed. It was again emphasized that Finland continues to be an important consumer of Cuban sugar, while Cuba is a reliable partner in trade and scientific and technical cooperation in the field of petrochemistry, the cellulose and paper and woodworking industries, production of fertilizers, and other branches.

In June 1975 a Cuban-Norwegian scientific and technical cooperation agreement was concluded. In accordance with this, Norway has supplied equipment and technical assistance to Cuba in the construction of ports.

Cuban-Swedish economic, scientific and technical, and trade relations are developing favorably. Swedish firms are assisting Cuba in the development of precision machine building and metal-working, and are supplying medical institutions with laboratory and diagnostic equipment. Both sides have signed a number of cooperation agreements in the field of health care, education, and culture.

In the 1970's, the foundations were laid for the development of Cuban relations with other European countries--Portugal and Austria.

Cuban-Portuguese cooperation covers special spheres such as the construction of tourist complexes and the ship repairing industry. In addition, Portugal is supplying Cuba with laboratory vessels, medicines, medical instruments, fishing rigging, corks, and other technical goods.¹⁸

Austria has assisted Cuba in the construction of a feed yeast factory and a number of other industrial objects. In November 1980 a cooperation agreement in the field of agriculture was signed between the two countries. In October 1981, during a visit to Cuba, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adolf Nusbaumer met in Havana with the Cuban Minister of Foreign Trade Ricardo Cabrisas for a discussion of bilateral economic relations.¹⁹

Of the developed capitalist countries, Japan is Cuba's largest trade partner. In exchange for Cuba's traditional exports, Japanese companies supply ships, communications equipment, and equipment for diesel electric power stations and are building industrial objects. With their participation a textile combine has been built in the city of Santa-Clara.

In order to strengthen commercial relations between the two countries, in 1976 a "Mixed Cuban-Japanese Economic Commission" was formed in which more than 100 representatives of the largest industrial, financial, and trading companies and organizations from both sides participate. During the fifth session of this commission which took place in 1981 the representatives of Japanese business circles expressed themselves in favor of a further expansion of trade and scientific and technical relations.²⁰ Cooperation with Japanese

companies is taken into account by Cuban organizations when they work out the individual directions of the economy's five-year development plan.

During the last decade trade and scientific and technical relations between Cuba and Canada have been developing rather effectively. They are organized on the basis of long-term programs of bilateral cooperation which provide for Canadian technical assistance in the field of cropping and animal husbandry, the mining industry, fishing, and education and health care, including equipment supplies. During the next three years Cuban-Canadian scientific and technical cooperation will develop in the field of prospecting work for petroleum in Cuba's coastal areas, tourism, and the tourism infrastructure.²¹ In accordance with a decision by the two governments, a Cuban-Canadian trade and economic relations committee has been formed which regulates commodity exchange and technical services. In accordance with bilateral agreements for the years 1976-1980 Cuba received substantial deliveries of Canadian equipment and industrial goods.

"Canada," F. Castro has noted, "whose economy is under the powerful influence of the United States has not, however, given in to repeated pressure and has not joined the blockade of Cuba. . . . We have always emphasized the important role which this great neighbor country could play in establishing the necessary equilibrium on the continent in the relations between the industrially developed north and the Latin American south, including the Caribbean basin."²²

Thus, the experience of the last decade--the increased number of capitalist states which are cooperating with socialist Cuba, the diversification of the forms of economic and scientific and technical relations between them, the gradual movement to long-term cooperation programs, and so forth--testifies to a growing interest by both sides in the development of mutually advantageous relations. At the same time, it cannot be denied that certain capitalist countries resort to a number of discriminatory measures in trade with Cuba. The restrictions which have been instituted by the Common Market in relation to Cuba, for example, in the field of providing export credit and credit for the construction of industrial objects and other purposes have a more rigid character than the measures applied to other developing countries, including Latin American countries. Goods from the EEC countries which are of interest to Cuba have not been included in the system of measures to stimulate exports. At the same time, the importation of certain Cuban goods is altogether prohibited by the Common Market (rum, nickel), and others are subject to large customs duties (citrus fruits, alcohol, raw tobacco, and cigars). Considering the relatively limited assortment of Cuba's export resources, such discriminatory measures are damaging. The EEC countries have also instituted a number of indirect, non-customs restrictions (the lack of correspondence of Cuban goods to "Western standards," quarantine and veterinary barriers, delays in issuing import permits). Referring to the limitations in connection with a "black list" which is used by the United States government, ships under the flags of the Common Market countries, with rare exceptions, avoid participating in international maritime shipments for Cuba.

Cuba is experiencing especially great difficulties in organizing industrial exports to the capitalist countries. Speaking at the Second Congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, F. Castro emphasized that "the road of the diversification of exports is not an easy one because as soon as we take steps to export a certain number of refrigerators, radios, television sets, and so forth we immediately come up against hard competition from more highly developed countries which have every possibility to expand trade and control markets, which possess financial resources, and so forth."²³

There is no question that the high customs duties and other restrictions which are instituted by the developed capitalist countries against Cuban exports are holding back the development of their trade relations with Cuba. This policy by the West leads, in particular, to the formation of a constant negative balance in Cuba's trade with the capitalist states, and this is disadvantageous for the growing economy of the young socialist state.

In addition, the anti-Cuban campaign which has been unleashed in recent years upon orders from the United States has been supported by certain capitalist countries which have taken the route of decreasing trade and scientific and technical relations with Cuba. Such measures are absurd and are known to be doomed to failure. The Cuban people has many reliable friends in the world who are ready to support and develop mutually advantageous cooperation. It should also be remembered that relations with the West only play a supplementary role in Cuba's economy, but are by no means a decisive factor. Imports from the capitalist countries in 1979 came to only 4.3 percent of Cuba's national product.²⁴ It is clear to any unprejudiced observer that imports from the capitalist countries do not and cannot determine the general prospects for the country's economic and scientific and technical progress. For this reason, hopes of using economic blackmail as a means of political pressure on the socialist states are doomed to failure. "Those people who think that socialism's positions in our country can be weakened and that it can be undermined from within," F. Castro has emphasized, "are profoundly mistaken. The history of the past 20 years convincingly proves that socialism is becoming increasingly strong. We know how to protect our socialist gains, we have learned a lot and built up a large amount of experience, and we are making use of the experience of others."²⁵

In addition to an expansion of bilateral relations, Cuba is interested in and actively trying to develop multilateral cooperations within the international organizations that are a part of the U. N. system. In 1981 operations were begun at the Research Center for the Industrial Mastery of Bagasse which is known as the "Cuba-9" Combine and was built thanks to the joint efforts of Cuba and the UN Organization for Industrial Development; the combine's chief task is to carry out scientific research for the development of a technology to produce newspaper paper from bagasse.²⁶ Canada and Finland participated in financing the project. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia provided technical assistance and helped in training specialists and in the technical and economic substantiation of certain designs. The enterprise's production capacity is 34 tons of high quality newspaper paper and 5 tons of pulp for the textile industry per day.

The Administrative Council of the UN Program for Development allotted Cuba 25 million dollars for the realization of its economic plans for 1982-1986.²⁷ These funds have been granted for the development of priority directions in the economy, science, and technology, and also for the acquisition of modern technology and equipment. An agreement has been signed with the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) on the granting of a 14.1 million dollar 20-year loan to Cuba. These funds will be directed toward the creation of an irrigation system on an area of 200,000 hectares in the Camalote Zone of Camaguey Province. The FAO will later also provide assistance in improving Cuban industrial fishing both in fresh and in sea waters.²⁸

The credit which has been granted to Cuba by international organizations is designed to provide it with assistance above all in the sphere of material production. Its use will foster the economic and scientific and technical development of the country and create favorable conditions for long-term and effective cooperation with international organizations.

Within the UN programs which provide for assistance to the developing countries Great Britain, France, the FRG, and Sweden grant stipends for the training of Cuban scientific cadres. In accordance with bilateral inter-state agreements, the training of Cuban specialists is also being conducted in Canada.

An analysis of Cuba's trade and scientific and technical relations with the capitalist states once again very clearly confirms that the countries of the socialist commonwealth are faithful to their principled policy aimed at expanding cooperation with all of the peoples on the basis of equality, independence, mutual advantage, and non-intervention in internal affairs. This approach to the problem of relations with countries with a different social system is based on Leninist principles of the foreign economic activities of the socialist countries. It is for this reason that Cuba has made and continues to make maximum efforts to finally rid itself of the negative consequences of the economic blockade once imposed by the United States and establish normal mutually advantageous relations with all of the countries of the world.

FOOTNOTES

3. "Essays in the History of Cuba," Moscow, 1978, p. 499
4. V. Vladimirov and V. Kostin, "Cuba: Twenty Years of a New Foreign Policy (1959-1979)," Moscow, 1980, p. 207
5. GRANMA, 11, 15 September 1978
6. JUVENTUD REBELDE, La Habana, 7 December 1978
7. GRANMA, 24 January 1979
8. Ibid., 16 January 1982

9. Ibid., 26 March 1980
10. Ibid., 7 July 1981
11. Ibid., 11, 13 October 1978; 13, 18 December 1979
12. BOHEMIA, La Habana, No 50, 1979, p 93
13. V. Vladimirov and V. Kostin, op. cit., p 211; GRANMA, 11 February 1980
14. V. Vladimirov and V. Kostin, op. cit., p 210; GRANMA, 5 July 1980
15. Ibid., 11 December 1979
16. Ibid., 27, 28 May 1981
17. BIKI, 12 December 1981
18. GRANMA, 23, 29 January; 1 February 1980
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20. Ibid., 4, 6 March 1981
21. BIKI, 26 May 1979; 4 December 1980
22. "First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba," Havannah, 17-22 December 1975, Moscow, 1976, p 232
23. GRANMA, 26 October 1981
24. Calculated on the basis of: "Guia Estadistica 1980," La Habana, s.a. p 13
25. PRAVDA, 21 June 1981
26. Ibid., 22 June 1981; KUBA, No 10, 1981, pp 5-6
27. GRANMA, 27 June 1981
28. Ibid., 15 October, 18 November 1981

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USSR, MEXICO PUBLISH COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS ON RELATIONS

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 5, May 82 pp 140-142

[Review by A. A. Sokolov of book "Sovetsko-meksikanskiye Otnosheniya: 1968-1980" [Soviet-Mexican Relations: 1968-1980], Moscow, Publishing House of Political Literature, 1981, 191 pp]

[Text] Soviet-Mexican relations occupy a special place in the system of the USSR's inter-state relations with the countries of Latin America. And it is not only that Mexico was the first Latin American country to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union (1924), but also that these relations "which are based on the complete equality of the states, respect for their independence and sovereignty, and non-intervention in one another's internal affairs are a good example of the vitality of the policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social and economic systems." (p 60)

The history of the establishment and development of relations between the USSR and Mexico in their most diverse aspects has received a sufficiently wide treatment in Soviet Latin Americanistics. They are treated both in works on the Soviet Union's relations with the Latin American countries as a whole,¹ and in books and collections which deal especially with Soviet Mexican relations,² and also in a number of scholarly articles.

An important point for the study of these relations is an expansion of the source base, the publication of the documents and materials which make it possible to reveal various aspects and directions more deeply. From this point of view, the publication of the collection of documents "Soviet-Mexican Relations (1917-1980)," which was prepared by the Institute of Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Archives Administration of Mexico's Ministry of Internal Affairs is of substantial interest. Published at practically the same time was the collection of documents under review that embraces the period from 1968 through 1980 when Soviet-Mexican relations began to develop especially intensively in all fields. The publication of this collection has been carried out, as is noted in the preface, "with the purpose of acquainting the public with the basic directions of Soviet-Mexican cooperation." (p 4)

The work being reviewed was prepared jointly by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and Mexico and, moreover, the Soviet part of the editorial

board was headed by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs I. N. Zemskov, and the Mexican part by the Minister of Foreign Affairs J. Castaneda. The publication contains chiefly documents of a legal treaty character which have been defining and regulating the relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico since 1970, and also documents and materials which treat the official visits to the USSR of the Presidents of Mexico L. Echeverria Alvarez (1973) and J. Lopez Portillo (1978). A number of the materials which relate to these visits are being published in full in the Russian language for the first time.

An acquaintance with the documents contained in the collection makes it possible to draw quite valid conclusions to the effect that the 1970's were characterized by a really important expansion of the sphere of relations and cooperation between the two countries: During this period agreements were signed on cultural and scientific exchanges; scientific and technical and economic and technical cooperation; cooperation in the field of physical culture and sports; a trade agreement; agreements on air communications and maritime shipping; a consular convention, and also certain other agreements. The signing of these documents which was carried out, as a rule, during official visits and negotiations on the highest state level testifies to the firm resolve of the sides to put a solid and long-term legal treaty base under their bilateral relations. This is also indicated by the creation of permanent bilateral bodies (committees and so forth) for the realization of these agreements.

The data cited in the collection confirm that in a large number of fields the agreements are being carried out successfully. (pp 8-9, 72-74, 78-79) One's attention is struck by the circumstance that in the 1970's there was a marked activization of the scientific and technical and economic cooperation (including the first steps in the field of production cooperation) both on a bilateral basis, and through CEMA, and the training of specialists (for whom Mexico has especially acute need for the development of its production potential and the strengthening of its economic independence). At the same time, the sides do not conceal that for now not all of the existing possibilities are being used. In particular, this concerns the relatively limited amount of Soviet-Mexican trade. (pp 108, 116)

The documents and materials in the collection make it possible to form an idea about the mechanism of inter-state cooperation between the Soviet Union and Mexico within which a special place is occupied by official visits and negotiations on the highest level. L. I. Brezhnev has noted: "There is no doubt that the tone of our relations is being set by the successful development of our many-sided political contacts. . . . Regular consultations, exchanges of parliamentary delegations, and, of course, meetings at the highest level--all of this helps to strengthen mutual understanding and mutual trust and to mark points for further cooperation." (pp 107-108)

In the 1970's the cooperation between the USSR and Mexico acquired a new and extremely important content which went far beyond the framework of bilateral relations themselves and became an important factor in contemporary inter-

national relations. As L. I. Brezhnev has stated, its solid foundation is the coincidence or the closeness of the positions of the two countries on such fundamental problems of the present-day as the struggle for the strengthening of peace and disarmament, and against imperialist policies, against colonialism, and against racial discrimination and fascism. These relations serve the interests of the peoples of our countries, they are exercising a positive influence on the solution of important international problems both on the Latin American continent and in the entire world." (p 106)

The appearance of this collection of documents is a contribution to the development of the relations between our countries, and makes it possible for the Mexican and Soviet publics to learn more about these relations, thereby strengthening mutual sympathy between the peoples. Its scholarly value and also its value for working on the problems of cooperation between the USSR and Mexico at the current stage is unquestionable.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example: "The USSR and Latin America. 1917-1967," Moscow, 1967; A. I. Sizonenko, "Essays in the History of Soviet-Latin American Relations (1924-1970)," Moscow, 1971; A. I. Sizonenko, "The Soviet Union and Latin America. (The Current Stage of Relations)," Kiev, 1976; Sizonenko, "The Establishment of USSR Relations With the Latin American Countries (1917-1945)," Moscow, 1981; "The CEMA Countries and Latin America. Problems of Economic Cooperation," Moscow, 1976; "The CEMA Countries and Latin America. Inter-State Political and Cultural Relations," Moscow, 1979
2. A. I. Sinonenko, "In the Country of the Aztec Eagle. The First Soviet Plenipotentiaries in Mexico," Moscow, 1969; Sizonenko, "The Soviet Union and Mexico--Fifty Years," Moscow, 1974; "The USSR and Mexico: Fifty Years," Moscow, 1975.

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INFLUX OF FOREIGN CAPITAL CANNOT SOLVE GUATEMALAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 5, May 82 pp 14-23

[Article by I.M. Bulychev: "'New Model' Economics and Old Problems"]

[Text] The period of rule of General Lucas Garcia--a stooge of the local oligarchy and the reactionary military--has resulted in the further deterioration of the position of Guatemala's economy. The rate of development has sharply slowed down. Some economists are inclined to explain the resultant decline only because of the unfavorable world market conditions with respect to the basic items of Guatemala's agricultural exports and political instability, an inseparable concomitant of which have become the growing escape of capital and the curtailment of the business activity of the private sector.

It seems, however, that the main reason for the exacerbation of the chronic crisis situations should be sought in the actual structure of the Guatemalan economy, formed under conditions in the country of American capital's hegemony under whose control it remains to this day. Events of recent years attest with perfect clarity to the unacceptability of the model of development worked out with the direct participation of transnational corporations (TNC) aimed at the broad involvement of foreign capital, limited modernization of agricultural production (chiefly the agrarian export sector) and the creation of individual sectors of an import replacing industry.

Crisis of Traditional Structures

Of course, contemporary Guatemala is not the former "banana republic."¹ Still even at the present time, the economic profile of the country is determined as before by agricultural production and its export sector, providing more than 60 percent of all foreign exchange receipts.² Despite the fact that agriculture lags behind other sectors in its tempo of development, it has for its share 28 percent of the gross internal product (see table).³ It is the chief source of existence for 700,000 peasant families and employs 53 percent of the economically active population.⁴

The chief barrier restraining the development of the productive forces of Guatemala's agriculture is the existence of two mutually connected sectors: the export (modern) and the traditional, the clearly expressed dualism of a

dependent economy. The export sector, controlled by international monopolies, specialized in the production of tropical crops for the world market. About 70 percent of the total value of Guatemala's exports consists of coffee, cotton, bananas and sugar. Guatemala's chief export crop--coffee--is grown in three chief zones: on mountain slopes facing the Pacific coast and in the regions of Antigua and Alta Verapaz. The total area of the coffee plantations is 248,000 hectares. Eighty percent of the coffee crop comes from 1,500 large farms, which employ more than 420,000 of the agricultural workers.⁵ The main production region of the second important export crop--cotton--is located in the country's southwestern zone (the total area of the plantations exceeds 120,000 hectares). On the Atlantic coast development of new land is continuing for banana plantations belonging to an affiliate of Del Monte--the Bandegua Company.

Table. Structure of Gross Internal Product (GIP), Growth Rates of the Leading Sectors of Guatemala's Economy, %

Sectors	Share in GIP		Rates of growth		
	1970	1980	1978	1979	1980
GIP	100.0	100.0	4.9	4.3	3.4
including:					
agriculture	27.3	28.0	3.2	3.2	2.4
mining industry	0.1	0.4	58.1	85.7	34.1
processing industry	15.8	15.6	6.4	5.4	6.0
construction	1.6	4.0	3.3	1.1	-0.7
trade and finance	31.6	27.4	4.7	4.4	2.8
other sectors	23.9	24.6	---	---	---

But expansion and some modernization of production in the export sector in the past decades has practically had no impact on the situation of the workers employed in it. As before, they are subject to super-exploitation of the large landowners and American monopolies; they are frequently shackled to the plantations with enslaving contracts and eke out a semibeggarly existence. Plantation workers are actually cut off from the domestic market, since, according to the terms of their hiring agreement, they are obliged to get all the necessities from a network of tiny stores created by plantation owners. This is an additional source of enrichment for foreign companies importing basic consumer goods and selling them to the workers at increased prices.

The low developmental level of the traditional sector of Guatemala's agriculture hinders the solution of the food problem. Despite expansion during the '60s and '70s of production of food crops, the volume of food imports grows larger with each year. An obstacle in the way of modernization continues to be an outdated structure of agrarian attitudes determining the extreme unevenness in the distribution of land. According to the data, at the end of the '70s, about 80 percent of the agricultural land was owned by 1 percent of the population.⁶ At the same time, only 18.7 percent of the cultivated land falls to the lot of 365,000 owners of tiny strips (microfincas or parcels).⁷

Trying to avoid social upheavals, the country's ruling circles in the '70s adopted a series of special measures. There was created in particular a National Institute of Agrarian Reorganization, which was charged with the supervision and coordination of work on partial modernization of the existing structure of agrarian relations. A National Bank for the Development of Agriculture for providing financial and technical assistance to farmers and a National Institute for the Sale of Agricultural Products were also instituted. But all the implemented "reforms" of the Guatemalan countryside have a clearly expressed class direction. In the final analysis, they are intended to preserve untouched the property of the large landowners and foreign monopolies. It is no accident that the main part of state aid for the needs of agriculture falls into the hands of the latifundists. As a result, the state measures have actually resulted in intensification of the process of concentration of landownership in the hands of a small oligarchy. And this has been responsible for the creation of new foci of social tension in the countryside.

The situation in agriculture exerts a negative influence on the development of the entire economy, exacerbating problems of accumulation and utilization of the country's natural and labor resources and expansion of the domestic market. The latter in particular is determined by the fact that in view of the extremely low level of income, the greater part of the peasants is practically excluded from the sphere of commodity-monetary relationships. The latifundists are the chief users of imported goods.

Certain hopes for the expansion of the domestic market were connected with a process of import-replacement industrialization started in the country in the middle of the '50s. Such sectors as food, textile, chemical and others underwent special development. The process accelerated following the inception of the Central American Common Market (CACM). Guatemala was transformed into one of the most developed member-countries of the CACM in industrial relationships. Nonetheless the industrial development was of a deformed character and was weakly connected with the developmental tasks of the whole Guatemalan economy. This primarily occurred because of the introduction into it during that period of numerous affiliates of foreign (especially American) companies, which occupied key positions in the most dynamic industrial sectors and developed them in conformity with their interests.

In the second half of the '70s, the country had 2,107 industrial enterprises with a total number of 65,000 employees. Of these, 65.9 percent worked in small workshops and microfactories, consisting of 5 to 19 workers. The country only had 346 enterprises (16.4 percent of the total number) with personnel numbering 50 or more persons.⁸

The distribution of the productive capacities of the processing industry is extremely uneven.⁹ Most industrial enterprises (about 70 percent) are found in the capital--the city of Guatemala. In 1979, a law was adopted on decentralization of industrial production, in accordance with which there was planned the construction of new enterprises in the east of the country (Department of Zacapa), in the central region (Department of Coban) as well as in the Departments of Progreso and Chimaltenango, located respectively to the east and west of the capital.¹⁰ In accordance with the four-year plan of national development

(1979-1982), income taxes of owners of firms or businesses were reduced 70-90 percent for a period of 8-10 years and other benefits were also granted them in the four newly created industrial zones.¹¹

Another problem hindering and deforming the development of national industry is the high degree of its dependence on foreign capital investment, imported technology and foreign markets. The dependence of individual sectors on foreign capital is so great that they actually have been transformed into a unique exclusive complex that is effectively controlled by international monopolies. At the outset of the '70s, foreign owners controlled 99 percent of tobacco products, 90.9 percent of the glass, 84.3 percent of rubber products, 100 percent of petroleum products, 54.8 percent of the chemical products, 43.1 percent of the metal products and so forth.¹²

It should be emphasized that the industrial sectors and the export sector of agriculture under the control of foreign capital constitute the basis of the model of development introduced into Guatemala's economy over the course of many years. This model is meant to reproduce and deepen dependence on international capital and has nothing in common with the country's national interests or the interests of the Guatemalan people.

According to 1977 data, the total sum of foreign capital investment in the Guatemalan economy was estimated at 266 million dollars. Of these, 35.6 percent were invested in the processing industry, 21 percent in agriculture, 16.9 percent in trade, 11.1 percent in energy, gas and water supply, 6.8 percent in the mining industry and so on.¹³ At the same time, it must be noted that 75 cents of each dollar invested in the Guatemalan economy by foreign entrepreneurs belonged to American interests.¹⁴

In the second half of the '70s, the crisis of the traditional model of Guatemala's development became obvious. This was expressed not only in curtailment of the rates of growth of the national income but also in exacerbation of social conflicts that developed into an open struggle (including an armed one) of workers against foreign monopolies and the antipeople's regime protecting their interests. The continuing cooperation with foreign capital under conditions of a profound decline in the world capitalist economy is resulting in the growth of contradictions between individual groups of the national bourgeoisie. Dissatisfaction is particularly manifested among that portion of the dominant class which has remained outside the framework of the alliance with transnational corporations and is experiencing increasingly acutely growing economic pressure from them.

The "petroleum boom" that started toward the end of the '70s has perceptibly increased the antagonism of the groups of the local bourgeoisie, trying with the help of control over the extraction and export of petroleum to strengthen their positions in the economy and after that in the political life of the country. At the same time, the representatives of the ruling classes provide a basic stake for broad involvement of foreign capital, which in their opinion will make it possible to initiate the realization of a new and more stable model of development.

Mirages and Reality of the "Petroleum Eldorado"

Assessments appearing in the press of the deposits discovered in the north of the country (Departments of Quiche, Peten, Alta-Verapaz) differ significantly from each other, but most specialists believe that these regions contain significant reserves of "black gold." In the opinion of the director of the Secretariat for the Mining, Petroleum Industry and Nuclear Power Jorge Luis Monzon, potential deposits could amount to 2,400 million barrels. The importance of the discovered deposits is indirectly indicated by increased interest in Guatemalan petroleum by the leading corporations of the capitalist countries, which have at their disposal data on exploratory and prospecting drillings. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the companies conducting the prospecting always tend to understate the obtained results.

The "petroleum fever" has served as a unique and most inviting signal for a new approach by foreign monopolies. The greatest activity in the development of petroleum bearing deposits is displayed by Basic Resources International, S.A., Shenandoah (U.S.A.), Hanna Mining Company, ELF-Aquitaine (France) and others. The dictatorial regime in its search for instant profit practically frittering away national property, providing concessions to foreign monopolies at preferential conditions to large areas in petroleum-bearing regions. Such concessions in the Department of Peten have already been obtained by Getty Oil Inc., Amoco Guatemala Petroleum Company, Texas Eastern Guatemala Inc., Monsanto Oil Company of Guatemala and others. In 1981 Texaco and Hispanoil discovered new deposits of petroleum.

The policy of the government leading to practically uncontrolled exploitation of the petroleum reserves is causing serious misgivings on the part of the country's patriotic forces which are decisively coming out in defense of its natural wealth. Critical comments addressed to the government are appearing with increasing frequency on the pages of the national press. Even LA NACION, a newspaper close to official circles, was forced to admit in this connection that "no one can be sure that the deposits (of petroleum--I.B.) are being worked on the scale announced by the companies."¹⁶

In April 1980, the first tanker, NEPHELE, (under the Liberian flag) left a Guatemalan port with 136,000 barrels of crude petroleum on board, taking a course to Louisiana. So, according to a statement of Guatemala's Chamber of Commerce, there began the conversion of the country into an exporter of petroleum and a "new era for the national economy" was opened.¹⁷

Of course, the discovery of the petroleum-bearing regions and the beginning of their commercial exploitation in themselves constitute an event of extreme economic importance, especially under the conditions of an unabating world energy crisis. But if one examines more attentively what is occurring to Guatemalan petroleum, it becomes clear that a new, more powerful "petroleum" enclave is being formed in the country. There has already been launched at full power the mechanism of imperialist enslavement whose operation was well adjusted over the course of many decades. The actions of the transnational petroleum corporation--shock detachments of neocolonialist expansion--are being increasingly more actively reinforced by international financial organizations, the

dominant positions in which are held by representatives of U.S. monopolist capital. The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, the Interamerican Bank of Development, the Agency for International Development of the United States and a number of other organizations have stated their intentions of granting Guatemala during 1980-1982 more than one billion dollars for the financing of projects one way or another connected with petroleum.¹⁸

The reactionary military regime contrary to national interests is eagerly proceeding with expansion of cooperation with imperialist monopolies. This confirms in particular the signing of a contract by the government of Guatemala with the company Desarrollo de Autopistas y Carretas, 95 percent of whose shares belong to the Swiss Rothschild Bank, for the construction of a network of motor highways. They will girdle with a kind of belt 1,500 km in extent the entire country ("Peripheral national belt").¹⁹ According to the terms of the contract, control over practically all the country's paved roads, including those roads of strategic importance to Guatemala to the chief ports on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, is turned over directly to the company. All state lands along the route of the projected "belt" are turned over for full disposition by the company, while the costs of developing the territory contiguous to the motor highway have been assumed by the government of Lucas Garcia. The contract is operative till 31 December 1999, but the company has the right to extend it on the condition that it makes notification of this six months prior to the expiration of the basic time period.

Furthermore, an American company has been permitted to construct on the territory of Guatemala a segment of a gigantic petroleum pipeline intended for transferring petroleum obtained in Alaska from the west to the east coast of the United States (bypassing the Panama Canal whose parameters limit tankers' tonnage). The construction of this petroleum pipeline will not only bring significant additional profits to American monopolies through reduced transport costs; it will make it possible to establish their own bases throughout the entire length of the petroleum pipeline. According to the terms of the agreement, the pipeline and contiguous land will be under the control of a special administration appointed by the monopolies.

Thus the northern region of Guatemala, which is the most promising and richest in natural resources, has actually been completely sold out to foreign capital. In addition to the petroleum monopolies, foreign corporations, engaged in the working of mineral deposits, also operate here. Thus nickel and other minerals are mined by Ecsimbal, 80 percent of whose share belongs to Inco Ltd. and the rest to Hanna Mining Company and other foreign companies.²⁰

Additional favorable conditions for the expansion of foreign monopolies will be created by the carrying out of large-scale projects planned for the immediate future in the field of the economic infrastructure. During 1979-1982 it is planned to allocate for these purposes 48 percent of all capital investment provided by the four-year plan of national development.²¹ As shown by many years of experience, work in the field of the infrastructure results in gigantic profits for foreign monopolies and contractors, but it contributes in only a

small degree to the development of the national economy in view of the protracted period of recovery of payment for infrastructure items and weak integration with production structure. Moreover, they will require significant state outlays, which will lead to the further deterioration of Guatemala's position.²²

Growth of the state's foreign indebtedness, exacerbation of social conflicts, deterioration of the position of broad strata of the population and other negative phenomena--all these are the consequences of the policy of Guatemala's ruling circles of expansion of cooperation with foreign capital, the result of the forced introduction of a developmental model worked out by imperialist monopolies. The basic purpose of this model boils down to modernization of forms of neocolonialist dependence under present conditions. Being in no position to solve immediate economic problems facing the country, the large-scale national bourgeoisie and the reactionary army leadership are attempting to find a way out of the existing situation through intensification of repression against leftist forces and mass worker organizations. Their actions find support and approval among American monopolies and the present Washington administration. But the workers and progressive forces of Guatemala well understand what such "modernization" will cost the people and are not ceasing their struggle for implementation of deep social-economic changes.

FOOTNOTES

1. But the positions in the Guatemalan economy of the American Del Monte transnational corporation, which has forced out United Brands (formerly United Fruit Company), another U.S. monopoly, and specializes in production of bananas and other agricultural products, are as before quite firm.
2. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW OF GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS. Annual Supplement 1981. London, 1981, p 11.
3. Doc. CEPAL/MEX/1038, 12 February 1981, pp 2, 10.
4. BID. Informe anual 1980. Washington, 1981, p 65.
5. BID. Progreso economico y social en America Latina. Informe 1979, Washington, 1980, p 274; QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW OF GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS, op cit, p 11.
6. For example, the area of just three of former President Garcia's estates comprise 52,000 hectares.--NOTICIAS DE GUATEMALA. Guatemala, No 2, 1977, p 24; EL PAIS, Madrid, 24 Sep 1980.
7. ALERO. Guatemala, No 1, 1979, p 79.
8. Ibidem, p 78.

9. This is a characteristic feature not only of industrial but also of agricultural production. Thus the main part of the rural population (68 percent), among which Indians predominate, is concentrated in the high mountain region of Altiplano. About half of the national territory (Department of Peten and the lowlands of the Atlantic coast) is extremely weakly developed. This almost inaccessible and sparsely populated region was until recently the least developed economic zone of the country. But the discovery here of significant petroleum deposits and the working of deposits of nickel ore and other minerals have transformed it into the most dynamically developing region in the country.
10. BID. Progreso economico y social en America Latina, 1980, p 281.
11. BANK OF LONDON AND SOUTH AMERICA REVIEW. London, No 5, 1979, p 297; No 8, 1979, p 486.
12. NOTES ET ETUDES DOCUMENTAIRES. Paris, No 4366-4367, 1977, p 51.
13. COMERCIO EXTERIOR. Mexico, No 3, 1978, p 296.
14. Diaz, Victor Quintana, "Inversiones extranjeras en Guatemala" [Foreign Investments in Guatemala]. Guatemala, 1973, p 136.
15. The company is registered in Luxembourg, and its founder, the Canadian engineer John Park, was one of the first to discover the Rubelsanto petroleum deposit in Guatemala, the profitable commercial reserves of which are estimated at 27.3 million barrels.--EL DIA. Mexico, 11 Dec 1979.
16. LA NACION. Guatemala, 10 Apr 1980.
17. OPOSICION. Mexico, 18 Jan 1981.
18. NOTICIAS DE GUATEMALA. Mexico, No 44-45, 1980, p 3.
19. Ibidem, pp 1, 7.
20. FINANCIAL TIMES. London, 2 Nov 1981.
21. BID. Progreso economico y social en America Latina, 1980, p 281.
22. Monetary gold stocks have been reduced from 1.3 billion dollars in 1978 to 273.2 million dollars in the middle of 1981.

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GUATEMALAN REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL PROSPECTS

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 5, May 82 pp 23-32

[LATINSKAYA AMERIKA interviews the leaders of the Cuatripartita bloc: Marcos Villatoro, Carmelo Diaz, Silvia Garcia and Ruben Lima: "Representatives of Revolutionary Organizations Speak"]

[Text] At the request of the editorial board, our journal interviewed in one of the Latin-American countries representatives of the four revolutionary organizations of Guatemala comprising the Cuatripartita bloc: Marcos Villatoro (Guiding Nucleus of the Guatemalan Labor Party), Carmelo Diaz (Partisan Army of Poor People), Silvia Garcia (Armed People's Organization) and Ruben Lima (Insurgent Armed Forces). In the course of the talk, which was held in 1981, they spoke of the situation in the country and of the activities of their organizations. The text of the interview is published in condensed form.

[M. Villatoro] First of all we would like to give warm fraternal greetings in the name of the four organizations comprising the Cuatripartita bloc to the readers of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA. We get, albeit irregularly, occasional issues of the journal, the contents of which, especially the analysis of the most important aspects of revolutionary processes on our continent following the victory of the Cuban revolution is of great interest to us. But the importance of the journal is determined not just by the fact the methods of the revolutionary movement in the countries of Latin America are generalized, but also by the fact that it shows the achievements of the world socialist system, which continue to be for us the basic reference in the struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction, and illumines both the successes and the temporary failures of our struggle. Today, when a new wave of revolutionary upsurge encompasses the countries of Central America, we hope that we shall receive your journal more often. This will help us better to orient ourselves in the complex problems of the present time.

We would like to thank the editors for providing us with the opportunity of describing the specific aspects of the present stage of the revolutionary process in Guatemala. Although following the fall of the Arbens government in 1954, the revolutionary struggle has continued for almost three decades, the

tragedy Guatemala is going through is insufficiently known to the world. People know of the pain and tears of many Guatemalans; they know that in this short period about 80,000 persons have been killed in our country. But the situation that has developed in recent years, the rise of the revolutionary struggle by revolutionary organizations require deeper understanding.

Tremendous unutilized resources exist in Central America by virtue of which it would be possible to create quite quickly a modern developed society. But this is not taking place. True, the impression of Guatemala as a "banana republic" for a long time now does not correspond to reality. Beside traditional sectors of light industry, the products of which are for both domestic consumption and for export, deposits of nickel, uranium and other useful minerals are being worked here. After promising deposits of petroleum were found on the border with Mexico, a petroleum production industry began to develop. But all sectors of the economy, including agricultural production, are chiefly oriented toward the growing of such export crops as sugarcane, cotton, coffee, depend on the United States and are subordinated to the interests of transnational corporations (TNC), which utilize the cheap labor of Guatemalans and local raw materials.

Our country, like other states of the region, has been for long years under the yoke of imperialism and the reactionary oligarchy, which reduce to naught the opportunities for accelerated development. We need radical changes, because with the preservation of the present order of things, the development of capitalism in Guatemala is completely subordinated to the interests of North American imperialism. The local oligarchy is so closely tied to the interests of U.S. monopolies that the entire economic life of the country is made dependent on them. Being an extremely reactionary force, the oligarchy forces its people to live for the benefit of imperialism under conditions of backwardness, poverty and absence of medical services.

It can be seen to what degree, when after a visit to Guatemala in 1980 U.S. Undersecretary for Interamerican Affairs Bowdler presented at the State Department a report on his trip and made an official statement, published in the press, with the assertion that all the prerequisites for revolutionary changes exist in Central America. They are due to the urgent necessity of a change in the situation of the broad popular masses immersed in poverty. Bowdler stated in particular that this region of Latin America continues to be the least developed, since many reforms were not carried out here that had been implemented in other countries of the continent. All the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a small group, the power of those that have, while workers enjoy no benefits. Consequently, as Bowdler pointed out, changes are extremely necessary, and the problem for the United State is not their prevention but quite the opposite--implementation of major changes in such a way that they minimally impinge on U.S. interests.¹

1. For more detail on this document see: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 7, 1981, pp 58-74. (Note by editor.)

It would be difficult to make a more concrete conclusion--our assessment of the situation in the country largely coincides with the point of view stated by the U.S. undersecretary. The difference primarily is that we consider implementation of reforms in the existing situation to be senseless--revolutionary changes are needed. The model of dependent capitalist development foisted on Guatemala by imperialism cannot solve the most acute problems facing our people. The way of gradual changes under conditions of domination by a reactionary oligarchy is doomed to failure in advance. Confirmation of this is to be found in the collapse of the attempts at carrying out tax and agrarian reforms which threatened the interests of the ruling groups. Guatemala like Haiti has the largest percentage of illiteracy on the continent and the highest child mortality, but questions of construction of new hospitals, improvement of medical services for the broad masses of the people and the development of the educational system are not included on the agenda. The deformed development of the country via the capitalist route is expressed in the fact that changes are being implemented that are beneficial only to those who are in power. In some cases, representatives of the local oligarchy operate from even more rightist positions than do the transnational corporations.

Today, under conditions of a most acute structural crisis, the oligarchy is not averse to using any means, including terror and murder, to stay in power. It is for this reason natural that elections in our country are a farce, used only for the purpose of foisting on the people the will of the minority. The presence of several candidates for president--both from representatives of the army leadership and from political parties--does not fool anyone: the new president will still be elected by those who really rule the country, while the position of the people will remain unchanged or even deteriorate still further.

We believe that at the present time armed struggle is the only answer to the policy of the ruling leadership. In Guatemala all the conditions exist for the carrying out of a revolution. The partisan movement has quite a bit of experience. We are learning to correct our mistakes. The exacerbating crisis of the world capitalist system increasingly affects the deteriorating situation in our country. Growth of living costs and inflation make the position of workers and peasants even more difficult. A factor of tremendous revolutionary influence is the international situation; here you must keep in mind not only the development of events in Central America but also wide-scale international solidarity with the struggle of our peoples, including in Western Europe and in the countries of the socialist camp.

[C. Diaz] In touching on the question of the ruling leadership in Guatemala, I would like to dwell on the rise of a new group, which came into existence in the '60s and which is now our main enemy. As you know, following the Cuban revolution, a partisan movement became active in our country, which it seemed threatened the existing government. Under these conditions, the top military leadership used all the means at its disposal to suppress the partisan struggle. As a result, the military obtained access not only to real power but also to a significant portion of the national wealth, which previously belonged exclusively to oligarchical circles, for the preservation of whose interests the revolutionary movement was suppressed. The army stained itself with

blood, but the top officers knew for what purpose this was being done--they acted not only as a military power, carrying out the orders of the oligarchy, but also as its ally striving for the division of power and national wealth. Since then the military in Guatemala have become a most powerful force, using their position for their own enrichment.

Thus in the last two decades significant changes have taken place in the composition of the exploiting class; moreover, the interests of its new groupings often contradict the interests of the traditional oligarchy--the landowners and the bourgeoisie. But, despite the existing differences, there is always agreement in one activity among all the representatives of the ruling leadership--in their desire to oppress and exploit our people, and when it deals with the struggle for liberation--to rain down repressions on it. This question is very important, especially in the period of preparation for the coming struggle, as we believe that the military are responsible for the catastrophic political and social-economic situation existing in the country.

As for the distribution of class forces, it can be noted here that in Guatemala a significant portion of the population belongs to the peasantry, who are basically of Indian origin, with small land plots located on plateaus which are of poor fertility. Furthermore, with time, the peasants were obliged to divide these lands among their children. For this reason, their allotted lands can in no way serve as a source of sustenance, and most peasants are transformed into semiproletarians, forced to seek seasonal work on the large estate farms in the country's south, where export crops are grown for the most part. The main portion of Guatemalan workers consists of semiproletarians, who are against the system of dependent capitalism. The semiproletarian strata together with the peasantry constitute that social base which must be transformed into the moving force of the revolution.

I would like briefly to describe the role of the church. Its position is determined by the fact that over the course of a long time the country had no national clergy as, for example, in San Salvador. Our church organization basically consisted of foreign priests primarily from Europe--Germans, Dutchmen, Italians and Spaniards. Many of them, brought up on the decisions of the Second Vatican Council, adhere to progressive views.

In recent years, our church organization has had young Guatemalan priests added to it. They work primarily in rural localities, where all the contradictions of our development and the poverty of the population are manifested with special force. This part of the Guatemalan clergy does not see a way out of the existent situation through partial changes and reforms and realizes that the pressing problems can only be solved through revolution. They are doing much work among the peasants, convincing them of the necessity of revolution, transforming religion into a means of validating their rightness. Thanks to their activities, organizations have been created in rural localities, educating people useful to the cause of revolution.

[Question] Is the Guatemalan clergy connected to the Christian movement for socialism?

[C. Diaz] Yes, I believe that the priests who were educated abroad had connections with this movement. There have also been Guatemalan pastors sharing these views, but the clergy leadership, and first and foremost Archbishop Mario Casarrego, tried to get rid of them.

At the same time, a part of the clergy continues to speak for reformist changes in the spirit of the present policy of the Vatican, trying thereby to weaken the growth of the revolutionary struggle. But the conducting of a moderate course in Guatemala is becoming increasingly difficult, as it is impossible to hold to an intermediate course under the conditions of such a sharp polarization of class forces. Moreover, even those priests who share reformist views are persecuted. As a result, the representatives of this current are beginning to reach the conclusion of the need for a revolution.

One fact is very important, namely that the Indian communities, professing both the religion of their ancestors and Christianity, have recently been increasingly favoring the struggle against the government. For example, it is frequently possible to hear such statements by the leaders of the communities: "Our children are not going to serve in an army of the rich. Our children are going into an army of revolutionaries...."

We consider the chief force of the ruling classes, who are against the revolution, to be, as has already been said, the army. It is a well trained monolithic organization rallied around the command. The consolidation of the army occurred after the well-known armed displays in 1962 when a number of students of the polytechnic schools, such as Luis Tursios Lima, Marco Antonio Llon Sosa, Alejandro de Leon, Luis Trejo Esquibel and others, on learning that an invasion of Cuba was being prepared in their country, came out with arms in their hands. After this, a great deal of ideological work was conducted in the army with the help of American specialists.

But at the present time, the armed forces have a sufficiency of serious contradictions. The chief of them is the fact that the majority of the soldiers are peasants of Indian origin to whom the ideas of the top officers are alien. In addition to this, profound differences exist between the top command and the young officers. In the military educational institutions, cadets are educated on the principles of military honor. But in front of their eyes, soldiers kill women, children, old men and commit thefts. The actions of the armed forces against their own people cannot but help be permeated with falsehood and deceit. Thus, for example, after clashes with partisans there are news only of our losses; they bury killed soldiers without any military honors in order to hide the truth of their failures.

[Question] What is the size of the armed forces of Guatemala?

[M. Villatoro]. About 15,000 men, but as many as 25,000 if you take into consideration the repressive organs. I should add that the army is armed with modern and extremely effective types of weapons, in particular with the Israeli Galil rifles.

[Question] Can it be assumed that the crisis gripping the country has also affected the army?

[S. Garcia] This could be said of representative of the army's leadership, who have besmirched themselves with corruption and who are primarily engaged in enriching themselves. As for the middle-officer complement, the majority of the officers have neither firm convictions, nor the desire to fight, nor the possibility of directing combat operations. For this reason our propaganda and information work is conducted primarily among officers of the middle echelon so as to open their eyes to the situation existing in the country.

In my view, the question of the Guatemalan army is closely connected to the role which ruling U.S. circles assign to our country in Central America. Imperialism has always considered Guatemala as a base for control over other Central American states. It is for this reason that the armed forces of our country have started to play the role of gendarme in this region, assuming those functions which formerly were performed by the Central American Defense Council. Inasmuch as at the present time the traditional ruling circles are incapable of fulfilling the task imposed upon them, the reins of government have gone over to the army, which protects the interests of imperialism and the ruling classes.

But whereas formerly the use of coercion, camouflaged with the facade of "democratic elections," brought about the expected results, in recent years, the facts increasingly attest to the insolvency of such a tactic. The fact is that at present imperialism is unable to offer Guatemala any effective means for a way out of its acute social-economic crisis, while everything that had been proposed to it earlier has failed disgracefully. At the same time, the revolutionary forces in their activities are guided by a deep understanding of the historical moment the country is going through and by a firm conviction of the rightness of the chosen path. At present the broad masses of the population are also coming to understand this.

Actually since the second half of the '60s, the army has been trying to create the impression that the governments that come to power are democratic and elected by the people, although the top military leadership has as before exercised full political control over the whole country. The end of the '60s and the beginning of the '70s were for the ruling circles a period of relative quiet. But this quiet was deceptive--it was at this time that the revolutionary movement was acquiring experience, was uniting and arming under underground conditions. As for the economic upsurge which the official circles spoke much about in those years, only the ruling leadership in reality was unrestrainedly becoming rich, while the majority of the population still remained unchanged.

We sensed the support of the people when the partisan movement shifted to armed struggle. This took place in the second half of the '70s and was closely connected to the fact that the greater part of the population, first of all the Indians, began to take an active part in it. This was especially clearly manifested in rural localities. For this reason the armed forces of Guatemala with the end of the '70s began to conduct wide-scale punitive operations in the

rural districts against the partisan detachments. But this tactic did not result for them in particular successes. Then they began to shift their operations into the mountains. But there the members of the punitive expeditions came in contact with the population, which, not wishing to cooperate with them, helped us.

[Question] What place in the political life of the country is occupied by the political parties?

[S. Garcia] The role of the political parties is determined primarily by the fact that practically all the power at the present time is concentrated in the hands of the armed forces. For this reason party struggle is increasingly being transformed into a political game of the ruling classes under the mask of democracy. Existing parties are essentially groups uniting representatives of individual factions of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, which were established in various periods of political struggle.

The party, occupying the extreme rightist, anticommunist positions and striving to win the sympathies of the ruling class, is the Movement of National Liberation. Other parties also exist: the Institutional-Democratic Party, the Revolutionary Party as well as the organization of the adherents of former President Arana Osorio--the Central Authentic Nationalist (SAN). All of them are conducting a struggle only within the narrow parameters set by the armed forces. The movement of Christian Democrats, which at the time of Carter could have been called an opposition to the regime, is giving up its positions and under present conditions is only trying to survive as a political current. Two parties--the United Front of Revolution and the Social-Democratic Party of Guatemala--could have possibly carried out radical changes several years ago, but at the present time their leadership has been physically destroyed, while many of the rank-and-file members are joining revolutionary organizations or have left the country.

The Movement of National Liberation, the Institutional-Democratic Party, the Revolutionary Party and the Central Authentic Nationalist organization have tried to create the impression that a democratic struggle for power was possible in the country, especially in the course of election campaigns. But they all hold rightist positions, which the Guatemalan people know well. The workers know that these parties are playing no real role in political life; they do not possess the true power which is concentrated in the armed forces.

[Question] How actively do the workers and peasants of Guatemala utilize trade unions in the struggle for their rights.

[R. Lima] In the last three-four years, the movement of the workers of our country for the satisfaction of their social-economic needs has significantly expanded. Trade-union organizations under the influence of the government and of the reactionary parties have never succeeded in uniting as many people as the National Union of Workers (NUW), the Federation of Workers of Guatemala (FWG), the Committee of Peasants' Unity (CPU)--as the trade unions whose struggle is directed by the members of our organizations. But it is very important to note the creation of the National Committee of Trade-Union Unity (NCTUU).

With the formation of the National Committee of Trade-Union Unity, conditions developed for the creation of the United Center of Workers of Guatemala, which could unite all sectorial trade unions for the coordination of the activities and reduction of the influence of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology in the worker movement. By conducting political work within trade-union organizations and upholding Marxist-Leninist ideas in the struggle with other ideological currents, including the social-democratic, we were enabled to achieve greater mutual understanding between revolutionary and trade-union organization and to raise the political consciousness of the workers and peasants. Preparation for coordination of the activities of different trade unions began because the workers themselves considered unity as a means of protecting their interests.

At the same time, owing to the exacerbation of governmental repression and murder of many trade-union leaders, we call upon the unions to go over to an illegal or semilegal position. But there where it is possible, we take part in meetings, strikes and seizures of grounds of enterprises by workers. We believe that at the present stage of revolutionary struggle, it is necessary in preparing the masses for an uprising to correctly combine different forms of actions and to control this preparation so that workers would not take rash steps that might weaken the revolutionary movement.

[M. Villatoro] At the present time, when the revolutionary movement is coming to include increasingly broader masses of workers, peasants, students and representatives of the middle strata of the population, it is especially important to strengthen the ties between our organizations and the trade unions. We devote a lot of attention to this. For this reason it can be asserted with all responsibility that we have a broad social base in our struggle, expressing the aspirations of the majority of the Guatemalan people.

[Question] In what position are the revolutionary organizations at the present time--in the stage of formation, consolidation of forces or preparation for action?

[C. Diaz] Essentially--inasmuch as each organization is following its own path of development--we are now going through the stage of consolidation of forces, which is being accomplished in parallel with revolutionary activities. Our motto "to fight and to organize" simultaneously calls for conducting of partisan warfare and mobilization of the popular masses. Our task is the unification of all four revolutionary organizations under conditions of armed struggle--acquiring experience and creating prerequisites for changing the correlation of forces in favor of the revolutionary. We believe that the time has already come for general armed struggle.

Structurally, our organizations--the Partisan Army of Poor People [Partizanskaya armiya bednyakov]--consists of groups which, while conducting political work, are at the same time combat units. We come to meetings with arms, we take part in combat operations and direct them; we also have the experience of political leadership. In order to seize power, revolutionary armed struggle must be combined with political work.

In regions suitable for the conducting of a partisan armed struggle, for example in the north of the country, most of our partisan groups are concentrated, operating in rural localities. There also exist self-defense detachments, regular armed units are being created, which are the prototypes of our future armed forces. We believe that given the conditions of our country partisan warfare in rural localities is an essential form of armed struggle.

In cities, where workers, students and representatives of the middle strata are concentrated, we are essentially engaged in political work, trying to exert an influence on the large trade unions. At the present time, it is difficult to conduct wide-scale combat operations in the cities, as large army forces are concentrated there; they are located in well reinforced barracks and have constant communication. Nonetheless, we have in the cities "commando" type combat groups, which are ready to carry out any operation against the enemies.

Still in Guatemala, revolutionary partisan forces, supported by the peasantry, have the possibility of broadly operating in rural localities, where regular military units experience considerable difficulties because of wide-ranging territories and an absence of good roads. There, depending on concrete conditions, we conduct a political struggle as well, but our preference is for combat operations.

Speaking of the ties of our organizations with the masses, I would like to note, that the participation of the rural population in military operations depends on the type of operation. For example, for attacks on barracks, we have specially trained groups numbering about 80 men. When we organize, let us say, ambushes on roads, we usually use groups of 20 persons. Many rural inhabitants communicate to us concerning the actions of the local authorities and movements of troops; they also help us with food.

In the cities, the size of our groups as a rule is considerably smaller. But sometimes when it is necessary to seize a well-protected enemy, we use detachments of 20-30 men.... But these are quite special acts.

[M. Villatoro] In answer to the question as to what period the revolutionary organizations of Guatemala are now going through, it may be answered that basically we have arrived at a time of unification. We have already conducted a number of successful joint operations. Right now all the four organizations have their own experienced cadres of military leaders, fighters and members of the resistance movement--the "milisianos." So far we have been conducting irregular partisan operations, but for the long term we plan constant combat operations. Today with activation of the partisan movement and also in view of the events in El Salvador, we are planning to expand the activities of the partisan groups throughout the entire country.

In conclusion, I want to say that the tactical task of our political work and of the revolutionary struggle is the overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of a people's democratic revolutionary government. As we have already said, no other route exists for this except the armed one. But we shall take it only with the obligatory support of most of the people.

We are thus working along this direction, trying with the participation of the broad democratic strata of Guatemalans, including emigrants, to create a strong national front, which will be capable of solving the most important of the problems facing us: formation of a new government, destruction of repressive organs, granting of democratic rights to all the people, giving land to the peasants--that is, fulfilling in fact the program of people's demands. The solution of these problems is bound to lead to gaining of true independence for the country, protection of its natural wealth and growth of the well-being of our people and their free development.

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AGGRESSIVE, ANTISOVIET TURN IN JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY NOTED

Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' In Russian No 7, Jul 82 pp 31-40

[Article by N. Nikolayev and A. Pavlov: "USSR-Japan: The Course of Good Neighborly Relations and Its Foes"]

[Excerpt] External factors and circles acting on the basis of nationalistic positions aimed at restoring the policy of imperial ambitions, the pursuit of which brought the Japanese people incalculable calamities and led the country to a national catastrophe not so long ago, began to exert increasing influence on shaping Japan's foreign policy in general and that toward the Soviet Union in particular at the turn of the 1980s.

This was related first of all to trends in the country's domestic political and economic development and the intensification of Japan's foreign policy dependence on the United States. The ruling Japanese circles have begun to emphasize with particular insistence that it is allegedly precisely national, historical and ideological features which not only allowed the country to become the second strongest capitalist country in terms of economic development but which give it the right to defend "specifically" Japanese interests in its relations with other countries. Propaganda related to the "exclusivity" of the Japanese nation and its special "historical path" is being purposefully waged by the ruling circles in order to lead the people's masses away from the struggle in defense of their rights and to create in the country an atmosphere favorable to the substantiation of nationalistic slogans in foreign policy.

In terms of the Soviet Union this is manifested mainly in the formulation of illegitimate territorial aspirations.

As the exchange of views on the conclusion of a peace treaty indicated, the single purpose of the Japanese side in concluding it was to gain unilateral concessions on the part of the Soviet Union. Whereas the Soviet Union favored a broad treaty, which would encompass all aspects of bilateral relations -- including political, economic and cultural -- the Japanese side tried to reduce matters to the solution of the so-called "territorial problem," ignoring the results of WW II and postwar political realities. Furthermore, Japan has been trying to interpret some stipulations of the Soviet-Japanese 10 October 1973 declaration as though implying Soviet recognition of the existence of a "territorial problem" one-sidedly and distortedly. The

study of the declaration proves the groundlessness of such assertions which are deliberately not only grossly distorting the position held by the Soviet side but are misleading the Japanese public by erecting additional obstacles to reaching an agreement on the treaty.

In an interview granted to the newspaper ASAHI, N. A. Tikhonov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, noted frequently made assertions, including those made at high level meetings, that "There is no item in Soviet-Japanese relations such as an allegedly unresolved 'territorial problem'."¹

In the light of the Japanese government's unwillingness to sign a peace treaty, the Soviet Union proposed, without breaking off talks on the conclusion of a peace treaty, an exchange of views and the conclusion of a treaty of good neighborly relations and cooperation in areas of Soviet-Japanese relations which can already take place on the basis of a firm treaty. A draft of such a treaty was submitted to the Japanese side at the 9 January 1978 meeting between A. A. Gromyko and S. Sonoda, Japan's minister of foreign affairs. The conclusion of such a treaty would serve the purpose of establishing truly good relations between the two countries and would bring closer a peace treaty agreement.

However, for fictitious reasons the Japanese official circles refused to make a serious study of the Soviet realistic proposal. Furthermore, they answered it by launching a broad anti-Soviet campaign of territorial claims which, as the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted in its 16 February 1981 declaration, has lately assumed a nature bordering on hostility, particularly with the proclamation of the so-called "Northern territories day" in Japan.

The position adopted by the Japanese side on organizing Soviet-Japanese relations on a firm treaty basis and the ultimatum aspect -- we would be hard put to describe it otherwise -- of its demands make an agreement on this question of importance to both countries virtually impossible.

The following question arises: Does Japan truly wish to conclude a treaty with the Soviet Union? Is it not using this so-called "territorial problem" not only to justify its increasingly active steps aimed at increasing its military power but as a kind of "regulator" of relations with the Soviet Union? The impression arises that if this far-fetched "problem" had not existed, the country's ruling circles would have created another one to govern the development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

Of late, Japan has made noticeable attempts to gain the support of other countries for its claims and to use the United Nations to this effect. Tokyo's latest step in this respect, taken in 1981, was to turn to the signatories of the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty with the request to mark as Japanese some of the Kuril Islands which belong to the Soviet Union on their maps. What was the outcome of this request? Most countries failed to respond, but the United States and Egypt were among those who expressed their solidarity with the Japanese claims.

In their search for support of their position, the Japanese opponents of the development of Soviet-Japanese relations have always sought foreign allies,

finding them above all in the United States. Lately they have been looking at China with increasing frequency. Neither Washington nor Beijing are acting selflessly in this case, but mainly in accordance with their own interests.

Tempting Japan with prospects of economic cooperation and the possibility of using the "Chinese trump" in its relations with the Soviet Union, the Beijing leadership actively urged Tokyo to sign an anti-Soviet treaty in the mid-seventies. Japan is continuing to claim that the August 1978 Sino-Japanese Treaty is not aimed against the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Beijing is interpreting it from strictly anti-Soviet positions and is trying to govern its relations with Japan on this basis. China's anti-Soviet policy, with which Tokyo goes along, has been one of the reasons for the worsening of Soviet-Japanese relations and was one of the major reasons for breaking off the exchange of views on signing a Soviet-Japanese treaty.

The pressure applied on Japan to join in the global anti-Soviet strategy of the White House and to assume a greater share of obligations within the framework of the Japanese-American alliance, particularly in military affairs, was substantially increased with the advent to power of the current U. S. administration.

The thesis of "increased Soviet military power," including "in areas adjacent to the Japanese islands," is being used to back demands on Tokyo to increase its military preparations. Whenever the United States charts a course of launching a new spiral in the arms race and exacerbating international tension, Washington drags out and throws about among its allies the myth of the "Soviet military threat." Japan's MAINITI SHIMBUN noted in this connection that "the information on which the thesis of the 'Soviet military threat' is based came to Japan via the United States."²

In Japan this thesis, which has nothing in common with reality, has been willingly adopted by political leaders standing on nationalistic and militaristic positions. It is also supported by members of the country's ruling circles, who are trying to use the propaganda stir raised by the so-called "threat from the north" to strengthen the positions of the liberal-democratic party and the split in the opposition forces to weaken the counteraction to the course of Japan's more active involvement in Washington's policy, to promote in the country mistrust of the Soviet Union and to misrepresent its peaceful foreign policy.

However, increasingly broader Japanese population strata are beginning to realize what is hiding behind Washington's myth of the "Soviet military threat" and the involvement of Japanese official circles in an unseemly anti-Soviet campaign. Toshio Kimura, a member of Japan's Diet and Japan's former foreign affairs minister, for example, points out that the insistent warnings issued by the U. S. administration regarding the "Soviet military threat" remind him of the American policy of confrontation under U. S. Secretary of State J. F. Dulles in the 1950s. "This simplistic approach," he writes, is inconsistent with the complex world situation of today."³

The wave of antiwar activities in Japan, the strongest in many years, was caused not by the mythical "Soviet military threat" but by Washington's

adventuristic policy, which has greatly worsened the international situation, and by the increased threat of nuclear war. It is not the far-fetched problem of Soviet SS-20 missiles in the Far East but the real threat of involving Japan in the U. S. nuclear missile strategy that has become a matter of the greatest concern of the broadest possible population strata in the country.

In its 18 May 1981 issue, MAINITI SHIMBUN published an interview with E. Reischauer, former U. S. ambassador to Japan, in which he pointed out the existence of an unspoken agreement between Japanese and American officials according to which American aircraft carriers, cruisers and submarines armed with nuclear missiles call on Japanese ports."⁴

Despite the assertions of the Japanese government that it observes the three non-nuclear principles in its policy -- not to own, produce or introduce nuclear weapons in the country -- Japan's democratic public has always feared that the United States is using the Japanese-American "security treaty" for the purpose of concealing the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan with the connivance of the Japanese authorities. The American ambassador's statement merely confirmed that such fears are most justified. Washington's declaration of its decision to arm the units of the U. S. Seventh Fleet with cruise missiles equipped with nuclear warheads after 1984 triggered a new wave of alarm and concern in Japan against the background of the confirmation that these ships call on Japanese ports armed with nuclear weapons.

Having charted a course in support of Washington, the Japanese government is trying to pretend that it is as ignorant of the introduction of nuclear weapons in Japan as it has been in the past. However, the fact that Japan's official circles are well informed of this explains its opposition, together with that of the United States and its allies, to acting on the initiative submitted by the Soviet Union at the 33rd UN General Assembly 1978 session on drafting and signing a convention on strengthening the guarantees for the security of non-nuclear powers, and its negative attitude to the resolution submitted by the USSR at the 36th UN General Assembly 1981 session "On the Nondeployment of Nuclear Weapons on the Territory of States Which Have No Such Weapons at This Time." Is this not also related to the unwillingness of the Japanese government legislatively to codify the policy of the three non-nuclear principles?

The country's democratic and peace-loving forces justifiably consider the strengthening of the Japanese-American military and political alliance a real danger in terms of turning the country into a theater of military operations in which the White House is planning on waging a nuclear war without the threat of retaliation on its own territory, as is the case with its European allies. The joint Japanese-American communique, in which for the first time relations between the two countries are described as between "allies," which was signed by Prime Minister Z. Suzuki in Washington on 8 May 1981, triggered a firm protest.

Together with the United States and its NATO allies, Japan was one of the few countries which voted against the UN declaration on "Preventing a Nuclear Catastrophe," which condemns as a most severe crime against mankind the use of nuclear weapons first, i. e., the unleashing of nuclear war, and against a

resolution calling for immediate talks leading to a convention on banning the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron bombs. The Japanese delegates also voted against the resolution on "Nuclear Weapons of All Kinds," which notes the dangerous nature of the doctrine of limited or partial use of nuclear weapons and emphasizes the need to begin with talks on ending the production of nuclear weapons and the subsequent reduction in their stockpiles until they have been totally eliminated.

Japan supported the position held by the United States and NATO and abstained in voting on the resolution "On Banning the Development and Production of New Types of Mass Destruction Weapons and New Systems of Such Weapons," as well as on the resolution on "Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons," which called upon all countries to abstain from producing and deploying new types of chemical weapons, including binary ones, and for the nondeployment of chemical weapons on the territory of states not possessing such weapons at the present time.

The fact that in this difficult period in international relations it was precisely the Soviet Union that submitted these resolutions to the 36th UN General Assembly session and is tirelessly formulating new proposals aimed at eliminating the threat of war and strengthening peace convincingly exposes the myth of the "Soviet military threat." It is no accident that L. I. Brezhnev's message in answer to the appeal by Japanese writers against nuclear war met with such broad response. It emphasizes the Soviet Union's support of the cause of peace and affirms its readiness to take practical steps in curbing the arms race and promoting nuclear disarmament.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed and continues to propose initiatives aimed at easing the tension in the Far East and eliminating reciprocal fears, should such fears be found to exist in bilateral relations, including relations between Japan and the Soviet Union.

The 26th CPSU Congress called for holding talks with all interested countries, specifically aimed at taking steps to promote trust in the Far East. This would not only lower the tension in that part of the world but would be a substantial contribution to strengthening the foundations of world peace. However, this Soviet proposal did not meet with a positive response on the part of official Tokyo circles.

In his 24 March 1982 Tashkent speech L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in this connection that "It is difficult to understand the moral right which some leaders in Tokyo assume in telling their people and the world about the 'fears' which one USSR action or another allegedly inspires in them when they do not even wish to listen to our proposal (made 1 year ago) to discuss reciprocal fears and concerns and to agree on steps acceptable to both countries on strengthening mutual trust. Our proposal on strengthening trust in the Far East does not in the least mandatorily call for an immediate joint assembly of all countries in the area. A movement in that direction is entirely possible on a bilateral basis, between the USSR and Japan, for example."⁵

As we know, during the first UN special disarmament session of May 1978, the Soviet Union declared that it will never be the first to use nuclear weapons

against countries which refuse to produce or acquire nuclear weapons and do not stockpile them on their territory. The Soviet side also proclaimed its readiness to sign a special agreement on this subject with any such non-nuclear power. In his answer to the Japanese writers who had issued an antinuclear-war appeal, L. I. Brezhnev reasserted the Soviet position, stating that the Soviet Union sees no obstacle to "initiating an exchange of views on this matter with Japan as well, both within the framework of the proposal formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress on holding talks on measures of trust in the Far East and in any other form acceptable to both sides."⁶

As was already pointed out, Japan is showing no interest in drafting an international convention on strengthening guarantees on the security of non-nuclear states in the belief that this is a "waste of time and a fruitless experiment," for it would involve "an excessive number of various and complex elements." Whereas Tokyo anticipates major difficulties in drafting international conventions, assuming the existence of real interest in strengthening security and creating an atmosphere of trust with the Soviet Union, no insurmountable obstacles exist to giving a positive response to the readiness of the Soviet side to consider the matter on a bilateral basis. However, so far there has been no Japanese answer to this Soviet proposal as well.

Despite its increased economic possibilities and its aspiration to gain political influence in the world arena, close coordination with the foreign policy course of the United States remains a current feature of Japanese foreign policy. Furthermore, Tokyo's orientation toward Washington's policy increased noticeably at the start of the 1980s.

Compared with the Western European allies of the United States, the Japanese government assumed a stronger pro-American position concerning events in Iran, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. It took a number of unfriendly steps toward the Soviet Union. Japan also adhered to the American policy of economic sanctions and broke off official contacts. This noticeably worsened the atmosphere of Soviet-Japanese relations and was a violation on Japan's part of the clauses of the joint 1973 declaration, which says in part that the two countries will encourage economic cooperation and the signing of contracts between Japanese firms and respective Soviet organizations and assist in their normal and prompt implementation. The declaration also emphasizes the importance of expanding contacts in various areas, including politics.

The fact that whereas the Soviet Union had repeatedly suggested steps aimed at ensuring the stable development of Soviet-Japanese relations on the basis of realistic and mutually profitable positions, Japan not only failed to adopt a constructive position regarding the Soviet initiatives but restricted through its actions the possibility of reaching mutually acceptable agreements on a wide range of bilateral relations became most obvious at the beginning of the 1980s. This is confirmed by Japan's increasing military obligations based on the Japanese-American "security treaty," according to which American military bases directed against the Soviet Union are located in the country, and the establishment of Sino-Japanese military contacts, to which the Chinese side is trying to ascribe an anti-Soviet nature as it is doing with all of its other relations with Japan.

Under these circumstances, considering the existence of parallel strategic interests, which are frequently mentioned in Washington and Beijing, Japan is becoming increasingly involved in U. S. and Chinese foreign policy strategy.

Japan's democratic public is concerned by the desire of the ruling circles to revise the peace-related articles in the country's constitution. This is especially manifested in the increased military preparations and in extending the area of action of the "self-defense forces" far beyond Japanese territory and specifically in the intention to start patrolling the sea lanes within a 1,000-mile radius.

The actions of the Japanese authorities in connection of the so-called "incident with the Soviet military aircraft" of September 1976 were openly hostile to the Soviet Union. Also significant was the connivance of the Japanese authorities in connection with the 1980 efforts of a group of Japanese adventurers who tried to raise the Russian battleship "Admiral Nakhimov," which sank in 1905, in violation of the principles of international law.

The Soviet Union made a principled assessment of all of these actions and drew Japan's attention to their unfriendly nature. It is important to note that actions aimed at applying pressure on the USSR have nothing in common with Japan's interests and have never benefited their initiators.

Political contacts and the development of mutually profitable trade and economic cooperation are being artificially restrained. Japan has dropped from second to fifth place in Soviet trade with developed capitalist countries, falling substantially behind the FRG, Finland, France and Italy. This is largely the result of attempts by some Japanese circles to tie the normal course of development of Soviet-Japanese trade and economic cooperation to the solution of one political problem or another.

In the past many fears had been expressed in Japan on the subject that the Soviet Union does not allegedly exclude the possibility of using its state foreign trade monopoly in exerting political and diplomatic pressure on one country or another. Practical experience proved that this type of approach was characteristic of U. S. policy, which is trying to make of economic sanctions a virtual norm governing relations with other countries. Yet, the Japanese government accepts the American position on this matter.

It is self-evident that such an approach to the development of global economic relations is incompatible with the universally accepted principles on which relations among countries rest. This also undermines confidence in Japan as a trading partner and deprives Japanese companies of profitable orders. Thus, the Japanese companies lost to French and West German firms Soviet orders for equipment for the manufacturing of turbine steel and polyester fibers, and many others.

In supporting the American policy of sanctions, the Japanese government finds itself in a rather peculiar position. As we know, demands to "take steps," which essentially means the use of economic sanctions against Japan itself because of its huge -- \$18 billion -- surplus in its trade with the United States are becoming increasingly louder in the U. S. Congress.

It is worth noting that Japan is beginning to realize that attempts to restrict trade and economic exchanges between it and the Soviet Union can only harm its economic and, in the final account, political interests, as has been repeatedly demonstrated in the past. The Japanese press is increasingly pointing out to the failure of political sanctions in which the main loser has been Japan.

The Japanese business circles, which are interested in the development of trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union and are unwilling to yield profitable orders to Western European companies, favor the rejection of a short-sighted policy. Their view is supported by realistically thinking political leaders. As a result, the fourth Soviet-Japanese trade and payments agreement for 1981-1985 was signed in 1981; a third general agreement on cooperating in the development of Siberian and Far Eastern timber resources was concluded and credits totalling \$1 billion were granted; protocols were signed on extending a \$1 billion bank credit for the purchase from Japan of compressor stations and other equipment for the Urengoy- Uzhgorod gas pipeline and equipment for the production of butadiene; an agreement was reached on purchasing from Japan 750,000 tons of large-diameter pipes worth \$370 million; supplements to the general agreement on the development of the South Yakutian coal complex were adopted; and the sequence of the work on an agreement on exploration for petroleum and natural gas on the continental shelf of Sakhalin Island was established. The pace of development of Soviet-Japanese trade and economic relations would have been far greater had the Japanese government not continued to restrain it artificially.

Tokyo is becoming increasingly aware of the futility of freezing political contacts, the absence of which hinders mainly Japan's interests. This is confirmed by Japan's initiative to resume the meetings between the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries and the practice of working consultations between the Soviet and Japanese foreign affairs ministries. During the Moscow January 1982 consultations, A. A. Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign affairs, met with K. Yanagia, Japan's deputy minister of foreign affairs. The two sides shared the view that the political dialogue between the USSR and Japan should continue on a higher level and that Soviet-Japanese relations should be developed. The Soviet Union remains a supporter of such a dialogue and the exchange of visits between political leaders. However, such visits must lead to further progress instead of regress in reciprocal relations, particularly in the case of high-level encounters.

Soviet-Japanese relations are experiencing a difficult period of development. Some Japanese political and social leaders and members of business and scientific circles are trying to blame the Soviet Union for this. However, convincing proof exists that the Soviet Union has invariably favored the development of relations with its Far Eastern neighbor on the basis of equality, mutually profitable cooperation and true good-neighborly relations. This course was ratified by the 26th CPSU Congress and is embodied in the practical steps taken by the Soviet side.

The Soviet proposals on holding talks resulting in the conclusion of a good-neighborly relations and cooperation treaty and bilateral talks aimed at removing reciprocal fears and concerns and agreeing on steps aimed at

strengthening confidence and concluding an intergovernmental cultural cooperation agreement remain effective. The proposal formulated by L. I. Brezhnev in 1976 during his meeting with the heads of Japan's Federation of Economic Organizations on drafting a 10-15-year cooperation program and a long-term intergovernmental agreement on economic, industrial and scientific and technical cooperation similar to agreements signed between the USSR and the leading Western European countries remains relevant.

The direction of the further development of relations between the USSR and Japan largely depends on the weighed and realistic approach on the part of Japan in assessing the prospects for the development of bilateral relations, based not on looking at the past but on thought about the future, and not on circumstantial considerations but on taking into consideration the position of the other side and its own national interests.

In his Tashkent speech, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "As in the past we favor good-neighborly relations and the broadest possible cooperation with Japan. The USSR is ready to act in that direction, naturally on the basis of reciprocity."

FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, 17 February 1982.
2. MAINITI SHIMBUN, 20 January 1982.
3. TYUO KORON, August 1981.
4. See MAINITI SHIMBUN, 18 May 1981.
5. PRAVDA, 25 March 1982.
6. Ibid., 2 March 1982.
7. Ibid., 25 March 1982.

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REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARDS IN THIRD-WORLD STATES

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 6-9.

[Article by Pyotr Shastitko, Cand. Sc. (Hist.): "The Revolution Must Be Able To Defend Itself"]

[Text]

The problem of defending a revolution and consolidating the victory emerged in the days of the Paris Commune (1871) and has become even more important today. The October Revolution in Russia was the first proletarian revolution in history, which, under the incredibly difficult conditions of the imperialist blockade, the intervention and a fierce Civil War, defended itself successfully, resolutely suppressed counterrevolution, and drove the invaders away. Defence of the revolution becomes one of the principal functions of the revolutionary nucleus which seizes power. Lenin warned that the masses should be ready to rebuff the enemy, that "there has never been a revolution without counter-revolution, nor can there be",¹ and that after their downfall, the defeated classes "throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise', of which they were deprived".²

The contemporary national revolutions and their gains have been incessantly subjected to attacks by enemies acting in collaboration—international imperialism, domestic reaction, and the Peking hegemonists. Therefore, creating an adequate force in defence of the revolution and using it against them is of great significance. Each people has the right to freedom and to defend that freedom by any means, military included. Wars in defence of sovereignty and of the consolidation of national liberation revolutions will always be just. The specific feature inherent in the development of the national liberation movement today primarily consists in that it is developing at a time when the historical initiative belongs to the socialist countries, the forces of progress and democracy—and this exerts a decisive influence on the course of political development throughout the world.

NUCLEUS OF A NEW POWER

The existence of an organisationally strong, politically and ideologically unified *vanguard party* capable of taking upon itself historical responsibility for the destiny of its people undoubtedly ranks first among the preconditions for the triumph and successful defence of a revolution. In a country with an undeveloped class structure and weak socio-political activity among the population, a small group of the military can seize power, but only a ramified and firm political organisation enjoying the confidence and active support of the masses can retain it, defend and develop revolution, and carry out the necessary transformations in economy and social life. It is only such a party that is able to assume the leading role in the political structure of a new society and consistently, resolutely and firmly consolidate and coordinate all its institutions. The party is the nucleus and chief mechanism of power. It is the ideological and political leader of the people.

There are no communist parties in the majority of African and Asian countries, but parties expressing the interests of the working masses have been set up in many of them, with the working class occupying a special place in this alliance. As Lenin said, it is the "intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor"³ of revolutionary action.

The communist and vanguard parties in African and Asian countries place a high value on one of their historic achievements—internationalism, the solid foundation of all genuine, consistent national democratic movements, a pledge of their success in the defence of their gains. Internationalist ties are crucial since the existence of the international working class plays an essential political role, compensating for the absence or

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 254.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 71.

weakness of the national proletariat. Internationalism is the strategic line of activity for the vanguard parties in African and Asian countries, a most important weapon against imperialism, in defending revolutionary gains. Lenin wrote in 1920: "We are proud that we settle the great problems of the workers' struggle for their emancipation by submitting to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, with due account of the experience of the workers in different countries, reckoning with their knowledge and their will."⁴ These words are still valid today. If internationalist ties are neglected, the result is the defeat of the scattered forces of the national liberation movement. Participation in party forums of the representatives of fraternal parties is an important indicator of internationalism. The 26th Congress of the CPSU, which was attended by representatives of 123 parties, including 100 parties of Asian, African and Latin American countries, was an excellent school in this respect.

ALLIANCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND DOMESTIC REACTION

Revolutions and revolutionary transformations set huge masses of people in motion. Leonid Brezhnev told the 25th CPSU Congress: "New generations and social strata, new parties and organisations are joining the revolutionary process. We are witnessing precisely what Lenin wrote about in his time: 'As man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase'."

The setting up of class blocs and alliances, with the united front as their organisational and political form, presents an important condition for the triumph of the revolution, the consolidation and development of independent statehood. The united front is not a short-lived party bloc aimed at achieving a temporary political advantage (for example, victory at election time), but a long-term alliance of classes and social groups working jointly for the transformation of society. With

the help and by means of a united front, the revolutionary vanguard, even if it is small in number, can secure the political consolidation of society, direct the spontaneous revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses toward creative activities, win over the socio-politically active strata of the population (the middle class, intelligentsia, students, patriotically-minded officers, and so on) impel the masses toward active revolutionary creative work and thereby raise the level of their political maturity. We mean primarily the peasantry, the most numerous, once the most oppressed, and still the least organised class in African and Asian countries. Lenin stressed: "The task is to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organisation, regardless of the level they have reached."⁵

Communists reject the thesis of abstract national unity based, for example, on religious or ethnic community. National unity is born, not of demagogic appeals and loud declarations, but of practice—joint political (and sometimes armed) struggle. A united front is a most efficient political mechanism for involving masses in revolutionary creativity. Taking part in it, party and public organisations support the revolution and get an opportunity to engage in active political operations. Parties intensify their influence over the masses through public organisations. In countries where there are no mass

organisations which can join the united front, vanguard parties contribute to their establishment. For example, in Ethiopia the National Ethiopian Trade Union and National Ethiopian Peasant Organisation were set up in 1977. In mid-May 1981, representatives of different social strata and nationalities, tribes and religions in Afghanistan set up the National Patriotic Front. Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, said: "This will be an authoritative, representative and efficient system of mass political organisations which will make it possible to coordinate and unite the energy, enthusiasm, labour efforts of all patriots of our country in the common cause of building a new and flourishing Afghanistan."

The united front is not only an instrument for developing the revolution, but often the means of its salvation. It was the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation that helped the people of that country consolidate the independence of the country relatively quickly, gradually improve the economic situation, and strengthen political stability. National fronts have been created in a number of other Asian and African countries which are successfully defending their national sovereignty and implementing socio-economic changes.

In speaking of a united front, its international aspect should also be borne in mind, primarily the activities of such public organisations as the World Peace Council, the movement of Afro-Asian solidarity, trade union, youth, women's and other associations. Today these organisations are playing an important part in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The lack of political democracy and reluctance to rely on the masses and their public organisations; the refusal to make alliances with progressive parties; the elements of Bonapartism; and ignoring the activities of international progressive public movements lead to the isolation of national revolutionary forces, weaken their resistance to imperialism's intrigues, and are fraught with the danger of defeat.

The creation of a new *state machinery* prepared resolutely to cut short the subversive activity of reactionaries, to rebuff imperialist encroachments, and able competently to organise and guide the economic and social construction is an important condition for the consolidation of the revolutionary gains. After the advent to power of new classes, the state machinery they built will manage material production, settle economic problems, and steer social and ideological processes.

The *army* has a special place in the mechanism of the state. It is characterised by several important features: first, its social composition does not always in all countries adequately reflect the class structure of society at large; second, its rank-and-file, sergeants and petty officers must be periodically replaced; third, in countries with inadequate class differentiation, the army is the most disciplined and well-organised part of society, with the officer corps playing a special role; and fourth, a specific feature is that the army, as a rule, is armed with hardware no other group in society has.

The orientation of the army on the eve of and during the revolution is an important prerequisite for the success of a political coup. After the triumph of the revolution, the attitude toward the army remains one of the most complicated problems facing the ruling party. Re-

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 269.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 162.

revolutionary power cannot exist for long without a reliable means of defence. The setting up of a new army, an army of the people and revolution, equipped with up-to-date armament, ideologically mature and prepared for a possible fight against a strong and well-armed enemy, is a difficult and crucial problem.

In speaking of the role played by the state machinery in defending revolutionary gains in young states with progressive regimes, one should note the tremendous political importance of the new *democratic constitutions*, which the absolute majority of the newly-free countries did not have earlier. Even countries which won their independence much earlier did not have constitutions as a rule. The adoption of a new, democratic constitution far exceeds the boundaries of a simple legislative act. The masses, which have been oppressed for ages, come to feel themselves free citizens whose rights are protected by the state.

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REAL FRUITS OF THE REVOLUTION

Radical socio-economic changes are the goal of a political revolution. Their correct and timely implementation is also of immense importance for the defence of the revolution. In other words, to defend the revolution means to develop it. In this case, the urgent tasks of a correct economic policy and the elaboration of special transitional forms while altering the economic mechanism come to the fore.

Most Afro-Asian countries have several economic structures which either coexist or penetrate each other. But the structures are subject to change, and their place and role in the country may change under the active impact of the political superstructure. In affecting economic development in the country, the superstructure impedes, hampers and limits the development of certain structures and encourages and stimulates the developments of others. Strictly speaking, the triumph of the revolution will be irreversible if it results in changes of a formational nature in which a new socialist structure predominates in the economy. The peoples of the newly-free countries must eliminate the mass of exploitative and patriarchal production relations, and radically change the way of life of millions of people.

Addressing the international scientific conference "The Joint Struggle of the Working Class Movement in the National Liberation Movement Against Imperialism and for Social Progress" held in Berlin in October 1980, Alternate Member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Boris Ponomarev emphasised: "Economic policy is an important sphere of activities of the vanguard parties. The attainment of such a situation when the working people will really feel the fruit of revolution, and not only morally and politically—in terms of acquired human dignity, respect for a man of labour—but also in terms of a tangible improvement of living conditions, is a decisive, it may be said, a turning point guaranteeing the success of the line of socialist orientation." It is precisely such an understanding of their tasks on the part of the leaders of states headed by the vanguard parties that contributes to the consolidation of revolutionary gains.

Irrespective of their orientation, all developing countries attach a special importance to the solution of the *agrarian problem*. For many centuries, feudal landlords were the sole masters of land in imperial Ethiopia. A decree of the Ethiopian revolutionary government eliminated feudal land holding, gave the peasants land, and released them from debts and the paying of rent to landlords.

However, issuing a decree is but the beginning of a certain policy. The task at hand was to break up the age-old archaic order sanctified by religious dogmas and obsolete traditions. Over a period of 18 months, 60,000 activists from towns explained the revolution and the laws of the new power to the peasants and only then did the land reform become a political and economic reality.

Genuine independence can be preserved and consolidated in a newly-free country only when economic positions of foreign capital are undermined. The creation of a *sovereign economy* and the preservation of the right to dispose of natural wealth independently and determine the character of development of national economic potential are the right and aim of each young state. Of course, the elimination of foreign capital domination does not mean the automatic disruption of ties with the capitalist market. The point here is only to establish equitable economic relations.

Many progressive regimes conclude that it is expedient to consolidate stable economic ties with the *socialist community* the economy of which never experiences

crises, recessions or fluctuations. Ties with the socialist countries help them avoid imperialist fetters and develop important branches of national economy. This is why the strengthening of these ties is a vital necessity.

The experience of socio-economic changes in the USSR, in particular the use of transitional forms and types of public transformations when, pursuing a new economic policy, the Soviet state allowed the development of a capitalist structure in the interests of saving the disjointed economy, while retaining control in the hands of the proletarian state, is of great importance for the newly-free countries. In that difficult period Lenin wrote: "Not to break up the old socio-economic system—trade, petty production, petty proprietorship, capitalism—but to revive trade, petty proprietorship, capitalism, while cautiously and gradually getting the upper hand over them or making it possible to subject them to state regulation only to the extent that they revive."⁶ The Communists of Russia and the Soviet government did not permit the petty bourgeoisie to capture the economy of the country, but rather limited its influence and placed it at the service of revolutionary gains.

The experience of the USSR and of many African and Asian countries show that the creation of new socio-economic structures demands consistent efforts over a long period of time.

THE IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON OF REVOLUTION

The building of a new society and the development of a revolution are inconceivable on the basis of the old, archaic ideology. Experience shows that the religious fanaticism fanned in some countries and the use of the vestiges of the past can well bring to life uncontrolled reactionary forces which may break up the old state machinery, but carry no creative charge.

Local nationalism is unable to inspire peoples over a long time to create qualitatively new relationships. The majority of Asian and African states have many ethnic groups, so under the new conditions of independence,

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 110.

nationalism is a disuniting force promoting the development of separatism and chauvinism. *Revolutionary practice demonstrates that democratic forces are unable to secure long-term, serious success if they do not use scientific socialism as their ideological weapon.* Agostinho Neto, first President of the People's Republic of Angola, stated: "Developments constantly reaffirm that only scientific socialism is capable of providing a correct answer to intricate problems of our day and solving them in the peoples' interest and for the progress of the whole of mankind. There can be no African or European socialism, one socialism for highly developed countries and another for the developing countries. There is only scientific socialism which has become a reality on the greater part of the globe."

In speaking of the ideology of national liberation revolutions, one should emphasise that while scientific socialism negates religious dogmas, it is not hostile to believers. Moreover, many clergymen who are sincerely seeking to promote social justice obtain support from revolutionary democratic governments. In considering the resistance to the oppression and arbitrary rule which was manifest among the religious segment of the population and some of the clergy, Lenin wrote: "We socialists must lend this movement our support, carrying the demands of honest and sincere members of the clergy to their conclusion."⁷

To develop and consolidate the successes achieved by

social revolution, a *cultural revolution* must be carried out. Marx wrote: "Ignorance is a demon, ... it will yet be the cause of many a tragedy."⁸ Radical changes demand that politically active, ideologically staunch, professionally trained fighters be educated by society.

Young states with national-democratic regimes have scored immense and indisputable successes in eliminating illiteracy. Cultural revolution also implies the solution of the acute problem of training a national intelligentsia without which scientific and technological progress, as well as growth of the spiritual life of the people, are inconceivable. The commanding posts in national economy should be filled by national personnel—such is the task put forward by the ruling democratic parties before the public education systems of their countries.

Young states must settle the complex *nationalities question*, one of the most complicated issues in Asian and African countries. But there is a direct interconnection: the more profound the social changes, the easier it will be to solve ethnic problems. The only way to solve them is by consistent democratisation providing for complete equality among all peoples, nationalities and ethnic groups, and the right to self-determination, up to and including secession. This right however, is in no way an appeal to secession. Only enemies of the young states will fan national strife and separatist trends.

Attempts to create a multitude of small states on the basis of ethnic principle weaken the national liberation movement. In 1921, Lenin pointed to the "need constantly to explain and expose among the broadest working masses of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practiced by the imperialist powers, which, under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily."⁹

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 85.

⁸ K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, Vol. 1, p. 202.

⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 150.

It is not easy to traverse the path from national reconciliation to national unity in countries where ethnic strife was implanted by the colonialists. The struggle against imperialism and for expansion of the social content of the revolution is the basis which unites the working people of all nationalities and serves as a pledge of democratic solution of the nationalities problem.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE VICTORIOUS REVOLUTION

Historical experience shows that foreign policy serves as a means of defending national liberation revolutions and consolidating young states. Their foreign policies have the aim of creating international conditions of peaceful development and excluding the possibility of imperialist interference in their internal affairs. The problem of winning the right to make a free choice of the road to social development has become a central issue in the relations between the young states and the imperialist powers. This is why the newly-free states support the policy of disarmament, detente and peaceful coexistence. The nonaligned movement has been found

as the concrete form of its expression. International relations have always been and continue to be an arena of class struggle. The historical practice of our day and age has increasingly shown the fruitfulness of joint actions between socialist countries and forces of the national liberation movement. This interaction changes the alignment of forces in the world in favour of democracy. The fact that imperialism internationalises counterrevolution in seeking to pursue its expansionist policy demands greater unity on the part of all anti-imperialist forces. The alliance with the socialist community gives even a small, militarily and economically weak state the possibility of retaining its sovereignty and upholding its revolutionary gains irrespective of its geographic location.

By the 1960s, the wave of national liberation revolutions has reached an especially high peak. When imperialist forces attempted to frustrate this movement, for the first time in history, the USSR made an official proposal in the UN in 1960 to adopt the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Many countries where the national democratic, progressive regimes were established are now facing similar anti-imperialist problems and this impels them to develop *allied regional relations*. This is how the Organisation of African Unity, which consistently does a great deal to defend African revolutions, was set up. The Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation concluded between Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos helps them coordinate their efforts in attaining common goals. The League of Arab Countries is dealing with many complex tasks in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The National Front of Adherence and Resistance, which includes some Arab countries, has also taken a clearcut stand as regards imperialism and Zionism. The Persian Gulf countries which are faced with the grave threat of becoming an object of imperialist aggression must solve the complex task of coordinating their efforts. International relations are an important part of the struggle waged by the peoples of African and Asian countries for their complete political independence and economic sovereignty.

Decades of persistent struggle to defend their revolutionary gains have given the peoples of Asia and Africa rich revolutionary experience, and during these years, diverse forms of revolutionary action have evolved. This experience is an important part of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the national and colonial problem.

LENIN'S WRITINGS ON S. AFRICAN WORKERS' MOVEMENT SURVEYED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 10-11, 15

[Article by Prof. Apollon Davidson, Dr. Sc. (Hist.): "Lenin on South Africa"]

[Text]

The tenets of Lenin's general theoretical legacy which have a direct bearing on the problems that face South African revolutionaries are well known and Lenin's analysis of the particular difficulties which face the working class and all revolutionary forces in multinational, or—all the more so—in multiracial states is of extraordinary significance.

Consolidation of the working people of South Africa in the struggle against apartheid is obstructed by exactly that phenomenon which Lenin described as "tremendous estrangement between the working classes of the various nationalities". He emphasised that "this estrangement is a very great evil, a very great obstacle in the struggle".¹ It is hard to name a country which suffers more from this estrangement and mutual distrust than South Africa.

In many of his works, Lenin also dealt with the complexity of revolutionary activities in countries with heterogeneous national composition, and with the difficulty of working out methods of uniting the masses there. He noted the meticulous work required daily of revolutionaries in such a complex situation.

A number of other general theoretical tenets of Lenin's legacy that have a direct bearing on the present-day South African reality and are taken into account by South African revolutionaries in their difficult struggle, could also be cited. Lenin dealt with the specific situation obtaining in South Africa, too, and examined its various aspects: its socio-economic structure, social struggle and national liberation movement first and foremost. A careful examination of Lenin's legacy will provide fresh proof of his concern for these problems.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The National Question in Our Programme", *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 460.

Recently (three years ago), new evidence of Lenin's interest in the problems of South Africa turned up which confirms his desire to understand its problems as best he could.

Some researchers at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism discovered that in November 1920, Lenin requested that the book *The Black Problem. Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems* by Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu be ordered from London. It had just come out in Lovedale, South Africa.

Lenin received the book in December, 1920.

This was one of the first, if not the very first, book published by Africans in the South of Africa after World War I. D.D.T. Jabavu (1885-1959) expressed the views of a certain segment of the African population. Naturally, Lenin was not only interested in the outlook of such people as Jabavu, but also wanted to get to know them.

Following the suit of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Lenin paid a lively interest to the problems of South Africa.

Engels' evaluation of the Zulu victory at Isandhlwana in the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 is well known. He wrote that the Zulus "did what no European army can do. Armed only with pikes and spears and without firearms, they advanced, under a hail of bullets from the breech loaders, right up to the bayonets of the English infantry—acknowledged as the best in the world for fighting in close formation—throwing them into disorder and even beating them back more than once; and this, despite the colossal disparity in arms."²

² K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, in *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 226.

It is common knowledge that the very last words in the *Capital* by Marx, from the Supplement to Volume III, written by Engels after Marx's death, are devoted to South Africa. It is a description of acts of imperialism in the South of Africa in the epoch of the "scramble for Africa".

Marx even sent three of his articles to the Capetown paper *The Zuid Afrikaan*, and one of them was published there in 1854, true, without signature or headline.³

We can judge of Lenin's attitude to the problems of South Africa by examining his many works. Among those written before the October Revolution, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and the notes that Lenin made in preparation for that work are most succinct with regard to this subject. (The latter are known as "Notebooks on Imperialism".) There one can find

the most diverse data on South Africa—on the attitude of the ruling circles to the problem of labour, on inter-imperialist contradictions, colonial propaganda, statistical data on population size, agricultural produce, foreign trade, the gold "boom", coal extraction, total length of railways and foreign capital investments.⁴ In his notebooks, Lenin copied the titles of books and articles on South Africa he considered essential reading.

When Lenin drew up "Essayed Summary of World History Data after 1870", he included in it both major events in the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and acts of imperialism and colonialism: the Anglo-Boer war of 1879, the events of the Anglo-Transvaal war of 1877-1881, the founding of the Afrikaner Bond Boer party, the setting up of the British South African Company by Cecil Rhodes in 1889, the raid of Jameson—the invasion of Rhodesia by the troops of that company—the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, the uprising of the peoples of Southwest Africa (Namibia) in 1904-1907. Drawing up the "Table of Colonial Seizures and Wars" Lenin also noted the annexation of Botswana by Britain, and the discovery of gold in Transvaal, and the war waged by the British against the Ndebele people.

³ G. G. Lawrie, "The Identification of an Article by Karl Marx in *The Zuid Afrikaan*", *African Notes and News* (Johannesburg), Sept., 1969, Vol. 18, No. 7.

⁴ See V. I. Lenin, "Notebooks on Imperialism", in *Collected Works*, Vol. 39.

In *Imperialism* and "Notebooks on Imperialism" Lenin shows much interest in South Africa. Naturally, South Africa first appears, not in the works written during World War I, but much earlier. The first issue of the first Bolshevik (Communist) paper *Iskra* published in 1900, mentioned South Africa twice.

The South African socialist and workers' movement attracted Lenin's attention as early as the period of the Second International's 7th congress, held in Stuttgart, in 1907. At that time, greetings from Johannesburg were received by the congress, and it was attended by a South African delegate who stated: "We take the stand of international socialism." And although his stand was not in fact consistently socialist, Lenin still made note of the fact that a South African delegate had attended the international socialist forum and considered it a highly significant event.

Only white South African workers took part in the international socialist movement of that period, but Lenin was interested in the growth of the workers' movement as a whole, not just the white segment. Even then he pointed out the weak points in South African white trade unionism. Making an abstract of an article in the journal *International Socialist Review* of October 1913, Lenin wrote: "On South Africa (the Rand). Workers consist of Chinese, Kaffirs⁵ and Whites (ruined by the Boer War). Endless tyranny by the British capitalists, the mine owners and the government. Little by little a class struggle of all the wage workers is developing, but slowly, owing largely to the hesitant attitude of the conservative and narrow-minded labour leaders, who are still wholly in thrall to the old trade unionism."⁶

The condition of the non-European population and its struggle for its rights attracted Lenin's attention. Judging by the abstracts he made for himself, it is evident that he attached great significance to, for instance, the uprising of the Hereros and the Hottentots. Lenin made copious notes accompanied by remarks, and characterisations. He even copied the words of the song of the Herero rebels: "To whom does Hereroland belong?" And the refrain: "Hereroland belongs to us." He made note of the Indian revolts in Natal.

⁵ The word "Kaffir" was then in general use in literature. It was also used in the article V. I. Lenin made an abstract of.

⁶ V. I. Lenin, "Notebooks on Imperialism", in *Collected Works*, Vol. 39, p. 594.

Lenin wrote a great deal about those against whom the peoples of South Africa fought. His estimates of the acts of British imperialism in the South of Africa are widely known. Examining the outlook and activities of Cecil Rhodes, Lenin characterised him as "a millionaire, a financial king, and the chief culprit of the Anglo-Boer war", he stated that Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain "openly advocated imperialism and applied the imperialist policy in the most cynical manner", adding that they were the "heroes of the day" of Britain at the turn of the century.

Lenin observed the most diverse forces oppressing South Africa: from monopoly corporations to common settlers who professed and applied racism in its everyday forms. Lenin noted the aspirations of the rank-and-file members of punitive squads to "rob the land and become landowners". And he especially stressed in the *History of the Modern World* by the well-known historian Albrecht Wirth, the following in connection with South Africa: "Many settlers positively want an uprising in order to check the dangerous growth of the Kaffir po-

pulation and deprive it of its rights and landownership."

In the post-revolutionary years, Lenin's interest in South Africa was especially heightened due to the founding there of the first Communist Party on the African continent and to the wave of class struggle which swept over the industrial areas of the country, the Transvaal and Capetown, in 1918-1922. Describing the "acceleration" of the world revolutionary process, Lenin wrote in 1922: "Not to forget South Africa, which recently reminded the world of its claim to human and not slavish existence, and by methods which were not altogether 'parliamentary'." South African workers stated their demands in a "non-parliamentary way" during the mass strikes that swept the Transvaal following the end of World War I.

As we have stated above, of late new facts have come to light testifying to Lenin's interest in South African problems. The 1970 volume of the *Lenin Miscellany* contains a note Lenin wrote to L. A. Fotieva, then Secretary to the Soviet of People's Commissars (the Government), in the spring of 1920: "Please get me (through Klinger) the report on South Africa." Although, as the editor's note has it: "We failed to find out what report was intended" one can almost definitely assert that Lenin meant the report of Mikhail Volberg who had taken part in the first Russian revolution of 1905 in Moscow and in 1913-1919 lived in South Africa under the assumed name of de Velmont, taking part in the socialist movement there. Volberg arrived in Moscow in the spring of 1920 as the first envoy of South African socialists to the Comintern.

Lenin's telephone message, dictated on April 18, 1922 in connection with the armed uprising of the Transvaal workers, speaks volumes. It was first published only in the late 1950s in one of the last volumes of Lenin's *Complete Works* put out in Russian. It suggests that the Comintern Executive Committee should raise "the question of sending a special correspondent or several correspondents from the Comintern to South Africa to collect the most detailed information and the fullest set of local literature, both legal, and illegal, relating to the recently suppressed workers' uprising".

It goes without saying that Lenin knew the problems of South Africa not just from books, newspapers and reports. He cooperated with South African Communists and Socialists, and had direct personal contacts with them.

David Ivon Jones, founding member of the South African Communist Party, met Lenin and worked with him at the 3rd Congress of the Comintern (June-July, 1921), while preparing for the 4th Congress, and in Comintern activities in general. Jones attended the 3rd Congress of the Comintern and became

member of the Executive. He spent three years in the Soviet Union, from mid-1921 to mid-1924 and took part in both the Comintern Executive's sessions and its day-to-day activities. He was then known as "member of the Comintern Executive from Africa".

S. P. Bunting, leader of the South African Communist Party heard Lenin's report "Five years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of World Revolution" made on November 13, 1922, during the 4th Congress of the Comintern (November-December 1922). It was Lenin's last report to the Comintern.

At the same time, Bunting heard that Lenin had read his article "Colonial Labour Front" written for the Soviet journal *Novy Vostok* (New East). Bunting was told that Lenin wanted to meet him to discuss his article.⁷ Unfortunately that meeting never took place because of Lenin's illness.

It is possible that Lenin met with other South African Socialists and Communists who visited Moscow in 1920-1921: Mikhail Volberg (de Velmont), S. Barlin and Afrikaner Jacob den Bakker who visited Moscow and Tashkent in 1921. The latter made a study of how the Soviet power worked among the peoples of the East.

The South African Communists who met Lenin wrote a series of articles about him. After V. I. Lenin's death, S. P. Bunting published an article "Lenin: Personal Impressions" in the newspaper of the South African Communists,

⁷ S. P. Bunting, "Lenin: Personal Impressions"—*The International* (Johannesburg), January 25, 1924.

The International. These are the only personal memoirs of Lenin written by a representative of Africa.

Bunting also gave an oral account of his impressions of Lenin at a memorial meeting held in front of the Johannesburg Town Hall, on Sunday, January 27, 1924.⁸

Ivon Jones dedicated a great number of his works to Lenin and Leninism; he studied Russian and there is some evidence to the effect that he was translating Lenin's works into English. Among many other works, he wrote long articles: "Lenin's First Book" (about What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats) and "Lenin's First Newspaper" (about Iskra). They were published in four issues of the South African Communist newspaper *The International* and in three issues of the British journal *The Communist Review*. After Lenin's death, Ivon Jones wrote two more long articles: "Lenin Immortal" and "Lenin's Death and After".

Regrettably, Lenin could only meet white representatives of South Africa. The first black African from the South of the African continent came to the Soviet Union three years after Lenin's

death. This visitor was Josiah T. Gumede, General President of the African National Congress. He visited Moscow and Central Asia in 1927. And it was only four years after that the first African Communist, Albert Nzula, a Zulu, managed to come to Moscow.

But the very first article by South African Communists was carried by *Pravda*⁹ two weeks after the South African Communist Party was proclaimed. The article was dedicated to the conditions and struggle of Africans. It expressed profound regret that Africans had failed to attend the Comintern. The article, written by Ivon Jones, stated: "The 3rd Congress of the Comintern

was attended by the representatives of the South African Communist Party. Unfortunately, there were no African delegates among them. This is accounted for by the fact that travel for Blacks was quite impossible; it was also extremely difficult for the white delegates."

Of course, Lenin read that article in *Pravda*.

These are some of the historical facts testifying to the great significance Lenin attached to understanding the problems of South Africa and the destiny of its peoples correctly.

⁸ "In memory of Comrade Lenin", *The International*, February 1, 1924.

⁹ Ivon Jones, "The Condition of Negroes in South Africa"--*Pravda*, Aug. 14, 1924.

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WEST SEEKS NEW RELATIONS TO OIL STATES TO INSURE STABLE SUPPLIES

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[Article by Konstantin Dyachenko, Cand. Sc. (Econ.): "Monopolies in Search of a New Strategy"]

[Text]

The 1970s were a trying period for Western oil monopolies in terms of their activities in the periphery of the world capitalist economy. A sweeping nationalisation of oil monopoly assets in developing countries, primarily in the Middle East, the introduction of tough control over foreign enterprise in oil production in most of them, radical changes in the alignment of forces on the world oil market in favour of oil-exporting countries, the abolition of all concession agreements with the monopolies—all these developments of the first half of the 1970s hit the world oil business more painfully than the postwar upheavals which led to the emergence of politically independent states.

At the turn of the 1980s, some 15 state corporations were operating in the OPEC countries. They controlled about 80 per cent of all oil production: six major suppliers marketed nearly half of the oil extracted without foreign middlemen. Similar tendencies are now obvious in the economies of the young states presently creating their own petroleum industries. The governments of Angola, Syria, the Congo, Mexico and some other states where substantial oil reserves have been discovered recently are determined from the outset to manage fully the exploitation of their oil resources and avoid the bitter experience of those petroleum-producing nations which gained entire control over their resources only in the past ten years.

National sovereignty over oil reserves assures receipt of all revenue formed as a result of the exploitation and export of crude oil to its buyers. The mechanism of determining oil prices has changed drastically. It now largely depends on tentative costs of production of "synthetic" fuel made from coal, shale and bituminous sand (oil prices have grown nearly 20-fold since 1973). The lion's share of new currency earnings has become the property of governmental organisations. By the close of the 1970s, for the OPEC countries this figure was five times as great as in 1972. Taxes on foreign companies which take part in oil extraction by treaty, provide a considerable part of the revenues. High royalties and tax on profit are being collected in most of the countries, sometimes accounting for eighty per cent or more of the profit.

However, one should not consider Western oil monopolies passive observers of the developments in the young nations' oil sector. It is obvious that the heavy blows suffered by foreign property owners have markedly reduced the profit that can be gained from foreign investments. Nevertheless, the transnationals have secured their part in oil extraction in the majority of developing countries, partially solving in this way their minimum programme, that of retaining positions in that key sphere of material production so essential to economic stability in the capitalist world. Imported oil accounts for nearly 60 per cent of the total consumed by Western countries, with OPEC providing some 90 per cent of it.

The new strategy of the oil monopolies has far-reaching long-term objectives. The No. 1 goal is to prevent the "unchecked" development of the oil industry in newly-free states; to ensure, at all costs, the possibility of overtly or covertly regulating the amount of its production and export to secure systematic oil supplies to the West. The imperialists resort to force and to direct threats of intervention wherever oil deliveries might be sharply curtailed

or stopped altogether. However, even the proponents of "putting pressure" on young oil-producing nations speak more insistently of the need to "look ahead".

In modern, neocolonialist terms, this means that the monopolies must find flexible, radically new forms of legal and financial contacts with local organisations, without altering their main task of guaranteeing a stable, long-term supply of oil to the leading capitalist countries. This policy, naturally, requires much spending on the part of the transnationals, the more so since the governments of emergent countries intend to increase their part in oil revenues even further. In the final analysis, however, they are paid back excessively for their investments. Given the present-day level of oil prices, the monopolies' earnings in these countries, though sharply reduced, run into billions of dollars annually with a subsequent manifold rise in the course of oil refining and marketing of petroleum products.

Paying heed to the new alignment of forces in the oil sector of the emergent states as well as to their governments' striving to expand its material basis, former foreign concession owners were quick to back the idea of "partnership" between national and foreign capital in developing the oil resources. One of the Royal Dutch Shell managers said in this context: "There is no doubt that nationalisation is not to our liking even if its terms are acceptable to us. We believe, however, that a country which dares this action realises the need for us to stay and give assistance." While widely advertising their policy of so-called concessions to developing countries, members of the international oil cartel have managed to establish close contacts with the state oil corporations of young countries in a rather short time. International monopolies which only recently plundered other nations' oil resources unimpeded, are now their chief partners: Standard Oil of California in Saudi Arabia, Shell in Qatar and Nigeria, Gulf in Kuwait, Mobile and Esso in Libya, Total in Algeria, Stanwak and Caltex in Indonesia, ELF in Gabon and Texaco in Ecuador.

Having sold part of their shares to a state for quite a large sum, the branches of oil monopolies are now co-owners of mixed companies. By the early 1980s, there were nearly 70 such companies in the OPEC countries: 19 of them in Gabon, 11 in Algeria, nine in Nigeria, seven in the United Arab Emirates, and six in Libya.

Mixed companies are now the chief oil producers in these countries as well as in the large group of such oil extracting states as Oman, Egypt, the Congo, and Bahrain. Not infrequently this concentration of production results in a situation where oil extraction is carried out by one or two firms (SONATRACH-Total in Algeria, Oasis in Libya, ELF-Gabon in Gabon, and Banoco in Bahrain).

Following a stubborn struggle, national businessmen managed to gain priority in mixed companies where they hold up to 60 per cent of the shares in most cases. At the same time, in some young states, foreign subsidiaries still control more than 50 per cent of joint capital, taking advantage of a weak state sector, the shortage of local technical specialists, and the difficulties which accompany the prospecting for and extraction of oil in some areas.

The fact that foreign monopolies are perfecting the con-

tractual and organisational basis of their relations with the oil companies in the developing countries, brought about many "production sharing" contracts. They enable foreign partners to participate directly in developing new oil deposits, to define the scale of production taking due account of their own needs, and also to take part in oil sharing, enjoying tax breaks and discounts as compared with the world prices. In the 1970s, the OPEC countries signed more than 50 "production sharing" contracts. Some of them have made this form of cooperation fundamental in their relationship with foreign capital. In a bid to have

reliable guarantees in oil sharing, the monopolies specify the terms during prospecting, i. e., long before joint exploitation of the deposits begins. This is particularly typical of countries where the oil industry is just emerging, such as Peru, Jamaica, Pakistan, Turkey and Burma, the government of which permitted more than 50 such contracts in 1980 alone.

Such a penetration of foreign contractors into oil production on the "production sharing" basis has been coupled of late with their direct participation in the local firms' capital. This phenomenon first took place in Indonesia where foreign subsidiaries were given the broadest sphere of action. (About 20 "production sharing" contracts have been signed there within the last two years). Teikoku, Compagnie Française de Pétrole, Deminex, Stanwak,

Japex, i. e., representatives of monopolies of the leading capitalist powers, are active proponents of financial interference. Similar trends are gaining momentum in Malaysia, Oman, Nigeria and other states.

The new strategy of penetrating the oil sector by the foreign companies preserves their monopoly on the technology and equipment used, as well as on know-how and managerial experience. This kind of dependence is characteristic of all forms of cooperation, including mixed firms and all manner of contractual agreements. Moreover, the possibility of exercising technological control over joint projects often makes foreign businessmen indifferent to the legal aspect of the matter, for the technological aspect

is a powerful instrument of pressure. This new system of involvement of the monopolies in the development of oil resources is undoubtedly a blatant manifestation of "technological colonialism".

These trends have grown stronger largely due to the fact that the exploration and extraction of oil have moved to the continental shelf areas of the young countries, which today ensure, in the main, growth in oil production. It is not by chance that the monopolies have applied the most effective measures to control oil production in Indonesia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait, Gabon and many

other coastal oil-producing states. Underwater drilling requires up-to-date technology and know-how, and costs, on an average, three to five times more than similar operations on land, all of which make the task very difficult from the outset.

In a bid to embellish their "technological" offensive on the oil resources of newly-free states, Western monopolies have imposed special contracts on "service", "operation services", "management", etc., to secure a commission for the foreign contractors on each barrel of extracted oil. But this is a formal aspect of the matter. Actually, they need guarantees of a regular supply of oil to Western consumers over the course of many years.

The economic and social effect of such a policy differs in various developing states. Given present-day conditions, many young countries simply forbid direct participation of the foreign monopolies in their oil sector, but regard the above services as the most suitable form of cooperation. Their ruling quarters resort to such cooperation as a forced measure to consolidate their oil corporations and quickly train national personnel for replacing foreign specialists. This road was chosen by Iraq, Libya, Venezuela and Mexico, to be followed lately by a group of progressive-oriented nations, such as Syria, Mozambique, Madagascar and Nicaragua where the power engineering is just emerging.

On the other hand, there are many petroleum-producing states the ruling circles of which have not taken the cardinal steps to create a ramified system capable of ensuring the allround development of national oil resources without foreign aid, in the national interest of the country concerned. Not infrequently, new owners of oil deposits dege-

nerate into "oil rentiers" placing their enterprises under the supervision of foreign managers for a long time. This is the case with Egypt, Zaire, Morocco, Niger, Kenya, Guatemala and Brazil. Most parasitic in this respect is the policy pursued by the rulers of some Arabian monarchies where the extraction of vast amounts of oil is, as before, carried out almost entirely by foreign firms.

Trying to adapt themselves to the new conditions obtaining in the oil-producing countries, the monopolies have considerably expanded their contacts with them, diversifying their structure to some extent. They participate actively in oil prospecting which is in full swing in the majority of young states. Western companies are benefitting from

the latter's concern about the impending exhaustion of their old oil deposits and are ever more active in prospecting for oil in new areas. Particular interest is shown in countries which are keen on expanding their petroleum exports (Mexico, Malaysia, Brunei, Bahrain and other non-OPEC members). West European and Japanese companies display particular vigour there. For a long time, they could not compete seriously with their influential US "colleagues" who had firmly entrenched themselves in the key oil producing regions, the Middle East in the first place. The activities of Japanese firms, now an independent unit in the drive for oil, are characterised by great flexibility. They are the leaders in applying the newest forms of cooperation, above all with countries which have been inadequately "prospected" for oil by the international oil cartel. Other members of the cartel, particularly US corporations, are also very active there, hoping to diversify the range of countries supplying them with oil.

The monopolies are now trying to exercise a comprehensive approach to the development of oil resources. The factor behind this is the desire to control the production cycle fully—from prospecting to partial refining. This also offers foreign subsidiaries additional possibilities to manoeuvre and compensate for the losses suffered during production with money gained at profitable production stages.

Of late, monopoly capital has more frequently been willing to take what might seem to be a "luxury", namely, so-called "risk contracts" which do not provide compensation for fruitless oil prospecting. Practice shows, however, that losses in these cases are almost non-existent since the areas under exploration are vast and oil-bearing, a fact of which foreign monopolies are well aware. Dozens of foreign firms are now "taking risk" in this way. Nearly 50 "risk contracts" on seismic exploration and test drilling to the tune of more than \$300 million have been signed in Brazil alone. Given the support of the imperialist states' monopoly capital, foreign private companies are hoping to participate, on particularly favourable terms, in oil sharing in newly-developed areas till the year 2000. Most active here is Japan which has recently made an offer to the Indonesian government to pay \$300 million for exploration rights on the sea shelf, the final result notwithstanding.

The oil monopolies' new tactics prove rather effective in some young states, securing regular supplies of oil to Western firms (for a sum of the earnings) as repayment for the latter's expenses and in observance of their special right to buy oil from the national corporations' funds. Most of the "risk", "services" and particularly "production sharing" agreements envisage the repayment of the expenses. The earnings from invested capital (the net profit of a foreign firm) can also be turned into a commodity. Loan capital interest and some remuneration depending on the degree of risk are also paid as envisioned in "risk" contracts.

Western contractors also enjoy the right to be the first buyers of oil, including that extracted jointly with their partners under a definite contract. This is done by a subsidiary which redeems part of oil which has become the property of the state petroleum corporation, as its share under the contract. This tactics once again demonstrates the flexibility of the oil monopolies' activities in the young states, the increasing "purposefulness" with which they strive to gain direct access to other countries' oil riches. Stable and long-term imports are no less important

now than the purely commercial aspects of the matter.

The mechanism of the monopolies' adaptation to new conditions is working effectively, producing ever new ways of influencing national corporations. Foreign subsidiaries' pooling of their efforts by creating consortia wherever possible is one such form. This creates additional obstacles hindering the nationalisation of the property of those subsidiaries which act against the rules of the young states. To carry out large-scale oil projects, foreign firms frequently pool their efforts.

The policy of the oil monopolies directed by Western state-monopoly capital is becoming ever more global. Its advocates are well aware that their hopes to preserve relations with oil-producing countries will prove futile if the aggravating energy problems in dozens of other oil-importing independent states are not taken into account. For this reason, the latter began attracting close attention of the oil corporations. While expanding their "presence" in this part of the capitalist world's periphery, they strive to achieve several goals.

Thus, many petroleum importers have their own significant resources (Argentina, Brazil, Peru), which makes Western countries hope for their speedy development and involvement in the world economy. Here are some examples: in the latter half of the 1970s, several countries exceeded the self-sufficiency level and started exporting petroleum. In 1980, they were joined by the Philippines, the rich oil deposits of which were developed with the assistance of foreign capital. It is expected that by the year 2000, almost each fifth ton of oil and oil products will be consumed by non-OPEC developing countries.

Last but not least, there is an important political reason for the Western states' interest in the acute energy problems of the developing nations which have no oil deposits: the desire to prevent the spread of anti-imperialist sentiments caused by the rise in the cost of living, of imported goods and by growing debts to imperialist states. In a bid to conceal their selfish interests in the peripheries, Western monopolies rally support for "international" methods to solve the problem. A major role is assigned to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development under the auspices of which some 30 projects were worked out in 1979 alone. Half of the projects are intended for the poorest states where the annual per capita income does not exceed \$500. The IBRD is ready to give a \$1,000 million loan by 1983, however, one can hardly expect genuinely equal international cooperation in realising such projects. The developing countries have no particular illusion as to the Bank's true intentions. This is evidenced, for example, from their recent refusal to recognise the IBRD as the main creditor in the integrated international raw materials programme.

Relations with developing countries are difficult for the oil monopolies to control, and now involve a whole spectrum of economic, social and political problems which the monopolists are trying to solve by neocolonial methods, hoping to regain initiative and force developments favourable for themselves. Their pressure on the young oil-producing nations has become even greater following the 1979 energy crisis. The young states must constantly be on guard to preserve the positions won from the monopolies and to ensure that their activities serve the interests of national development.

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AAPSO DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE HOLDS FIRST MEETING

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 82 p 15

[Article by Vladimir Kollontai: "Newly-Free Countries Against the Arms Race"]

[Text]

The first session of the Disarmament Committee set up by the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation was held in Moscow on 24-25 March and was attended by over 40 delegates from 25 countries. The session discussed a wide range of problems pertaining to the participation of citizens of the developing countries in the struggle against the threat of war and the imperialist arms race, and for international detente.

The past year saw the dangerous activation of aggressive imperialist forces. The US powers that be are openly intensifying international tensions. Washington has foiled the ratification of the SALT-2 agreement and is striving to change the present correlation of forces in the world.

At the same time the ideologists of imperialism seek to convince the peoples of Asia and Africa that none of these problems have anything to do with them. In this way, they want to drive a wedge between the liberation and anti-imperialist movement and the struggle for peace and against the arms race. However, reality shows that growing international tensions and the escalated arms race are seriously jeopardising the future of the whole of humankind, including the developing nations.

The American imperialists use international tensions to carry out their long-range plans to defeat the democratic forces in Asian and African countries. A year ago, Washington declared that the majority of countries that had freed themselves from colonialism were within the "zone of its vital interests". At the turn of this century, the US ruling elite invoked the "big stick" policy with respect to the Latin American countries. Now it wants to turn the tide of history and apply this doctrine to the entire developing world. By making military alliances with individual countries, Washington is consolidating their reactionary regimes and breeding new seats of international tension. Building up the military potential of Israel, South Africa and other allies of imperialism thus poses a direct threat to the independent and peaceful development of all Asian and African countries. Furthermore, by arming its military allies, the US is forcing freedom-loving nations to spend increasing amounts on defence. This severely hampers the solution of the acute economic and social problems they face.

The disarmament problem, as was repeatedly stressed in the documents of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, is closely linked with the developing countries' demands

to restructure the international economic relations and efforts to solve problems of social and economic development. The appeal adopted by the participants in the session states: "No progress in establishing a new world economic order can be made without significant advances in disarmament. The AAPSO wants the Third World nations to understand that pressure on their part, like the West European nations' campaign against nuclear weapons, is an indispensable condition for their own social and economic development, and that the disarmament campaign launched by the Third World countries should be connected with efforts already made in this field by the nonalignment movement."

The participants in the session emphasised the need to expose the propaganda campaign designed to justify the arms race. Claims that international tensions can allegedly benefit the developing countries is an especially dangerous camouflage used by imperialist expansion. In everything it does, the AAPSO stresses the inseparable relationship between the liberation movement and the struggle for peace and disarmament. It proceeds from the need persistently to make demands on and appeal to specific individuals and organisations responsible for the growing preparations for war rather than from a need to denounce the arms race in the abstract. Public control should be instituted over the actions of those regimes in the African and Asian world that have embarked on the road of overtly or covertly cooperating with the United States in the military and political fields.

In his address, A. R. Nouri, the AAPSO General Secretary and Vice Chairman of the Special Committee of the Geneva Disarmament Centre of Non-Governmental Organisations, called on the public and political forces on the two continents to mount actions in their home countries against the imperialist arms race and the policy of stepping up international tensions. He also invited them to participate actively in the preparations for and holding of the international conference on "World Public Opinion and the UN Second Special Disarmament Session." He also emphasised the AAPSO's intent to do everything possible to ensure the active participation of the African and Asian public in the work of the Second Special Disarmament Session of the UN General Assembly in July 1982.

ZIONIST INFLUENCE IN U.S. POLITICS EXAMINED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 19-21

[Article by Serghei Sergheyev: "Washington's Zionist Lobby"]

[Text]

International Zionism is an important component in the gamut of forces which the aggressive imperialist circles use against the socialist community, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement. Zionism is an ideology well-suited to the interests of the Israeli rulers and the most chauvinistic strata of big Jewish bourgeoisie which makes up part of monopoly capital in the USA and other imperialist countries. Its proponents act hand in glove with the most reactionary forces of the present day, and work against detente and a

just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

The USA's Zionist circles derive their influence from the tangible economic and political power wielded by the Jewish bourgeoisie. Jewish capitalists figure prominently in investment banking, in light and food industries, in retail and wholesale trade, in mass media, and in the movie industry. In the last few decades, Jewish businessmen have increasingly gained ground in the aerospace industry and electronics, the key branches of the US military-industrial complex. But this is not to say that the big Jewish bourgeoisie is an isolated grouping within American society. They form an inseparable part of the ruling class and are closely associated with the principal monopoly groups such as the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Duponts and others.

Unlike in Israel, where the Zionist bourgeoisie holds state power, the Zionists in the United States can take action (and quite successfully at that) only within the context of the overall imperialist ideology and politics of the ruling classes. Although they are faithful servants of US imperialism, American Zionists are seeking to build up their economic and political influence so they will have a bigger say in shaping Washington's strategy.

The USA has a ramified network of Zionist organisations representing all the main trends in international Zionism. On the extreme right is the US branch of Begin's Herut party. The influential Zionist Organisation of America is closely connected with the Israeli Labour Party which, together with the Herut, forms the ruling Likud bloc. Religious circles are represented by the Religious Zionists of America which maintain contacts with Israel's National Religious Party. Social reformism is

the ideology of the Labour Zionist Alliance, which takes its cue from the Israeli Labour Party. There are also a number of smaller Zionist groups. According to official statistics, 200,000 of the 6,000,000 American Jews were on the electoral college for the 29th Congress of the World Zionist Organisation.

There are also several Jewish bourgeois nationalist organisations which, although registered as "non-Zionist", engage in pro-Zionist activities, such as vigorous Zionist lobbying in favour of "support for Israel" "defence of Soviet

Jews" and other far-fetched notions. For example, the American Jewish Committee, uniting the cream of the big Jewish bourgeoisie, B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Congress, etc., are all such groups.

Zionist lobbying efforts have been centred on Congress and the Administration for years. The Zionists draw support from their allies in the Democratic and the Republican Parties, religious circles, public organisations, trade unions and among the intellectual elite. They seek to use to their advantage the fact that Jewish capitalists make large donations to the electoral funds of both parties, and that Jewish voters are concentrated in New York and some other key states. Of particular importance is Jewish influence on

the mass media, including NBC, ABC and CBS, The New York Times, the Washington Post, Time, Newsweek, New Republic, etc.

It is not by chance, therefore, that all presidential candidates are eager to enlist the support of the Zionists. The 1980 electoral campaign was no exception in this respect. Moreover, at times it looked like a "who-makes-more-for-Israel" competition between Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan and "independent" James Anderson. As for the Republican candidate, he went so far in his demagoguery as to accuse Jimmy Carter of giving "insufficient" support to Israel and selling F-15 fighter planes to Saudi Arabia, which was allegedly creating a "threat to Israel's security". Reagan assured the 1980 annual conference of B'nai B'rith and the Zionist Jewish Telegraphic Agency that support for Israel would be the cornerstone of his Middle Eastern policies.¹ He also said that the Zionist cam-

paign "in defence of the Soviet Jews" would be among priorities of his Administration.

This profession de foi was to the liking of the American Zionists. The Israeli government, too, showed a clear preference for the Republican candidate, fearing that Jimmy Carter, should he be reelected, would be less pliant to susceptible internal political pressure, and would not think it quite so desirable to stand upon ceremony with Israel.

Ronald Reagan received backing from several leaders of the Jewish community such as Max Fisher, chairman of the managerial council of the umbrella Zionist organisation Jewish Agency, and N. Cummings and N. Blummingdale, both representing two influential trading clans. A number of pro-Zionist personalities were to be found in his retinue, including Israeli citizens professors Perlemutter, Raanan and Lutvak, and former US Air Force Intelligence officer J. Churba (an activist for the Zionist Organisation of America) who were the inspiration behind his Middle East statements.

This was a factor which prompted the Jewish community to degress from its traditional, almost 100 per cent backing of the Democratic Party. The "Jewish vote" was split in 1980, with no candidate receiving the absolute majority. Although Jimmy Carter won 42 per cent of the Jewish votes, the withdrawal of Jewish votes in favour of Reagan (35 per cent) and Anderson (21 per cent) hit him the hardest in states with large Jewish populations like New York and Florida.

¹ *Near East Report*, Sept. 12, 1980.

The new Administration and the Zionists are drawn closer together by their open anti-Sovietism, undisguised hostility to social and national emancipation. The Zionists give full support to the Reagan policies of escalating the arms race, renouncing détente, an using force against recalcitrant movements and regimes. Moreover, a number of pro-Zionist figures got important appointments in the political division of the Administration. These include Richard Pipes, the so-called "specialist" in US-Soviet relations employed by the National Security Council, who became "famous" for his rabid anti-Sovietism while still a professor at Harvard; R. Tanter, another National Security Council man, who was given supervision over the Middle

East policies; H. Sicherman, adviser to the Secretary of State on Middle Eastern Affairs, former Director of the Institute for Foreign Policy in Philadelphia; C. Gershman, Deputy Ambassador of the USA to the UN, a leader of the US "labour Zionists" and others.

In this context, it would not be inappropriate to examine the role of Eugene Rostow, Director of the Agency for Disarmament and Control of Armaments, and R. Perle, Under-Secretary for Defence. Both are staunch opponents of the SALT-2 Treaty and vigorous advocates of unrestricted military aid to the Israeli aggressors. Eugene Rostow gained renown as a "superhawk" during the US aggression in Vietnam when he was Under-Secretary of State in the Johnson Administration. In addition he was one of the planners of US backing of the Israeli aggression against Arab countries in 1967. Later, he called for Israel to annex the captured Arab lands. In the 1970s, he was among the founders and leaders of the Committee for the Present Danger designed to help the military-industrial complex bring back the cold war.

R. Perle appeared in the Washington orbit ten years ago, when he became an aid and "right hand man" to Senator Henry Jackson. It was he who, acting on behalf of his patron, used the notorious Jackson-Vanik Amendment to block the normalisation of Soviet-US trade in Congress. He was also one of those who organised opposition to the SALT-2 Treaty. At the same time, he was active behind the scenes in pushing through numerous pro-Israeli resolutions and statements in Congress.

The present Administration is also greatly influenced by the N. Podhorez-I. Kristoll pro-Zionist group which unites the so-called neo-conservative wing of the Jewish public. It controls the *Commentary* journal published by the

American Jewish Committee, and Public Interest, the organ of the American Enterprise Institute, one of the most important "brain trusts" of the Republican Party. These journals both call for cutting down on social expenditures and beefing up the military budget, with "arguments" in favour of greater reliance on Israel in counteracting the "communist influence" in the Middle East. They have long become mouthpieces of military-industrial complex and Zionist propaganda.

Of late, Zionist circles have established close contacts with some extreme right-wing "Christian" groupings, such as the Moral Majority, the Religious Round Table, the Christian Voice and others, which, according to the 1980 electoral returns, have become an influential political force. The Zionists are undaunted by the anti-Semitic purport of the propaganda of these groups,

and even the calls to "Christianise America" in view of the simple fact that their views are identical on the main issue: they hate the Soviet Union and profess undisguised anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Besides, their calls to "support Israel" which they substantiate by references to Biblical prophecies are grist to the Zionists' mill. It was not by chance that Prime Minister Menahem Begin of Israel himself presented the Zhabotinsky Prize to Pastor J. Fallwell, leader of the Moral Majority.

In addition to strengthening their ties with the extreme right, Zionist lobbyists are seeking to consolidate their positions on Capitol Hill where they have lost, either by failure to be reelected or through retirement, several leaders of the pro-Israeli coalition, above all Jacob Javits, Frank Church, R. Stone and K. Case, who for years were in the lead of all the pro-Israeli initiatives in Congress. This is why the lobbyists from the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) are hastily trying to establish ties with the new leadership of the Senate where the conservative Republicans, not the Liberal Democrats, now have the majority. The AIPAC was set the task of establishing the necessary ties at its annual conference held in May 1981 in Washington.

The Zionist lobby is considered as one of the most efficient in Washington. It is never short of money or experts. Thus, the AIPAC division charged with lobbying in Congress has a staff of 24 and a budget of \$ 700,000.² In addition, lobbying in the White House

and the State Department is the objective of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations incorporating 34 Zionist and pro-Zionist organisations.

The Zionist lobby in Washington is only the tip of the iceberg. Its great strength lies in the well-greased mechanism of local political pressure extending to towns, electoral constituencies and states. The lobbyists have only to pull a string, as immediately a well organised campaign of pressure on the Administration and Congress is launched throughout the country. Demonstrations and meetings are held, petitions are signed, etc.

The Zionist lobbyists' instructions to the local groups specify methods of influencing different social strata to gain their support in putting pressure on the Administration. Thus, the plan-cum-programme of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council—an umbrella organisation for the main national and local offices of the Jewish community—recommends that eight groups be worked on: business-

men, lawyers, Christian churches, trade unions, committees of war veterans, women's organisations, and Black and other ethnic groups. It says, for example, that the businessmen, either individually or through various business organisations and social clubs such as Civanis and the Rotary, exert considerable influence on the Administration's policies and, therefore, in conducting propaganda among them, it is worthwhile to emphasise the contribution Israel is making in technology, science and trade to the development of Middle Eastern markets and the ensuing prospects for US business. In approaching the trade unions, it is recommended that their ties with Histadrut be emphasised and the AFL-CIO leadership's anti-communism be played up, while in enlisting the support of veterans, their "distrust of the Soviet Union" be mentioned as a key factor.

These methods allow the Zionists to gain the support of influential political forces. However, they are so successful mainly because the Zionists are always prepared to render various services to American imperialism in its anti-Soviet campaign.

For example, the Zionists have actively joined the Reagan Administration's anti-Soviet propaganda campaign keyed by hypocritical calls to fight "international terrorism". At the same time, they have not the slightest doubt that the White House will take under its protection the Israeli rulers who have raised terrorism to the status of a state policy, a fact corroborated by Israel's bandit raids against Iraq and the Lebanon. In its turn, Zionist propaganda backed the US provocation

² *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Aug. 14, 1981.

against the Libyan patrol planes. In May 1981, the White House shamelessly held a formal reception for the criminal Mendelevich, a participant in the attempt to hijack a Soviet airliner near Leningrad in 1970. The US President and his retinue hastened to call him no more no less than a victim of "Soviet anti-Semitism". It is worthwhile recalling that the USA is still concealing the Brazinskases who hijacked another Soviet airliner, killed the stewardess, and gravely wounded several members of the crew.

The Zionists widely collaborated with the American delegation to the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. They spared no efforts to have the Conference discuss the far-fetched issue concerning the "condition of Soviet Jews". An "expert" delegation came to Madrid for this purpose, which included S. Lowell, former chairman of the National Conference for Soviet Jews, J. Goodman, its Director, W. Corey, Director of the foreign policy division of the B'nai B'rith, S. Roth, Director of the Institute for Jewish Research and others. According to a plan agreed upon in advance, the

Madrid Conference was visited by a group of Zionist figures led by Alan Rothschild, a delegation of the head rabbis of the West European countries, and several MPs from the USA and other countries specially selected for the purpose. The speeches to the Conference made by J. Bell, the head of the American delegation, were written on the basis of the materials prepared by Zionists. Another member of the delegation, M. Kampelman, is well known in the pro-Zionist circles of the Jewish community. Throughout the Conference, he was closely collaborating with the Zionist "experts". No wonder his work, which was aimed at blocking the Madrid Conference, was praised by the White House.

The change of Administration in Washington marked a new stage in the evolution of the US-Israeli alliance. It is not by chance that the present Administration is known as the most pro-Israeli for years. Washington considers Tel Aviv its most reliable ally in the Middle East and a springboard for spreading American control to the rest of the region. Speaking at one of his first press-conferences, President Reagan stressed that Israel has combat-tested armed forces ever ready for action, and represents a factor in the Middle East favourable to the USA.³ The US leaders do not disguise their intention to make the utmost use of Israel in American interests. For their part, the Zionists are also in favour of strengthening the US-Israeli alliance.

³ See *The Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 4, 1981, p. 2.

During Menahem Begin's visit to Washington in September 1981, a number of issues of wider military and political cooperation between the two countries were discussed. According to *The New York Times*, Reagan and Begin discussed holding joint military exercises regularly and using the territory of Israel for US military exercises; cooperation in supplies, including the use of Israeli installations to repair and service US ships and aircraft; greater exchanges of intelligence information, including a possible arrangement to enable Israel to receive data from US spy satellites; and finally, the use of Israeli territory as an advanced bridgehead in case of an emergent stationing of the "rapid deployment forces", including the storage of US equipment and ammunition.⁴

After it felt it could rely on the growing support of Washington, the Begin government dramatically stepped up its aggression against Arab countries. In June 1981, Israeli aircraft attacked the nuclear reactor in Iraq. In July, Israel began an unprecedented

bombing of Lebanese towns and Palestinian refugee camps. The US Zionists fully supported these acts with Zionist propaganda claiming that these Israeli provocations were allegedly a "response" to "Arab terrorism". The American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee and other lobbyist organisations demanded that the Administration support Israel's criminal actions openly. When the Reagan Administration, faced with Arab and worldwide outrage, attempted to dissociate itself from the Begin government and announced a temporary ban on the supplies of F-16 planes to Israel, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organisations lodged a protest. In its letter to the President, it demanded an immediate resumption of supplies. A few weeks later the Administration announced that the promised planes were flying to Israel. Thus, the widely publicised American arms "embargo" failed to have any tangible effect.

Moreover, far from reducing aid, the USA is increasing its military and economic aid to Israel. Between 1949 and 1981, Washington has granted Tel Aviv \$21 billion in governmental aid. In the 1982 fiscal year, Israel will be given another \$1,400 million in military aid and \$785 mln in economic aid. There are plans to increase aid to Israel by \$300-500 million in the 1983 and 1984 fiscal years. These handouts are being given when the Administration has drastically reduced expenditures on social needs, allegedly to introduce budget cuts. Thus it is only due to Washington's military support that Tel Aviv was

⁴ *The New York Times*, Sept. 6, 9, 12, 1981.

able to create and continues to modernise its huge military machine, and that it has been able to hold the occupied Arab lands and threaten the neighbouring countries.

Although Israel has long held first place in the world in US aid and in per capita dollar receipts, the Zionist lobbyists are not content with the results achieved. The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee and other lobbyist centres are starting a campaign to have the Israeli debts to the USA cancelled. In 1980, with a GNP of \$21 billion, Israel had debts to the tune of \$19 billion, half of which are owed to Washington. Therefore, the Zionists are demanding that the Reagan Administration allow Tel Aviv to discontinue the repayment of loans which amount to \$700 mln annually.

The Zionists are seeking to consolidate Israel's position as a privileged ally of the USA in the Middle East. While helping Washington strengthen its ties with conservative Arab regimes, the Zionists are working to prevent these ties from developing at the expense of US-Israeli relations. This concerns US arms supplies to Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan first of all. The Zionist lobby is seeking to control

both the amount and quality of these supplies.

The lobby again centred its pressure on Congress which has the power to ban intended arms sales. In June 1981, most of the Senators and Representatives sent a letter to the White House—a letter prepared by the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee—demanding that arms sales to Saudi Arabia be cancelled. This was an impressive demonstration of the pro-Israeli forces in Congress. Neverthe-

less, the Reagan Administration declined to renounce its offer. A bargaining session ensued over the terms of the deal with the Zionist lobby trying to snatch important concessions. They demanded first that Israel be "compensated" by being given the most sophisticated weapons and greater amount of gratuitous aid with smaller share of credits; that the Israeli debts be cancelled; and that Israel be given access to US spy satellites monitoring the Middle East. Second, they pressed for a reduction in the volume of arms sales to Saudi Arabia and for some types of weapons and equipment to be struck off the list. Third, they insisted that the Americans retain control over the AWACS systems purchased by the Saudis. Fourth, they wanted the Administration to obtain political concessions from the Saudis in favour of Israel, so they would be drawn into the "Camp David process". This position of the Committee with the Begin government standing behind in no way contradicts the imperialist strategy of the USA, although it poses certain difficulties for the Reagan Administration's diplomatic moves.

The September 1981 talks between Ronald Reagan and Menahem Begin were preceded by consultations between the Israeli Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Foreign Minister and the leaders of US Zionist and pro-Zionist organisations. This paved the way for another step in extending the military and political alliance of Israel and the USA in which the binding force is Washington's Zionist lobby. Its activities present a danger to the cause of peace, and contradict the national interests of Americans, including American working people of Jewish origin.

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SOVIET-AFRICAN CONFERENCE CRITICIZES 'IMPERIALISM,' CAPITALISM

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[Proceedings of the Soviet-African Scientific and Political Conference:
"For Peace and Social Progress"]

[Text]

Our journal has already informed readers of the first Soviet-African Scientific and Political Conference held in Moscow in October 1981 [see Nos. 1, 2, 1982]. In this issue we shall give a brief account of the discussions which took place at the Conference.

The representative nature of the Conference, which was attended by about 800 scholars and political figures from the USSR and 25 African countries, as well as the broad range of topics discussed and the high scientific level of the majority of reports testify to the importance of the problems, and to the great interest displayed by the Soviet and African public in holding such conferences.

The main attention of the participants in the three sections was concentrated on the following items: a) aggravation of the contemporary international situation; b) the influence of this factor on Soviet-African relations, and c) on socio-economic processes in African countries.

These problems were examined at the plenary meetings of the Conference, in particular, in the reports by Anatoli Gromyko, Director of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences;¹ General Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria, a prominent political figure in Africa; P. Koshelev, Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; Dr. Richard Andriamanjato, President of the Congress of Independence of Madagascar Party, Vice-President of the Political Bureau of the National Front of the Defence of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution; Sergio Vieira, Member of the Central Committee of the FRELIMO Party, Governor of the Bank of Mozambique; Luis Filipe Pizzarro, Director of the Department of Political Education, Central Committee of the MPLA—Workers' Party; L. Goncharov, Dr. Sc. (Econ.), Deputy Director of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences; Worku Ferede, Member of the COPWE Central Committee, Deputy Head of the COPWE Ideology Department, and others.

¹ See *Asia and Africa Today*, No. 1, 1982.

AFRICA FAVOURS INTERNATIONAL DETENTE

In conformity with the programme of the Conference, international issues were discussed at the section on "The Contemporary Political Situation in the World" headed by Professor Sanoussi Abidine (Guinea) and E. Tarabrin, Dr. Sc. (Hist.), Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Participants in the discussion unanimously agreed that, as Anatoli Gromyko put it, "a nuclear war (even if it were possible to limit it geographically) would be a dreadful catastrophe with global consequences, and the whole world, including Africa, would suffer from it". This is why the fight to preserve and consolidate peace on earth is the most vital task of our day and age.

African participants in the Conference rejected the opinion imposed by the West that Africa allegedly adheres to isolationism and is indifferent to international global issues. The positive influence of detente on the development of African states and their interest in the latter's preservation were emphasised (S. Vieira, Mozambique; an official of the Foreign Ministry of Mali Claude Tounkara and others). It is precisely detente that has created and continues to create more favourable conditions for the achievement by the peoples of African countries of successes in the struggle for freedom, genuine national independence and social progress.

The current exacerbation of the international situation stemming from the increased aggressiveness of US imperialism has a direct bearing on African continent as well. Citing numerous examples, the participants in the Conference demonstrated that rejection of detente and the stepped-up arms race had highly negative consequences for African states and noted, among other things, that the imperialists were again creating aggressive blocs (for instance, the US-Israeli-Egyptian agreement) and building military bases in Africa (Somalia, Kenya, Egypt).

V. Lebedev, a researcher at the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences, stressed in his speech that the global arms race is depriving African states of the possibility of obtaining additional assistance for economic and social progress. In developing these propositions, Chuba Okadigbo, special adviser on political affairs to the President of Ni-

geria, stated that a reduction of expenditures on armaments and subsequent disarmament present a basis for African states to release the resources necessary for the development of national economy and the struggle against backwardness.

The intensification of the arms race in the industrially developed countries inevitably leads to a similar process in the newly-free states, funneling their scarce resources away from economic and social development. This was the topic of the speech by Dr. Mahamane Karimou (Niger).

He pointed out that when a considerable part of mankind is suffering from poverty and illiteracy, the arms race is but a meaningless squandering of money. In African developing countries alone, the number of officers and men in the armed forces is approaching 15 million, a heavy burden on the national budget.

Claude Tounkara spoke in the same vein. He stressed that only strict observance of the principles set down in the UN Charter can bring humankind to detente, the only path leading to gradual disarmament and peace.

The speakers repeatedly pointed out that the specific feature characterising the situation in Africa is that among other things, imperialism, in a bid to attain its ends—to recolonise Africa on a new basis—has been seeking to make use of conflict situations on the continent itself (Alkali Bangoura, Chief of the Department of Social Sciences, Higher Party School, Guinea). It was also emphasised that many of these conflicts are deeply rooted in history and are the result of the recent "colonial division of the continent when neither the ethnic nor the historical peculiarities of the peoples were taken into account" (Luis Pizarro).

Indeed, colonialism had a gravely damaging effect on Africa. Some newly-free states are still involved in bloody domestic and interstate political conflicts which are depleting their resources. Participants in the Conference—Habte Mariam Seyoun, Deputy Head of COPWE, International Relations, COPWE Central Committee (Ethiopia); Fernando Cardoso, Dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, Mondlane University (Mozambique); Zaki M'Barek, University Professor (Morocco); Soviet scholars—Professor G. Mirsky and Dr. M. Rait—examined particular African conflicts, explained the reasons for their emergence and made a number of conclusions and recommendations.

According to A. Bangoura, the contradictions between the African countries and world imperialism are the chief contradictions of the present-day complex situation in the continent, whereas the contradictions between the African countries themselves are of secondary importance. It is utterly unacceptable that imperialist forces and their accomplices should fan conflicts in Africa and use them in their imperial and hegemonic interests. The speakers were unanimous in their opinion that it is precisely political means which are capable of yielding results in settling intricate problems and eliminating the hotbeds of tension in West Sahara, around Chad, in the Horn of Africa, and so on.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has an important role to play in this respect. The participants in the Conference emphasised the anti-imperialist character of the OAU and its striving to create a united, peaceful and independent Africa. The good offices of the OAU, which are based on the principles of self-determination, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states and the preservation of existing borders, have more than once led to the peaceful political settlement of disputes. At the same time, the speakers also noted the weak points in the activities of the Organisation, and its inability in some cases to implement its decisions. Tahirou Diallo, Chief of the European Department, Foreign Ministry, Guinea; Osman Yansaneh of Sierra Leone and others stressed the need for invigorating the executive bodies of the OAU, which should

become an "efficient, lively, effective, truly African organisation, based on unity and solidarity", as was stressed by James Michel, Minister of Education and Information of the Republic of Seychelles.

The conflict between African countries and peoples on the one hand, and the apartheid regime in South Africa, on the other, takes a special place among the conflicts in Africa. As was noted at the Conference, the situation in Southern Africa is fraught with a danger to peace not only in this region but throughout the world (F. Kardoso; Prof. A. Davidson, USSR; L. Rytov, a researcher of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences). The West exaggerates rumours about the alleged "evolution" of the apartheid regime and its "democratisation", which will eventually lead to the creation of a "multi-racial democratic society". In fact, however, and this was demonstrated by the speeches at the Conference, all measures by the Pretoria regime are nothing but make-up on the disgusting face of apartheid to make it less revolting to the world, to lessen its international isolation, and to put an end to the support given to those fighting for equal rights, freedom, and progress who, led by the ANC, are continuing their persistent struggle for the genuine elimination of apartheid. Newly-free and socialist countries are reliable and loyal allies of the true patriots of South Africa in their struggle.

Representatives of the frontline states A. Chidoda (a Foreign Ministry official, Zimbabwe), F. Kardoso, Joaquim Cipriano (Chief of the Department of Political Education, Provincial Committee of the MPLA—Workers' Party, Angola), Daniel Kwele (Member of the Cabinet of Ministers, Botswana), spoke about the incessant acts of aggression—military, political, and economic—against their countries. Like other participants in the Conference they censured the leaders of those Western countries, the USA above all, which took the piratical acts staged by South African regime against Angola under their protection and challenged all African peoples and all of humanity.

The participants gave much attention to a comparative analysis of the attitude displayed by socialist and capitalist states toward the liberation struggle waged by African peoples. The representatives of the continent gave a fitting rebuttal to the contentions of Western ideologists who deliberately put the policies pursued by socialist and imperialist states as regards the newly-free states on an equal footing. Numerous facts were cited which unambiguously prove that imperialism, the sworn enemy of African peoples, does everything in its power to destabilise progressive regimes and suppress their struggle for national and social emancipation. For example, the United States has shamelessly declared the Indian Ocean and the adjoining areas to be a "zone of its vital interests". The USA is expanding its military base on Diego Garcia, building new military bases in East Africa, creating "rapid deployment forces", and sending a powerful squadron to the western part of the Indian Ocean (S. Vieira, Mozambique). A. Bangoura (Guinea) noted that if the regime of some African state

meets the interest of its people, rather than that of the transnational monopolies, then imperialism will go out of its way to frustrate its development. The West makes use of all available means, including aggression, to change the option made in favour of socialism by people in a number of countries, in particular in Ethiopia, Habte Mariam Seyoun stated. Joseph Hounton (member of the Commission on Foreign Relations, CC, Party of the National Revolution, Benin) stressed that all the policies of imperialism are directed at establishing control over peoples trying to uphold their independence. According to J. Michel, people's regimes are a "thorn in the side" of imperialism and, therefore, the latter constantly stages hostile manoeuvres and attacks against them. R. Andriamanjato (Madagascar) denounced the application by imperialism of such methods aga-

inst independent states as destabilisation, use of mercenaries, coups, political assassinations, terrorism, and interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states, practices running counter to all accepted international norms.

It was pointed out at the Conference that the international legal aspects of the liberation struggle are acquiring ever greater importance. As was stated in the speeches by Soviet representatives **Gromyko, Tarabrin, Kolker, Kremenyuk**, et al.) most reactionary imperialist quarters are waging fierce campaigns of misinformation and slander against the fighters for national and social emancipation, accusing them of violation of human rights, "international terrorism", and aiding "world communism", thus seeking to undermine the liberation struggle of the peoples. On this basis, the imperialist powers create pretexts for interfering in their domestic affairs. **D. Kwele** (Botswana) emphasised that this is being done by US ruling circles to justify their policy of cruelty and violation with respect to the liberation movement in Southern Africa in particular.

Along with the military-political and openly terroristic methods of destabilising national development in African countries, imperialism has been making wide use of the "mechanism of economic aggression" which includes economic blockade, industrial sabotage, cutting short credits, discontinuing the supply of spare parts, renouncing equality in business relations and erecting barriers aimed at limiting the exports of the newly-free countries (**L. Pizzarro**).

In conformity with the interests of the monopolies, the imperialist states continually sabotage the demands of the developing countries concerning the establishment of a new international economic order, the implementation of which would undoubtedly deliver a palpable blow to neocolonialism.

Although the utilisation of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution is a major condition for overcoming backwardness, imperialism uses technological progress against the interests of the developing countries: transnational corporations and Western states, **Prof. M. Volkov** (USSR) noted, use modern technology as a means of exploitation, as an instrument of imposing new types of dependence on African countries. Technological neocolonialism adversely affects all forms of socio-economic development including the spiritual world of African society. It compels Africans to imitate a Western mode of thinking and system of economic management which are alien to them, imposes standards of Western mass culture. Western "consumer society" on them under conditions of a deficit of consumer goods. Further developing this topic, **A. Bangoura** pointed out that, while opposing the development of revolutionary processes in Africa, imperialism uses all its scientific and technological potential to hamper the attainment of a contemporary level of development and of genuine independence by African countries.

The role of ideological expansion which is a prerequisite for greater political, economic and military expansion, has increased. So-called "information neo-colonialism" is exporting Western bourgeois ideology to young independent states. This kind of expansion is especially dangerous because by means of imposing the Western way of life, stereotypes of Western mentality, and of Western cultural and social values, imperialism is seeking to separate the newly-free states from their ancient cultural sources, to impose capitalism on African peoples as a panacea from all evils without taking into account the specific features of their development and, at the same time, to discredit the ideals of socialism. These problems were dealt with by **E. Okombi**, member of the Congolese Labour Party Central Committee, **Prof. A. Kutsenkov** (USSR), **S. Zainoul**, Dean of the Social Sciences Department of the Polytechnical Institute (Guinea), **I. Volkova**, a researcher, the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences.

The Conference discussed the possibility of converting the continent into a nuclear-free zone, and the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace as most crucial and vital international issues closely connected with ensuring peace and security in Africa. These concepts were supported, in the first place, by representatives of the Indian Ocean countries—Secretary of the Central Committee for the External Ties of the SOMONMA Party **Gabriel Raberimanana** (Madagascar) and **J. Michel** (the Seychelles). The peoples of this region, especially those who have opted for a socialist orientation, are fully aware of the danger to their future presented by the military preparations of imperialism. The scholars traced the history of the escalation of militarisation in the Indian Ocean and demonstrated that it is a direct threat to the progressive regimes of that region. The mercenary invasion in the Seychelles in November 1981 is a case in point.

At the same time, the Conference gave much attention to Soviet initiatives aimed at consolidating detente, rebuffing imperialism's onslaughts, and expanding Soviet-African cooperation. African representatives were unanimous in stating that Africa is interested in supporting Soviet proposals on restricting the arms race. The speakers emphasised that the very existence of the Soviet state—the bulwark of all working and oppressed peoples—contributes to the achievements gained by the liberation movement. **R. Andriamanjato** (Madagascar) stressed that "without the Soviet Union and its powerful Soviet Army the independence of many countries would have been only an unrealisable dream". General **Obasanjo** expressed the opinion of all

participants in the Conference stating that Soviet-African relations had always been marked by Soviet support of independence and justice for African countries.

It was pointed out in the course of the discussion that the common struggle of the USSR and many African states against imperialism, their common enemy, is, in the final analysis, the struggle for peace, for the reduction of armaments, disarmament, averting nuclear war, and raising the standard of living of all peoples. **D. Kwele** (Botswana) pointed out that the situation in many areas of the world is such that rejecting Soviet peace initiatives is fraught with catastrophic consequences for all peoples of the world. Representatives of African countries praised the stand taken by the USSR regarding the conflict in Southern Africa and the ensuring of peace in the Mediterranean (**L. Yaker**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Algeria to the USSR) and others. **Prof. L. Entin** (USSR) stated that in dealing with the support given by socialist states to the liberation movements, one should take into account not only purely material factors but also the enormous moral and political support they continuously render to the fighting peoples of Africa. **Malam Sinhi**, Member of the PAIGC National Council (Guinea-Bissau) fully supported this viewpoint.

In their speeches, African participants stressed the vital need for their countries to invigorate support for the foreign policy pursued by states of the socialist community. It was pointed out that African states now account for one third of the total number of UN members, and this enables them, in light of the considerable growth of their prestige and influence in the international arena, to make a weighty contribution to the collective efforts of all states in the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress.

FRUITFUL COOPERATION

The section "Soviet-African relations" headed by **Richard Andriamanjato** Dr. Sc. (Philos.), Member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Madagascar, and **Prof. G. Smirnov**, Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences, discussed various aspects of the development of Soviet-African rela-

tions, their scope, state and prospects, as well as the problems of strengthening the political independence of African countries, overcoming economic backwardness, and taking part in the struggle for a new international economic order.

It was noted with satisfaction that all forms of bilateral relations between the USSR and African countries are based on principles of noninterference in domestic affairs and are in full conformity with the interests and tasks of equitable political, socio-economic and cultural development of the partner countries. **Richard Andriamanjato**; **Ludwig Sondashi**, Minister of State, **Zambia** MP; **Baltazar da Silva**, Member of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Committee of the MPLA—Workers' Party; **Albino da Fonseca**, Secretary of the Party organisation of São Tome and Principe; **Luis Kardoso**, an official from the General Secretariat, **Guinea-Bissau**; Senior Economic Counsellor of the Economic Commission for Africa, **Peter Temu** and others stressed the great significance of Soviet assistance in solving the complex socio-economic problems facing African countries as determined by the orientation of this aid towards creating the material and technical basis of the national economy, especially of development of the public sector, as well as training national personnel, using the advantages of the international division of labour for accelerated development and the modernisation of economic structures in African countries. A policy of further expansion of stable and mutually beneficial economic ties with the developing countries was determined by Soviet Party and state policy-making documents adopted by the 26th Congress of the CPSU (1981).

As was pointed out in the report by **P. Koshelev**, Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, Soviet trade and economic ties with the independent African countries rapidly expanded in the 1970s and now constitute a considerable part of its foreign economic activities. Soviet trade with African countries doubled over the past decade and reached 2 billion roubles in 1980. The Soviet Union has 39 trade partners among the African states with which long-term inter-governmental trade agreements have been concluded. The prices on the basis of which Soviet organisations conduct trade are established proceeding from world conditions and trends. At the same time, in its trade and economic relations with countries suffering from especially hard conditions (**Angola**, **Guinea-Bissau**, **Ethiopia**, and so on) the Soviet Union meets their requests, granting them various advantages (long-term credits, payments on an instalment basis, payment in the traditional export commodities of those countries, etc.).

Economic and technical cooperation covering different types of work has been developed on a large scale. This includes preliminary research and compiling technical and economic substantiation for projects building, working out technical documentation, deliveries of technological and building equipment, and of materials which the particular country lacks, sending of Soviet specialists to give technical assistance in the construction, assembly and commissioning of equipment and, if necessary, providing for the subsequent normal functioning of the project, and the training of national personnel.

In the course of discussing the aforementioned problems some African participants in the conference, for example **Olusegun Obasanjo** (**Nigeria**), **Peter Temu** (**ECA**) and others analysed the possibility of the prospects for the further expansion of Soviet-African cooperation. Taking these desires into account Soviet participants noted that, though the total volume of Soviet assistance is somewhat smaller than the amount of economic ties of African countries with Western powers which were formed over many decades, this assistance has a basically different socio-economic content and is developing at a higher rate. In

the 1960s, the volume of Soviet-African cooperation more than trebled, and in the 1970s it went up by almost four times. In accordance with inter-governmental agreements, Soviet organisations are assisting in the building of about 600 projects in African countries (more than 200 are industrial enterprises). As many as 280 projects have already been commissioned, including over 100 industrial enterprises.

A characteristic feature of Soviet economic and technological cooperation with the developing countries is the construction of industrial projects, not infrastructure. About 80 per cent of the total volume of cooperation is in industry, power industry and in the building of large production complexes which will yield the biggest economic results.

In their speeches, many delegates emphasised the untenability of bourgeois propaganda's claims about the "inefficiency" of Soviet assistance and "backwardness" of Soviet technology. For example, **B. da Silva** (**Angola**) stated: "Our relations with the Soviet Union are long-standing, and they are a reliable foundation for us in the cause of liberating our country from colonialism". **P. Temu**, dealing with the question of Soviet-African cooperation in technology, stressed: "The Soviet Union has accumulated vast experience in this field which can be applied in the African countries".

In the course of the section's proceedings it was reiterated that Soviet assistance to African countries could be increased substantially but for the aggressive militaristic policy of imperialist powers which imposes a heavy burden of military expenditures on the USSR. **Ludwig Sondashi** (**Zambia**) noted that the majority of African peoples are well aware that the Soviet Union upholds the cause of

peace, the principles of peaceful coexistence, and its peace-loving policy has been increasingly winning the hearts of the people throughout the world. This is corroborated, in particular, by the appearance in the constitutions of a number of African states of the provisions concerning the need to struggle for general and complete disarmament, which was stressed by Director of the Institute of International Relations, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of **Cameroun Joseph Owona**.

R. Andriamanjato (**Madagascar**) stressed the possibility of the use of Soviet experience in economic construction by African countries in other spheres as well, for example, in planning the national economy. In his speech **V. Pustovalov**, representative of the USSR State Planning Committee, stressed that planning based on the growing economic role of the state in African countries is becoming an important tool for overcoming their economic backwardness. Such planning makes it possible to single out the most significant problems from among the multitude of socio-economic issues and to concentrate the available material, financial and labour resources on solving them.

Today, the USSR cooperates in different spheres of planning and statistics with a number of African countries, such as **Algeria**, **Angola**, the **Congo**, **Mozambique**, **Guinea-Bissau**, **Ethiopia**, **Libya**, **São Tome and Principe**, and also with **ECA** and the **African Institute of Economic Development and Planning** (**Senegal**). In preceding years cooperation was carried out with **Ghana**, **Uganda**, **Tanzania**, **Somalia**, **Egypt** and the **Central African Republic**. Soviet-African cooperation in planning is based on business-like principles, those of equality and non-interference. Its forms and trends are determined with due account for the wishes expressed by the African countries.

The discussion of the problems of training personnel for young African states held a prominent place in the activities of the sections. **A. G. da Fonseca** (**São Tome and Principe**), **Prof. G. Smirnov** (**USSR**) and others spoke of the significance of cooperation in that area. During the years of

cooperation, Soviet specialists have trained about 150,000 skilled workers in Africa on the job. The Soviet Union continues to render assistance to the African countries in the creation of about 130 educational establishments, including 17 institutes of higher learning, nine of which have already been built. Cooperation with the USSR in training national personnel makes it possible to bring the curricula of vocational schools and higher educational establishments closer to the real conditions and concrete needs of each African state, to train highly skilled workers and engineers on the spot, and to involve large groups of African youth in the sphere of developed contemporary production. In the near future, these young people will be able to replace Western specialists enlisted for the building of various complex projects.

The participants in the discussion also examined the prospective directions of the further expansion of trade and economic relations between the USSR and the African countries. In particular, attention was paid to the need for intensifying research work in the field of tropical agriculture, and developing cooperation in transportation and ecology. The need was also stressed for further improving specialisation and cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) with the aim of rendering more effective assistance to developing economies in individual African countries as well as economic associations of African states. The existence of good prospects for the activity of mixed companies was emphasised. In their speeches, many delegates voiced a desire to expand scientific contacts and improve the system of mutual information. For example, Zambian delegate **L. Sondashi** pointed out that inadequate knowledge of the Soviet Union results, in some cases, in a misunderstanding of the character of some actions taken by the Soviet state, and also of its potential as an economic partner. "Therefore, the exchange of opinions that has taken place at this conference", he stressed, "plays an immense role in understanding each other's problems." This idea was also supported by **J. Cipriano**, Chief of the Political Education Department, MPLA Provincial Committee, Luanda (Angola); **S. B. Marcel**, adviser to the President of Madagascar; **D. Ondzle**, an official of the Department of Planning and Economy (the People's Republic of the Congo); and **B. Mwansasu**, Rector of the ChChM Party School (Tanzania).

The participants in the discussion noted that as far as principles, character and concrete content are concerned, trade and economic cooperation between African states and the Soviet Union fully meets the main tasks of economic and social development of the African countries, and are in accord with the spirit and aims of the Lagos Programme of Action, the new strategy of development for the third decade elaborated by the UN, and the task of establishing a new international economic order.

DETENTE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS

The work of the section "Problems of economic and social development in the contemporary world" chaired by Deputy Director of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences, **Prof. G. Starushenko** and Member of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour, Director of the Higher Party School in Brazzaville, **J. R. Kissisou-Boma** was devoted to problems of the socio-economic situation in Africa today, the impact on it of international factors, the investigation of ways and means of overcoming backwardness, and the trends of social changes on the African continent.

The discussion was started by **L. Alexandrovskaya**, Cand. Sc. (Econ.), (USSR). She delivered a report on the current situation in Africa and the prospects for the deve-

lopment of the continent up to the year 2000. Having pointed out that during the years of independence, Africa has increased its export production by 2.5 times in terms of quantity and by 8 times in terms of value, thereby becoming a big supplier of mineral and agricultural raw materials, the speaker stated that nevertheless, the economic situation in the majority of African countries remained difficult and unstable. The dependence of the African economy on imperialist states and the inequitable position of the African countries in the world capitalist market, aggravated by the arms race, remains the determining factor in the present-day, extremely difficult economic situation. If the current state of things prevails, this dependence will tend to exacerbate. Even such positive programmes as the Lagos plan of collective counteraction by independent Africa with respect to the policy of transnationals will hardly yield decisive results.

L. Knyazhinskaya, Cand. Sc. (Econ.), (USSR), devoted her speech to the exacerbation of the food problem in developing countries. As many as 28 per cent of all Africans are on the verge of starvation, with practically no prospects for any radical improvements in the near future.

V. Vigand, Cand. Sc. (Econ.), (USSR) analysed the foreign economic expenditures of African countries which expanded the picture of the present-day situation there. He pointed out that even the most solvent African countries were losing immense sums exported as interest on foreign capital, and their debts were steadily growing.

Participants in the conference exhibited no interest in the unrealistic, tendentious, practically incompetent recommendations by bourgeois experts (two speeches at the session were devoted to this problem), and their attention was centred on the specific experience gained in the development of the African countries themselves.

Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University, **Dr. A. G. Pinywa** (Uganda) described the situation in his country. As a result of the ten-year rule of the pro-Western military regime, he stated, economic, social, political and administrative structures in Uganda were destroyed, and national unity was undermined. The present government of Milton Obote, like the leadership of other African countries, holds that African countries' economic dependence on the capitalist West is the principal obstacle to their accelerated socio-economic development. **A. G. Pinywa** also noted that Western propaganda deliberately distorts Ugandan problems and the prospects for their solution. The speaker declared that all difficulties notwithstanding, **M. Obote's** government is striving to implement positive changes in all spheres of Ugandan life.

There is an awareness of the need for radical changes as the basis of overcoming backwardness and improving condition of the working people in other African countries as well. **Ferchiou Ridha**, Director of the Institute of Higher Commercial Research, told the audience about attempts at solving the agrarian issue in Tunisia. He stated that in 1960, a process of land reform was launched which included two stages. First, cooperatives, which are still in operation, were set up on the land which belonged to French colonists who fled the country, then an attempt was made to start a broader socialisation of land, but this stage was a failure on the whole. Peasants began to migrate to towns. According to the Tunisian scholar, the reason for this fiasco was that the mentality of the peasants who wanted to have a plot of land of their own was not taken into account; the inadequate technical equipment of the cooperatives was also to blame. However, some of the participants in the Conference got the impression that the main reason for this setback was the superficial character of the reforms which were conducted "from above", without any large-scale involvement of the peasants themselves.

In his speech, **George Akeya Agbango**, MP of Ghana, showed that the causes of the current difficult situation in

Africa are rooted both in the colonial past of the continent, which interrupted the normal course of its historical development, and in the insidious neocolonialist policy pursued by imperialist powers and their local allies. African states can find a way out of the deadlock only along the lines of cohesion and joint efforts accompanied by selfless assistance from their friends in progressive countries. The principal conclusion, Agbango stressed, is that there can be only one way out for the solution of the numerous and increasingly complicated problems of socio-economic development in Africa: African countries should make an effort to embark on the road of a progressive socialist policy for the benefit of the masses.

Prof. B. Andrianov (USSR) examined the demographic situation on the continent and the prospects for change, and refuted the concoctions by some bourgeois scholars concerning "overpopulation" in Africa—allegedly the basic reason for the exacerbation of the food problem. He noted that an effective demographic policy may become the subject of conscious management only under conditions of socialist society based on planning, whereas under capitalism the social processes are dominated by spontaneity, and the possibilities of any demographic policy are highly limited.

Enrico Paz Costa (Angola) and Prof. E. Troitsky (USSR), resolutely opposed the viewpoint, widespread in the West, that an allegedly "negative" influence is exerted on the food problem by revolutions leading to socialism. They demonstrated that this problem can be solved only as a result of the triumph of such revolutions. As for the above-mentioned bourgeois concept, its aim is self-evident: to convince the masses of Africans of the inevitability and invariable nature of relations between peoples as those between the exploited and the exploiting classes, both on a national and international scale.

The participants in the Conference assessed the relations which existed in Southern Africa until recently as a typical example of such a policy. According to Michael Seftall, Director of the Institute of Southern-African Studies (Lesotho), historically the situation in the region has evolved in such a way that the countries bordering on South Africa were fully dependent on it economically and suffered from exploitation on the part of South African imperialism. The situation changed fundamentally after the collapse of the Portuguese imperialism and the winning of independence by Zimbabwe. The possibility of leaving the orbit of economic subordination to the racist regime appeared.

The report by Prof. Abdelaziz Belal of the Department of Economics and Law, Rabat University (Morocco), "Lessons of African Development", was devoted to the problem of choosing methods and ways of solving socio-economic and political tasks faced by Africa. Having described the specifics of the economic situation in the African countries as a backward and dependent part of the world capitalist system, he singled out two major trends in the developmental strategy which, in his opinion, are most typical of contemporary Africa. The countries of the first type are characterised by an expansion of the positions of foreign capital and restrictions on the production of durable goods, while the industrial sector, set up under the control of foreign capital, is oriented mainly toward the domestic market and insignificant exports. Such countries are characterised by export of a considerable part of capital abroad, weak use of the available labour force, the concentration of profits in the hands of a small privileged elite oriented toward Western consumption standards, which are satisfied chiefly at the expense of import.

According to the Moroccan scholar, the second type of developmental strategy is based on the leading role of the state as regards industrialisation. In this case, the state controls a considerable part of the surplus social product and the spending of the funds and is also responsible for the organisation of the basic industries. This strategy is

based on the import of modern technology and is aimed at developing heavy industries, for example, iron-and-steel and oil refining. The problems of this type of development consist, in particular, in the dependence on foreign technology and the increase of foreign debts.

It is evident, Prof. Belal stated, that Africa should not adopt the first type of development (the Western model): it should look for an alternative model of production, distribution and consumption. Of great importance here is the enlistment of the working classes in the management of production within the framework of genuine democracy, the creation of regional economic groupings, and broader cooperation with socialist countries. On the whole, the need for a new model is predetermined by the current situation in which Africa produces things it does not consume and consumes things it does not produce. The central concept of any realistic model is directed at equalising consumption and production, limiting imports and providing for the needs of the bulk of the population.

In the course of the discussion, great interest was displayed in the experience gained by countries of socialist orientation where the aforementioned problems are being solved.

The speech by Prof. Saa Mounsekono of the Nyerere Polytechnical Institute (Guinea) dealt with a comparative analysis of the two basic trends for social development in contemporary Africa. Having pointed out that problems such as economic backwardness, poverty, and a high mortality rate cannot be efficiently solved by capitalist development, he also noted that the option of socialist orientation is coupled with many objective difficulties, though it opens up prospects for the solution of the urgent socio-economic problems. Economic backwardness and weakness of the ideological structures which must counter the onslaught of bourgeois ideology are among the chief difficulties. As a result of such weakness, we witness the departure of some countries of socialist orientation from the road for which they originally opted. The speaker stressed that to overcome these difficulties successfully, it is necessary to take more resolute measures in the economy and ideological and political education, to nip in the bud the activities of pro-bourgeois elements, and oppose the pressure brought to bear by the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Enrico Paz Costa (Angola) cited a graphic example of the objective difficulties which have been on the road of progressive development. Having eliminated Angola's colonial dependence and routed the splinter groupings, the leadership of the country steered Angola toward the building of a new revolutionary society. The speaker noted that the people of his country have every opportunity and the necessary resources to transform their goals into reality. However, today the country is experiencing grave difficulties caused by the incessant aggression against the young republic on the part of the racist regime of South Africa. There is no doubt, Costa emphasised, that socialism in Angola will triumph in the final analysis. But the current problems could be solved much faster if an end could be put to South African aggression.

In his report, Edward Botchwey, Dr. of Law (Ghana), concentrated on the problem of choosing a socio-economic and political orientation in development. He expressed solidarity with a number of other speakers, stating that there is only one way to ensure the rise of the national economy, i. e., to replace feudal and capitalist modes of production by socialist relationships. Correspondingly, a political strategy should be evolved in keeping with the economic strategy. This requires a mobilisation of all healthy forces in the nation, including elements of the national bourgeoisie. Dr. Botchwey stressed that the struggle for sovereignty and socialist prospects is not a phenomenon imposed from without but a consequence of internal social developments in Africa itself.

The item concerning the efficiency of different ways of socio-economic development was also dealt with in the report by V. Gusarov (USSR), in which he traced the dependence of the methods for the solution of socio-economic problems on the overall socio-political orientation of any African regime. According to Gusarov, such dependence is evident in any African country, but it stands out especially clearly in those countries which have changed their orientation. The Sudan, the non-capitalist development of which was interrupted early in the 1970s is a case in point. The six-year plan of socio-economic development of the Sudan for 1977/78-1982/83 envisaged a continuous growth of real per capita incomes through developing contemporary and traditional sectors of the economy, agriculture above all. This plan, however, is of more importance as propaganda than as a real economic programme, inasmuch as it has not been sufficiently backed by financial, raw-material, and labour resources. The years of the six-year plan that elapsed have shown that, instead of an upsurge, the country is experiencing an acute crisis in all branches of the national economy. The Sudan is being rescued from complete economic collapse by aid from conservative Arab regimes and some Western countries.

The practice of solving economic problems both in African countries of capitalist orientation and in states where regressive evolution was registered demonstrates, according to Gusarov, that none of these countries succeeded in solving the aforementioned problems along capitalist lines of development.

J. R. Kissisou-Boma (Congo) told his colleagues about socio-economic and cultural changes that took place in the People's Republic of the Congo. In conformity with their ultimate goal—the building of a socialist society—the Congolese Labour Party and the government have been implementing a set of measures in different spheres of social life. In pursuance of the programme, the government has nationalised a number of enterprises, banks and insurance companies. However, the speaker noted, the nationalised enterprises are encountering considerable difficulties today due to their heavy dependence on Western capital. Soviet assistance has played a crucial role in overcoming economic difficulties in the Congo. The republic has made considerable progress in the socio-cultural field, which is confirmed by the fact that it was awarded the UNESCO Krupskaya Prize for its successful literacy campaign. In conclusion, he described Congolese foreign policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and proletarian internationalism, emphasising the importance of increasing contacts with countries of the socialist community.

Answering a question on the possibilities of and reasons for applying Marxist-Leninist theory under the conditions existing in Africa, J. R. Kissisou-Boma noted that rather often African revolutionaries are reproached for "adapting themselves" to Marxism-Leninism. This question, however, is not correct since Marxism-Leninism is a universal theory, and its basic propositions are characteristic of all human society. That is why progressive African countries do not adapt themselves to Marxism-Leninism but combine the latter's provisions with the national realities of a particular country, and apply its principles creatively.

Results of the section's work were summed up in the concluding speeches of its cochairmen. They analysed the character of the revolutionary process on the continent and its interconnection with the struggle for peace and international security. This subject is especially crucial in view of the fact that some Western ideologists and politicians spare no effort to depict African liberation movements as

"inspired from without", "terroristic", and "undermining" the principles of peaceful coexistence and norms of international law.

J. P. Kissisou-Boma noted that representatives of states with different socio-economic orientation convincingly demonstrated that national liberation and social movements and revolutions in Africa are not imported from outside but are caused by internal factors, including the striving to eliminate exploitation and backwardness quickly and efficiently. It was also emphasised that any African state, like any other sovereign country, has the right to determine its road of development independently in the course of domestic political and class struggle.

In his report, Prof. G. Starushenko (USSR) pointed out that the majority of speakers at the Conference regarded capitalist models as unfit for the efficient solution of the problems facing Africa and spoke in favour of non-capitalist models of development. At the same time, a firm conviction was expressed that the road to socialism in Africa must pass through a number of intermediate stages during which use must be made of private enterprise as well. The countries which are developing along capitalist lines have scored certain successes, too, but the majority of participants in the discussion were of the opinion that it is impossible to settle fundamental problems in this manner because such a course leads to greater dependence on the capitalist West and intensifies exploitation of the masses by foreign and local capital.

The demand to restructure international economic relations advanced by the newly-free states was considered just. At the same time, as was noted in the speeches by African delegates and the report by Prof. L. Goncharov (USSR), the struggle for a new economic order in the international arena cannot be successful or lead to radical changes in the young states without the bringing about of far-reaching social transformations in these states.

Finally, profound socio-economic changes are imperative in solving the problem of the enhancement of labour productivity which, in the final count, is the chief criterion of any social progress. Participants in the discussion agreed that the use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution is an important lever in enhancing production efficiency. This lever has not yet been used in Africa inasmuch as foreign monopolies—owners of the new technology—are striving to obtain superprofits and are exhibiting no concern for the needs of the African people. Local entrepreneurs are acting in the same vein. Only a

progressive state is capable of pursuing a realistic policy of using the scientific and technological revolution in the national interest.

It was shown during the Conference that the genuine revolutionary forces are the actual factor of stability in Africa. They oppose imperialists' efforts to suppress liberation movements and also come out against adventurist attempts at "exporting revolution". As for the assistance given by countries of the socialist community, in particular by the USSR and Cuba, to the independent African countries and national liberation movements in their struggle against imperialist aggression, racism and colonialism, this aid is being rendered in full conformity with the standards of international law. In accordance with the UN Charter and UN decisions, the rendering of this aid is not only the right but also the duty of each state. Peaceful coexistence and détente are quite possible under conditions of the inevitable development of the revolutionary process in Africa and the world over. Attempts to check this process are unrealistic.

Prof. Anatoli Gromyko (USSR), Chairman of the Conference, stated in conclusion that the reports made at the plenary meeting, as well as the discussion of pressing political and socio-economic problems at the various sections showed that the participants in the discussion shared similar or identical views on the majority of problems, primarily on those relating to world development. The exchange of opinion made it possible to bring the positions closer or specify them, and this was also regarded as useful. By and large, the discussion convincingly demonstrated that there are broad possibilities for even closer interaction between the Soviet Union and African countries in settling complex current international problems in the world and in Africa.

Participants in the Conference approved the idea of holding regular meetings (every two years) alternately in the Soviet Union and in one of African countries and expressed their readiness to contribute to the promotion of such forums.

This review was prepared by staff members
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[Article: "Terrorist's American Visit"]

[Text]

The solidarity shown by the world community to the frontline states and their belief that they are not alone in their struggle against Pretoria's aggressive regime,

give them fresh strength to continue the struggle against the vestiges of colonialism on the globe. This explains the wide response produced by the call of the International Committee for Southern Africa and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation to hold in Lisbon the June 1982 forum of public support for the struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa against colonialism—the International Conference of Solidarity with the Frontline Countries. The conferees will represent numerous national movements, solidarity organisations and international democratic organisations. They will discuss the situation in Southern Africa and work out a specific programme of action to render effective aid to the national liberation movement in the countries of Southern Africa.

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MPLA VICTORY, SHIFT TO MARXISM CREDITED TO NETO

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[Article by Prof. Rostislav Ulyanovsky, Dr. Sc. (Econ.): "Agostinho Neto"]

[Text]

Angola's path to independence was perhaps the thorniest compared with the other newly-free African states. The Angolan patriots were the first people in any of the former Portuguese colonies to start an armed uprising, which they did in Luanda on February 4, 1961 against Salazar's fascist dictatorship which had completely rejected a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Portugal's rulers and the population in the colonies. The uprising touched off vigorous action against foreign enslavement, not only in Angola but in the other Portuguese colonies. However, the uprising was poorly organised and failed to take into account the specific conditions of struggle against a fascist regime. Many courageous Angolan patriots were killed. The armed forces of national liberation had to be reorganised and trained for prolonged military action. Only after fifteen years of persevering armed resistance to the colonialists and a period of repulsing foreign aggression and crushing splinter groups which were relying upon international imperialism, did Angola take its place among the sovereign African states.

The Angolan people were able to endure all those sufferings only because they were led by the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA), an organisation tried and tested in numerous battles, supported by the international working-class, communist and national liberation movements, and guided by a closely knit group of staunch and fearless revolutionaries, and Agostinho Neto was the most widely recognised MPLA leader.

He was one of those African revolutionary intellectuals who preferred leading a life full of hazards, privations and sacrifices rather than being well-to-do and privileged (in comparison with the general standard of living in Africa) under colonialism.

These people who devoted themselves to the struggle for national emancipation were the organisational and ideological nucleus of the national liberation movement and did a great deal to unite the masses oppressed by Portuguese colonialism and promote national awareness among them.

A talented poet and an efficient doctor, Neto was a patriot and a champion of justice and devoted his whole life to the struggle for independence. He was born on September 17, 1922 in the village of Caxicana, 60 kilometres from Luanda. His father, a Protestant minister, was also a schoolteacher, as was his mother. Upon finishing a secondary school in Luanda, Neto began working in the public health system. His striking gift for poetry which revealed itself in the 1940s made him one of the prominent figures in the movement to revive national Angolan culture. His verse was, from the very first, closely linked with his country's chief problem, that of getting rid of colonial oppression. After much scrimping and saving, he managed to lay aside a sum of money, left for Portugal in 1947 and enrolled in the medical college in Coimbra. He finished his education in Lisbon. Neto was arrested for the first time in 1951 for collecting signatures for the Stockholm Appeal for Peace. When released, he became active in the radical student movement where he represented students of the Portuguese colonies. In 1955, Neto was arrested for a second time. The petition demanding his release was signed in 1957 by Jean-Paul Sartre, Louis Aragon, Simone de Beauvoir, Nicolas Guillén, Diego Rivera and other distinguished figures. This was an evidence of the worldwide renown of Agostinho Neto as a poet of "Portuguese" Africa.

In 1958, Neto received a degree in medicine, and in late 1959 he returned to Angola where he immediately assumed leadership of the MPLA.

founded in 1956, while simultaneously practising medicine. In June 1960, for a third time he was placed behind bars on one of the Cape Verde Islands. The news of his arrest gave rise to protest marches in his birthplace, Icolo-e-Bengo. These riots took on such a vast scale that, for the first time in the history of colonial administration in Angola, the authorities had to use the army in addition to the police, to put them down. At that time, Neto was elected Honorary Chairman of the MPLA in recognition of his services to the liberation movement.

In October 1961, he was transferred to a prison in Portugal and in 1962 set free due to pressure from the MPLA-sponsored worldwide campaign to release political prisoners. But he was not allowed to leave Portugal. However, his friends helped him escape from that country, and in July 1962 he arrived in Kinshasa where the remnants of the MPLA were trying to regroup following the defeat of the 1961 uprising. From that moment to his last days, Neto was constantly at the head of the Angolan people's struggle. That the MPLA was rebuilt after the devastating setback of 1961 is to his credit.

The first national conference of the MPLA held in Kinshasa under Neto's guidance outlined a new approach to

the liberation struggle. Armed resistance was now regarded not as a strictly military act but as a form of political struggle calling for the mobilisation and unification of all patriotic forces, for a higher political consciousness and alliance and interaction with all opponents to colonialism in Angola or outside it, primarily with the socialist countries which were always ready to support nations fighting imperialist oppression. That line came up against opposition from leftist elements headed by Viriato da Cruz, former General Secretary of the MPLA, expelled from the organisation in 1962. They advocated the Maoist slogan of "self-reliance", sought to isolate the MPLA from the socialist camp and the world communist movement, and preached racist distrust of all mulattos and Portuguese.

There were also two large opportunist and tribal groupings which did not enjoy any serious support from the masses. One of them, the so-called Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA), headed by Holden Roberto, operated from the territory of neighbouring countries and the other, the National Alliance for the Complete Liberation of Angola

(UNITA), headed by Jonas Savimbi, and protected by South African racists, became active starting in 1966 in the south of the country.

When the anti-fascist revolution in Portugal did away with the Salazar-Caetano regime in the spring of 1974 and it became clear that the struggle for independence had entered the crucial stage, the MPLA, as ten years before, was the only national organisation that had a solid military and political basis in the country. All this was due to Neto's efforts.

He played an important part in charting the MPLA's revolutionary policy. By that time, he had formed truly Marxist views on the prospects for Angola's development. He read a great deal and had studied Marxist-Leninist literature seriously; he had visited the Soviet Union and other socialist countries more than once. Many of his statements revealed the mature philosophical thinking of a dialectical materialist. The Third Plenary Meeting of the MPLA Central Committee convened on his initiative in October-November 1976 was of tremendous significance for the country after it had won political independence. The Plenary Meeting passed a decision on socialist orientation for the young republic and proclaimed the building of socialist society to be the MPLA's ultimate goal. The idea was voiced for the first time that the MPLA advocates scientific socialism and that it was inadmissible to oppose scientific socialism to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The Plenary Meeting urged MPLA members to consolidate, combat splitting tendencies, sectarianism and opportunism, and rally around President Neto. Agostinho Neto became the generally acknowledged leader of the nation and the head of state. His prestige was very high, for he had behind him two decades of leadership of an uninterrupted armed struggle against the colonialists. He was well aware of the need to rebuild the MPLA and convert it into a Marxist-Leninist political party.

The First Congress of the MPLA took place in Luanda on December 4-10, 1977. The report of the Central Committee delivered by Neto summed up the results of the twenty-year-long struggle and outlined the fundamental changes that had occurred in the MPLA after independence was won. The report also mapped out ultimate aims of the struggle and specific social, political, economic, ideological and organisational tasks.

The Congress declared that the construction of socialism was the MPLA's primary goal and characterised the current stage of Angola's de-

velopment as a people's democratic revolution. Neto pointed out in his report that with the emergence of the People's Republic of Angola, the MPLA had fulfilled its historical mission as a national liberation movement and that in order to build people's democracy and socialism, it would be necessary to form a vanguard party of the working class based on Marxist-Leninist principles that would unite all Angolan working people. It was, therefore, decided to rename the movement the MPLA — Workers' Party.

One of the resolutions adopted by the Congress made special mention of the "staunchness, courage and perspicacity that are always characteristic of Comrade Antonio Agostinho Neto, the leader of our struggle and indefatigable creator of the Angolan people's victories".

Neto died in October 1979 at the age of 57, still full of vim and vigour, energetically carrying out state and party work. He was just reaching the height of his vigorous activity to put the decisions of the MPLA's First Congress into practice. The death of an outstanding revolutionary is always untimely, all the more so when the tasks he set for himself have not yet been fully accomplished and his country is going through a trying period. Angola will feel the loss of its first President and the leader of the liberation struggle for a long time to come. Still, Agostinho Neto will always be with his people, with his creation — the MPLA — Workers' Party. He has left them a glorious

heritage. Under his guidance, Angola won its independence; he mapped out prospects for its development; and now his followers and the Angolan working people are determined to follow the path of socialist orientation indicated by him. Neto left Angola and Africa as a whole his valuable experience of revolutionary action in a complex situation. In many respects, this experience is of worldwide significance.

Neto was one of the best and most authoritative representatives of African revolutionary democrats of a "new wave" who came to power in the mid-1970s. In the former Portuguese colonies, the new revolutionary democrats relied upon their own long-standing experience of armed struggle which served as a good school for them and which led them to the realisation of the need to work for socialism. They also relied upon the experience of the majority of African states which had 10 to 15 years of independent development behind them. The "new wave" African revolutionary democrats made much greater progress than their

predecessors, the pioneers of national democracy of the 1960s, in the study and application of scientific socialism, in making scientific analyses of African society, of the aims and stages of revolution, the alignment of class forces, and in effecting practical changes. The conclusions drawn by Neto from his own experience and from the experience of revolutionary struggle in other African countries are the highest pinnacles of political thought inherent in the African national liberation movement of the 1970s. These conclusions are the gist of his practice and make up his true legacy. They are certainly worth generalising and studying. For lack of space we are not able to give a profound analysis of Neto's political views but will point to some of them which seem particularly important for the future of the revolutionary national liberation movement in Africa.

While considering armed struggle the only possible means of resisting Portuguese colonialism, Neto and his associates in the MPLA, as well as in FRELIMO and PAIGC, who directed the liberation movements in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, did not absolutise armed actions. He understood the political character of liberation wars and the need to prepare for and guide them politically. He insisted that military activity be closely linked with ideological, political, social and propaganda efforts. No liberation movement should be confined to insurgent activity; on the contrary, it should encompass all aspects of national life; only then will it succeed. Such an approach was proved correct by the experience of Ango-

la, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and by the earlier experience of Vietnam. On the other hand, it brought out the fallacy of the opposing, narrow military approach.

The strategy used by Neto and the MPLA was characterised by a dialectic approach to various social phenomena. He detested "ossified" catchwords, ideas and forms; in an effort to attain complete political and social emancipation for the Angolan working people, he always took into account the real possibilities and the actual situation in tackling concrete problems. He proceeded from a scientific conception of the stages of the revolutionary process.

Back in the early 1960s, Neto became aware that national independence could not be gained merely by crushing Portuguese colonialism; as MPLA documents noted, it would be necessary to display vigilance towards attempts by imperialist powers to supplant outdated Portuguese colonialism with more flexible forms of

neocolonialism. Neto also put forward social targets, which testified to his intention to change Angolan society under conditions of independence, to protect the interests of the workers and peasants, and to strive for social justice.

At the same time, during the period of the struggle for independence, neither Neto nor other MPLA leaders spoke of socialism as an ultimate goal. They realised that national liberation was in itself a great goal and a reliable basis for rallying patriotic forces. Aware of the law-governed nature of the anti-imperialist, nationalist stage in the mass-scale struggle of colonial peoples, they were in no hurry to skip that stage or declare it out-of-date. At the same time they never absolutised nationalism and resolutely discarded narrow, selfish, in effect, bourgeois nationalism. The MPLA and its leader Agostinho Neto, like their associates in the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, have chosen the long and arduous road of advancing revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist nationalism, making deeper its social content, gradually weakening and expelling from its ranks exploiting elements and bringing the working people to embrace the ideas of scientific socialism through this democratic nationalism. Devoid of any pseudo-revolutionary effects, this road has for many years of struggle enabled the MPLA to rally all walks of life to rebuff colonialism.

It was only in late 1976, when political independence had been won, that the Third Plenary Meeting of the MPLA Central Committee proclaimed

socialism the ultimate aim of the movement. However, the given stage of Angola's development was clearly defined as people's democratic, not as socialist, this being recorded in the Programme adopted by the MPLA—Workers' Party at its First Congress.

Neto knew only too well that the redefining of the objectives of the struggle — a potential shift in the ideological and political platform — would inevitably engender a new attitude towards the ideology of scientific socialism. On his initiative, the First Congress of the MPLA — Workers' Party declared socialism to be the ideological basis of the party. Such a thing had never been done before, while the country was fighting for independence, though it had been obvious that the MPLA leaders, particularly Neto, supported the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Only after independence had been won and the class struggle had come to a head in the country did the MPLA opt for scientific socialism on

Neto's initiative. In so doing, the MPLA leaders took a consistent stand and managed to avoid the errors made by many representatives of "African socialism". Agostinho Neto said that there could be no European or African socialism, that "there is but one scientific socialism which has become a reality in a major part of the globe", and that the task was to translate into life the outstanding doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, proceeding from specific Angolan conditions. Neto was perfectly aware that the process of turning the MPLA into a vanguard party of the working people, far from being complete, was only beginning.

Defining the stages of a revolution is inseparably linked with the alignment of class forces. Neto made an appreciable contribution to the solution of this problem under colonialism. He advocated the closest possible unification of the national forces for repulsing imperialism. MPLA documents emphasised that the policy of a national front called for the participation of all segments of society in the struggle for independence. However, while working to rally the entire population on an anti-imperialist basis, one should not overlook the fact that various social strata play different roles due to their economic status and often contradictory or even antagonistic relations between them. National unity, as seen by Neto, rests upon the recognition of class struggle and the need to transform it as the revolutionary process develops.

During the struggle for independence, the MPLA's policy-making documents did not single out from among the participants in the resistance movement any social sections designed to play a leading role. The

situation changed, however, when the first objective of the struggle had been attained and the country was faced with the task of building people's democracy so as to pave the way for transition to the socialist stage of the revolution. When the colonialists held sway in Angola, internal class contradictions were relegated to the background by the conflict between Portuguese masters and their colonial slaves. As Neto pointed out at the First MPLA Congress, after the country's liberation, its internal contradictions deepened, the class struggle intensified, and the petty-bourgeois elements became more active. Therefore, the MPLA Programme and Neto's speeches emphasised that power in Angola was in the hands of the working people and that the alliance between the workers and peasants underlay the unity of all patriotic forces in the republic, with the working class playing the leading role in that alliance.

Neto vigorously opposed the adventurist attempts by the Alvis-Van Dunen factional group which brought the idea of the proletariat's leadership in conflict with the idea of national unity and set the working class against the intermediate petty-bourgeois sections through artificially accelerating the revolution. In contrast to those propaganda tricks used by the faction group in a bid for power, Neto stressed the invariability of the following MPLA principle: "All patriotic forces are called upon to contribute to the revolution." "We protect our national unity, but they don't," said Neto. "They would like the working class to rule the country, but to rule alone and in constant conflict with the other classes."

In his last speeches made in July and August 1979, Neto repeatedly drew attention to the danger of a stronger petty-bourgeois influence that could pose a threat to the decisions of the First MPLA Congress. "Angola has no bourgeoisie possessing power," he said. "But such a phenomenon might emerge if we do not show caution. And we do want power to be in the hands of the workers and peasants, not in the hands of the bourgeoisie." That stand did not prevent him from saying that the petty bourgeoisie had no reason to fear the workers and peasants and that it would have an opportunity to continue its economic activity if it did not abuse its position and conformed to the interests of the working people.

Neto did a great deal to strengthen friendship between his country and the Soviet Union. In this respect, his experience is of worldwide significance. He was one of the first African leaders who realised that solidarity with socialist countries and

their internationalist assistance were a major strategic reserve for the national liberation movement, a guarantee of victory, and a reliable safeguard against imperialist encroachments. That stand was only natural for the leader of a guerrilla movement which had from the outset received aid from the socialist community. After becoming head of state, Neto made wide use of the new opportunities that opened up for promoting relations

with the socialist world. In an hour of formidable threat to the Angolan revolution, he did not hesitate to turn for aid to the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries.

During his visit to Moscow in October 1976, a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Angola was signed. Contacts were also established between the CPSU and the MPLA — Workers' Party.

Neto believed that the aim of the Angolan revolutionaries was not only to form a party but to improve it continuously and to enhance its socialist potential. A turning-point in this sense was the First Congress of the MPLA which advanced the task of setting up a party of the working class to bring together "in a single strong union the workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia and other working people loyal to the cause of the proletariat". Neto constantly gave attention to the problem of reorganising the MPLA's structure and activity in keeping with the principles proclaimed by its First Congress. With this aim in view, a campaign was launched in the country in 1978 "for the purity of the party ranks".

Shortly before he died, Neto toured Angola's principal districts and spoke at many public meetings. He focused attention on questions of party and state construction and cautioned against bourgeoisification and bureaucratisation of the party and state machinery. He also noted that the party and the state were not yet able fully to satisfy the requirements of political education for and unification of all social strata. He urged the MPLA to involve more workers and peasants in political affairs, this being a guarantee of the country's advance towards socialism.

Evidently feeling that his death was imminent, Neto said in one of his last speeches that the Angolan revolution would continue though any of its participants might die at any moment. The revolution is still going on; it derives strength from the legacy of Agostinho Neto who, in a trying period, took the lead in the struggle for independence and showed his people the only correct road to follow.

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PRO-SOVIET JORDANIAN POLITICIAN EULOGIZED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 33-34

[Article by Alexei Voronin: "Suleiman Nabulsi: Patriot, Democrat, Internationalist"]

[Text]

I was lucky to meet with Suleiman Nabulsi many times and remember him as a politician of foresight, a staunch fighter for Arab national interests, a great friend of the Soviet Union, and a sociable person and interesting interlocutor. His small house in Amman drew visitors from all over Jordan and other Arab states: politicians, public figures, tribal sheiks, authors, religious leaders and common people, Bedouins and Palestinians. They came to talk with the wise and kind host and to listen to his advice. Even when Nabulsi was seriously ill, he continued receiving visitors, and his doctors and relatives were hard put to protect their charge from this incessant stream of friends and well-wishers.

Suleiman Nabulsi was born in 1910 in the Jordanian town of Assalt. For many years he combined teaching, his vocation, with political activities, participating in the struggle of the Jordanian people against colonialism and for national independence. As a member of parliament, senator and civil servant, Nabulsi courageously came out for the liquidation of imperialist rule in Jordan and other countries of the Arab East. He was a champion of Arab unity, nonalignment, and non-participation in imperialist military blocs. As General Secretary of the National Socialist Party (1954-1957), he advocated close cooperation between all national-patriotic and democratic forces, including the Jordan Communist Party, in the

struggle against imperialism, colonialism and Zionism.

During the upsurge of the national liberation movement in Jordan in 1956-1957, Suleiman Nabulsi headed the country's government. As Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, he was instrumental in implementing such important changes as the annulment of the 1948 British-Jordanian agreement, the liquidation of British military bases, the replacement of British subsidies with Arab aid, the official rejection of the Eisenhower doctrine with its neocolonialist theory of a "vacuum" in the Middle East to be filled by the USA; the proclamation of a policy of positive neutrality, and a number of democratic measures inside the country. In spite of their many reversals, these steps had an impact on Jordan's subsequent political development.

Nabulsi attached great importance to the Afro-Asian solidarity movement in the anti-imperialist struggle for greater political independence among the young states and for the attainment of economic independence. From 1970 to the end of his life, he was Chairman of the Jordan Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Jordan Peace Committee, and the Committee for the Salvation of Jerusalem.

In his speeches at meetings of peace and solidarity movement, in his capacity as host to foreign delegations in Jordan, or as a guest abroad, Nabulsi invariably gave powerful expression to the patriotic sentiments of the people of Jordan and the Arab peoples in ge-

neral. A true democrat and internationalist, he was a man of generosity, vision and action, a sympathiser with the oppressed and persecuted peoples of Africa and Latin America and with the heroic struggles of the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

Suleiman Nabulsi made an important personal contribution to the establishment and development of friendly relations between Jordan and the Soviet Union. As head of Jordanian Government, he resolutely supported the establishment of diplomatic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. Speaking of imperialist and reactionary attempts to thwart or at least delay the exchange of diplomatic missions with the USSR, Nabulsi justly remarked: "Precisely because the Soviet Union is our friend, the imperialists would like to drive a wedge between us." To him belongs a great deal of credit for the establishment in 1963 of diplomatic relations between our two countries, and this in spite of the intrigues of our common enemies. The Soviet public also remembers Nabulsi as one of the founders of the Jordan-USSR Society, and as Chairman of its Board, a post he held for many years.

Those who attended meetings of the Jordanian public will never forget Nabulsi's impassioned and sincere words on the international significance of the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution and the importance of Lenin's activities and teachings for the national liberation movement, and on the Soviet Union's tireless efforts to ensure peace. He thought highly of the Soviet Union's aid and support to the just Arab cause. In one of his last public speeches, Nabulsi emphasised that "were it not for the Soviet Union, the imperialists would still be holding many peoples in colonial bondage".

Particularly concerned with the situation in the Middle East and the hardships that befell the Arab peoples in that area as a result of the Israeli aggression, primarily with the hard lot of the Palestinians, Nabulsi resolutely rejected and decried Sadat's capitulatory trends which dated from the early 1970s and ultimately brought him to the shameful Camp David deal struck with the USA and Israeli Zionists at the expense of the Arab national interests.

Asked whether Sadat would ever be able to justify his separate negotiations with Israel in the eyes of the people (the idea was already being played with in Cairo's political quarters), Nabulsi thought for a while, then answered, "You know, I do not rule out the idea that Sadat may fool the Egyptians

for some time as he has repeatedly deceived the Palestinians, but such deceit will not get him very far. "Then he went on, smiling, "As President Lincoln said, you can fool some of the people all of the time or all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time. Time, history and the peoples will indict the separate deals with Israel and their perpetrators."

This prediction by Suleiman Nabulsi proved absolutely correct, as Sadat's infamous end clearly showed. The vast majority of Arab states categorically rejected the Camp David deal among Israel, Egypt and the United States. The Egyptians themselves, including many politicians, are becoming increasingly aware that the Camp David "peace" in the Middle East promised by Presidents Carter and Reagan and the Arabs' legitimate demands are poles apart.

Jordan is a small country, but as Leonid Brezhnev said, "the political weight of states is measured not by the size of their territory or of the population. It is determined by their foreign policies, their contribution to securing peace on earth".

In spite of strong external pressures, Jordan continues to support a comprehensive Middle East settlement. It condemns the Camp David accords and the policy of separate deals, as well as any attempts to decide the destiny of Palestinian Arabs behind the back of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Jordan's leaders have unambiguously stated their support for the Soviet initiative on holding an international conference on the Middle East with the PLO participating without fail, on an equal basis. As Leonid Brezhnev said, "This has great importance in view of Jordan's position in the Middle Eastern region."

The joint Soviet-Jordanian Communiqué on the visit to the USSR of King Hussein ibn Talal in May 1981 noted with satisfaction that "friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Jordan are developing to the mutual benefit of both countries, providing graphic proof of the possibility and usefulness of cooperation between states with different social systems."

Paying tribute to Jordan's outstanding political and public figure, Suleiman Nabulsi, who died on 14 October 1976, Arab patriots and their friends in the USSR and other countries of the world express their confidence that the cause for which he fought is a just cause which will prove victorious despite any obstacles.

AMMAN-MOSCOW

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

KAMPUCHEAN PROGRESS UNDER NEW REGIME LAUDED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 43-45

[Article by Alexei Silanin: "Hopes and Achievements"]

[Text]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S RULE

The year of 1981 will go down into Kampuchea's history as the year people's rule was established and the national economy revived and strengthened. On May 1, 1981, general elections to the National Assembly, the highest body of state authority were held. Virtually the entire adult population of the republic voted. All the members of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation and of the People's Revolutionary Council who ran for office were elected to the National Assembly. Among the newly elected MPs are the worthiest representatives of the working class, the peasants and the working intelligentsia who share a common desire to build a new thriving socialist Kampuchea.

The 4th Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea (PRPK) which was held late in May was another landmark in the life of the country. Its delegates included advanced workers, representatives of the people's army, and those who fought against the old and new colonialists, local reactionaries, and the criminal Pol Pot clique which had usurped power inside the party and the country. The 3rd PRPK Congress took place in January 1979 at the height of the struggle to oust the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. Members of the PRPK were in the front ranks of the liberators and joined the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, a mass organisation of Kampuchean patriots. After the entire country had been rid of Pol Pot's murderers, party members continued acting within the framework of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation and headed the arduous work to rehabilitate the economy and normalise life in the country.

The latest congress of Khmer communists showed that people's rule enjoyed stable authority and that the Kampucheans approved and supported the progressive transformations occurring in the country. It confirmed the Party's determination to strengthen its bonds of solidarity with the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos and other socialist countries and to counter all attempts of the American imperialists and Peking hegemonists to interfere in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea for the purpose of undermining its revolutionary accomplishments. The PRPK Congress mapped out an extensive programme of social and economic changes in the country

and measures to improve the working people's living conditions. It also charted out the main trends in the country's development over the years to come and declared its intentions to lay the foundations of socialism in the People's Republic of Kampuchea. "From now on," the Report of the PRPK Central Committee to the Congress read, "we are going to build socialist society on the principles of genuine Marxism-Leninism... This is the only road to national and social emancipation, to a happy life for our people and to reliable protection of our national independence."

The first session of the National Assembly was a momentous event in the life of the country: a Constitution of the Republic was adopted and the highest legislative

bodies of state authority were elected. The new Fundamental Law of the Republic proclaims the people to be the true masters of the country and formalises the achievements the working people have made in reviving the national economy and culture. The Constitution states that the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea is the leading and guiding force of Kampuchean society. An important part is assigned to the Kampuchea Front of National Construction, a mass public organisation, called upon to mobilise the people to put into effect the resolutions of the party and the government.

Deputies to the National Assembly elected the leading government bodies—the State Council, with Heng Samrin as its Chairman, and the Council of Ministers headed by Pen Sovan, General Secretary of the PRPK Central Committee.

FOLLOWING THE ROAD CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE

The 4th Congress of the Kampuchean communists pointed out that in the two years since the liberation of the country, agricultural production has been revived in the main, major industrial projects have been rehabilitated, and transport, finance and trade organisations have resumed their activities. It is only natural that the people's government in Kampuchea, the national economy of which is based on agriculture, attaches prime importance to the revival of agricultural production in the belief that progress in this sector will be decisive in the building of a new life.

The revival of Kampuchea's countryside and the solution of the food problem is greatly aided by "mutual assistance groups", which now unite many peasant households on a strictly voluntary basis. The Kampuchean government and the PRPK Central Committee do their utmost to render them effective help and support and to encourage this novel movement among the Khmer peasants. Both the summer and autumn harvests of rice amounted to nearly 1,500,000 tons in 1980 and, according to preliminary estimates, last year's harvest was just as large. This along with vegetable and sugar cane crops and larger catches in the fishing industry *made it possible to eliminate the problem of hunger completely.* The 95,000 "mutual assistance groups" uniting more than 90 per cent of all peasant households at present made a major contribution to the solution of that problem.

Kampuchea has considerable potential for developing multibranch farming. The PRPK Congress has set the task of expanding the area under cultivation to 2.3-2.5 million hectares, of raising the number of cattle to 1.4-1.5 million head, and of considerably increasing the output of the fishing industry in the coming five years. Measures are also underway to change the one-crop system and the seasonal nature of agriculture and to diversify agricultural production. All this put together will enable the country to meet its domestic need for foodstuffs and even to allocate part of its agricultural produce for export.

The progress made in resolving the food problem and in boosting those branches of agriculture that supply raw

materials to industry (5,000 hectares of rubber-bearing plants and 1,500 hectares of sugar cane, jute and cotton have already been recultivated) has had a favourable impact on industrial production. More than 100 enterprises have been rehabilitated and are effectively operating in the republic, among them textile and rubber mills, repair shops, fruit juice, soft drinks and tobacco plants, power plants, water-purifying facilities and public utilities in the towns. The Phnom Penh river port, the Kompong Som sea port and the Pochentong airport handle thousands of tons of foodstuffs, fuel, machinery and building materials. The network of roads and the communications system destroyed under the Pol Pot regime have also been restored.

Important qualitative changes are taking place in Kampuchea's economic structure and in management. In the forthcoming years, the country's economy will develop on the basis of a balanced combination of three sectors—the state, cooperative, and private sectors. The first consists of industrial projects, transport, finance organisations and all of wholesale and part of retail trade. The second consists, for the most part, of peasant "mutual assistance groups" and also of fishermen's, hunters', cattle-breeders' and loggers' cooperatives. The third sector is made up of petty traders, owners of private means of transportation, middle-men who deal with the peasants, and state wholesale purchasing organisations. The PRPK Congress pointed out that *the cooperative sector holds a key position in today's Kampuchea and determines the economic development level in general. The main line for the future is to strengthen the state sector and ensure its leading role in further development.*

In the three years of people's rule, tangible success has been scored in culture, education, and health services, areas which were completely dismantled by the Pol Pot clique.

Now the republic boasts 20,000 teachers, nearly 6,000 primary schools and more than 1,000,000 students. Groups that have been set up to do away with illiteracy are attended by 80,000, and *illiteracy should be eliminated in 1983.* Courses have been established to train national personnel for the education system, the health services, trade, finances, communications and transport; thousands of young men and women are studying at these courses. The

public health system is being rebuilt and developed rapidly. The medical, pharmaceutical and teachers' training departments have reopened at Phnom Penh university. Hospitals have been opened in all the provincial centres, and health services are available to practically all the country's people.

REPELLING ENEMY INTRIGUES

In addition to normalising its domestic life, the People's Republic of Kampuchea enjoys increased international prestige and is expanding its contacts abroad. The Kampuchean government's foreign policy aims at promoting peace, friendship and international cooperation with all the countries on a reciprocal basis. People's Kampuchea maintain relations of close friendship and solidarity with Vietnam and Laos, the states with which the Khmer people share long-standing traditions of joint struggle for national independence. The foreign policy of Kampuchea and its purposeful search along with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic for ways of normalising relations with the other Southeast Asian countries are meeting growing understanding and support throughout the world.

The International Conference of Solidarity with the People of Kampuchea held in Phnom Penh last year spoke highly of the republic's constructive foreign policy. That forum made a statement which emphasised that the success scored by the republic proved that Khmer society was stable and viable and that the people's government enjoyed high prestige and trust throughout the entire nation. The Conference resolutely denounced the Peking hegemonists who, in collusion with US imperialists and other reactionary forces, engaged in subversive activities against the People's Republic of Kampuchea and fomented tensions both in Indochina and the whole of Southeast Asia. Delegates to the Conference who came from various countries fully supported *the just demand of the People's Republic of Kampuchea that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's emissaries who represent no one should be expelled from the UN and the nonalignment movement and that the Republic's representative should be granted legitimate rights there.*

The enemies of Kampuchea continue to disregard the will of its people and progressive public opinion in other countries. They persist in their attempts to change the situation in the Republic; they want to turn back the tide of history. As before the Peking expansionists in collusion with Washington and their allies are nursing criminal plans to interfere in the country's domestic affairs and to disrupt peace in Southeast Asia. It was for this reason that the so-called "International Conference on Kampuchea" held in New York last year was called with the end of furthering the machinations by forces hostile to the Khmer people.

It has not passed unnoticed that Washington and Peking displayed particular zeal in organising and holding the "conference". That is, those directly responsible for the tragedy suffered by the Kampuchean people—a tragedy known to have been caused by the US aggression and the crimes of the Pol Pot regime—were the forces that sought to starve the young republic to death, to organise an economic blockade against it, and to create the "refugee problem". These same forces are plotting to create a "united front" from the Pol Pot bands and the émigré rabble.

The progressive public throughout the world looked on the New York "conference" as an attempt at flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of the sovereign People's Republic of Kampuchea and as an obvious desire to place another obstacle on the road to normal relations between the nations of Indochina and the ASEAN and to exacerbate the tense situation in Southeast Asia even further. It goes without saying that *no resolutions on Kampuchea passed*

against the will of the Kampuchean people and without a representative of the People's Republic of Kampuchea can or will have any force.

The enemies of the Republic attempt to cloak their talk about the need for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem by claiming that inside Kampuchea itself and outside its bounds there are allegedly forces which oppose the legally and constitutionally elected government of the country. With these aims in view, Peking has worked out a plan for setting up a united counterrevolutionary organisation under China's patronage which would include the widest possible range of the Republic's opponents from among the émigrés, including the Pol Pot men, the supporters of Lon Nol and the nationalist-minded representatives of the Khmer Serei. In accordance with this plan, in September 1981, an attempt was made to unite the Pol Pot formations hiding on the territory of Thailand with pro-Western and monarchistic groupings of Khmer émigrés. This joint Sino-American initiative was designed to "pool" the forces of three counterrevolutionary groupings and to try and change the situation in Kampuchea by toppling the legitimate government supported by the Khmer people.

The numerous political, economic and military attempts of imperialism and the international reaction to change the course of developments in Kampuchea failed miserably. This forced Peking and Washington look for new avenues to prevent the people's revolutionary government from consolidating its positions in the Republic and raising its international prestige. They adopted a policy of exacerbating the overall situation in Southeast Asia, and above all of provoking confrontation between the ASEAN countries and the states of Indochina. Thailand plays a special part in these schemes, and its ruling elite makes practically no attempt to conceal its direct involvement in the anti-Kampuchean sallies.

The enemies of People's Kampuchea make open attempts to use its border with Thailand as an "undeclared war front". Remnants of the surviving Pol Pot army have settled in Thailand close to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. These counterrevolutionary Khmer bands hiding out in Thailand are being actively used and receive direct material support from Peking and Washington to carry out armed attacks and subversive activities against Kampuchea in a bid to thwart the normalisation of the situation inside the country and to hamper the revival of its economic activity.

By blowing up the non-existent "Kampuchean problem", the leaders of some ASEAN countries have practically been dragged into the ignominious and dangerous scheme of organising blatant interference in Kampuchea's affairs. Representatives of the nations of Indochina have repeatedly declared at all the levels that *the normalisation of the situation in Southeast Asia should be started by eliminating the underlying causes, in other words, by putting an end to the imperialist and hegemonistic interference in the affairs of the peoples in the region. Cooperation of all Southeast Asian states rather than confrontation is the only realistic foundation for this.* The problems that exist between them can and must be resolved on a regional

basis in a spirit of goodneighbourliness and peaceful coexistence, without any outside interference. This is precisely the approach characteristic of the numerous initiatives of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea designed to restore peace and stability in Indochina and the whole of Southeast Asia.

RELYING ON THE HELPING HAND OF FRIENDS

The Kampuchean people have made their choice and are confidently marching along the road to social and economic rehabilitation. Their just cause is supported by the fraternal socialist countries which have been giving comprehensive aid in building an independent, sovereign, socialist Kampuchea.

The Soviet people always take the side of any people upholding their national rights. We look with satisfaction at the first achievements of the Khmer people in organising a peaceful life, normalising the situation within the country, and reviving the economy and national culture. The Soviet and the Khmer people are united by the bonds of long-standing friendship and cooperation. Ever since Kampuchea won its independence in 1953, the Soviet Union, true to its peaceful Leninist foreign policy, has done its utmost to strengthen Kampuchea's independence and has rendered it diverse aid. In the 1960s, the USSR built a modern, fully-equipped hospital and a technological institute as a gift to the Khmer people, and Soviet doctors, teachers and other experts worked in Kampuchea. The Soviet Union gave Kampuchea the military aid it needed so desperately in the face of ceaseless provocations by the American brass and their South Vietnamese puppets.

Along with the other peace-loving nations, the Soviet people warmly welcomed the victory of Kampuchea's revolutionary and patriotic forces. The Soviet Union took into account the grave economic difficulties of the liberated country and immediately rendered it diverse material aid. In July 1979, an agreement was signed for Soviet deliveries of foodstuffs, means of transportation, oil products, medicines, and various consumer goods to Kampuchea gratis. Along with the government, the Soviet public organisations which unite millions of Soviet people provide extensive material aid and political support to People's Kampuchea. The USSR-Kampuchea Friendship Society, among the collective members of which are more than 30 enterprises and offices, contributes a great deal to the development of Soviet-Kampuchean relations.

Meetings between party and government leaders of the two countries greatly strengthen and expand Soviet-Kampuchean relations. Last September a friendly meeting was held in the Kremlin between Leonid Brezhnev and Pen Sovan; they exchanged opinions on long-term prospects for the further development of Soviet-Kampuchean cooperation. Leonid Brezhnev wished the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the entire Kampuchean people every success in their struggle for the country's national revival, in laying the foundations of socialist society, and in defending their revolutionary gains from the machinations of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction.

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LEBANESE POLITICIAN CRITICIZES U.S., PRAISES USSR

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 82 p 46

[Our Rostrum column: "Against US Machinations in the Middle East"]

[Text]

The Soviet Union was visited by Inam Raad, well-known Arab political and public figure, Deputy Chairman of the Political Council of the National Patriotic Forces of Lebanon and Chairman of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party of Lebanon. Talking to our correspondent Alexander Alexeyev, Inam Raad said:

"The Syrian Social Nationalist Party of Lebanon has close contacts with the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the vanguard of the Soviet public which actively supports the national liberation and progressive movements on the two continents. We deem it our duty to speak highly of the effective militant role of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, which is familiar to the champions of freedom, independence and peace all over the world.

"Our Arab homeland is going through a complex period in its history. Pursuing an aggressive anti-Arab line, American imperialism continues forging its sinister alliance with Israel.

"The US signed the Memorandum on Strategic Cooperation with Israel, approving in this way intensified aggression against the Arab peoples of Palestine, Syria and Lebanon. It was after this ominous memorandum had been signed that Israel illegally annexed the Golan Heights, displaying anew the aggressive nature of Zionism to the rest of the world.

"Instigated by the US, Israel openly declared its plans to put an end to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and to rout the National Patriotic Forces of Lebanon.

"But the Israeli provocations have proved a failure. Imperialist and Zionist attacks increasingly bring together the ranks of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which is strengthening its international prestige with every passing day. Guided by the National Patriotic Forces, the Lebanese working pe-

ople continue their struggle for the democratisation of Lebanese society, for the unity and territorial integrity of the country. Despite the machinations of the external and internal enemies, Syria, too, firmly adheres to the patriotic positions, promoting in this way the staunchness of the National Patriotic Forces and the Palestine Resistance Movement.

"Opposition to the aggressive US-Israeli alliance and to Israel as a stronghold of racism and Zionism in the Middle East is a struggle for our freedom, and part and parcel of the world liberation movement against imperialism and its stooges as well as of the peoples' common struggle against colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

"We highly appreciate and approve the growing Soviet support to the progressive alliance between Libya, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, an alliance which is of great international and strategic importance. The Soviet Union, which leads the socialist community, is a strategic ally of the Asian and African peoples in the legitimate struggle in defence of their homeland and national rights.

"The USSR is a loyal friend of the peoples and their liberation movement. Proceeding from this conviction, we have been invariably and persistently emphasising in the past few years the need for and importance of an alliance with the USSR as an earnest of the victory of the liberation movements, including that of the Arabs. For example, at the Malta conference of the Mediterranean socialist countries we called for the elimination of the imperialist and Zionist bases in the region and demanded that aggressive naval forces should be withdrawn from it. At the same time we urgently stressed the

need for the presence of the Soviet Navy as a force protecting the Arab peoples from imperialist and Zionist aggression.

"Within the framework of the National Patriotic Forces of Lebanon our party is actively working towards stronger unity of the progressive forces in the Arab world and also towards an alliance between them and the USSR.

We call upon all the Arab states to revise their attitude to the US at a summit meeting. It is quite obvious that under the circumstances the US is pursuing a policy detrimental to the vital interests of the Arabs, their national sovereignty, freedom and progress and leads them to capitulation and defeat. Every day corroborates the fact that peace is incompatible with aggression, racism, Zionism, colonialism and the practice of plundering the people's riches and seizing their lands.

"The concoctions of the American imperialists about their allegedly defending the Persian Gulf have lost all grounds after Leonid Brezhnev's proposal to turn the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean into a zone free of military fleets and bases. The Arab nations broadly support this and other Soviet initiatives.

"This year marks a quarter of a century since the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation was founded. We greet the Organisation and its enormous contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle. We want specially to emphasise the role the Arab liberation movement is playing in opposing imperialism and Zionism. We highly appreciate the coordination and close interaction between the AAPSO and the All-Arab Peoples' Congress, a militant alliance of the Arab, African and all Asian nations with the great Soviet Union which will win in the struggle against the forces of darkness."

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PAKISTANI MILITARY RULE: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, POLITICAL REPRESSION

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 48-50

[Article by Vladimir Nikolayev, Cand. Sc. (Hist.) and Victor Ovlev, Cand. Sc. (Econ.): "Under the Rule of the Military"]

[Text]

In July 1977, amidst an active campaign against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his government launched by right-wing parties and organisations, the Pakistani Army brass effected a coup d'etat and seized power on the pretext of restoring "law and order". The central and provincial governments were deposed, the legislative bodies dissolved, and the constitution suspended; martial law was introduced in the country. All power was concentrated in the hands of the Army Chief of Staff General Zia-ul-Haq, who became the chief military administrator, and President of the country as of September 1978. For the third time in Pakistan's short history, military dictatorship was openly established.

The change in the form of rule also meant a shift in the balance of power within the ruling bourgeois-landlord bloc. The monopolistic elite of the big trading and industrial bourgeoisie and big landowners moved to the forefront. Representatives of those circles are actively involved in the country's administration; they sit on the nation's different bodies, above all, in the government. Their number in the Cabinet of Ministers has markedly grown as a result of the recent reshuffle in March 1981. The military administration renewed the practice of taking regular counsel with the leading representatives and organisations of the business world.

To suit the elite of the ruling classes, the military administration effected a notable change in the country's socio-economic policies. It abandoned implementation of a new stage of agrarian reform pledged by the Bhutto Government in 1977 which provided for further restriction of land-

lords' right to large landed estates, and cancelled the farm tax introduced at the same time. The military authorities abandoned the previous course of developing key industries mainly through the public sector and allowed private investment in such industries as chemical, oil processing, cement, engineering, iron-and-steel, which had been exclusively state-controlled before. Private owners were given various privileges in taxation, import tariffs, etc. The military authorities are stimulating the growth of the private sector and simultaneously curtailing the operation of the public sector. The government reorganised the firms nationalised in the 1970s into mixed (state/private) ones and denationalised several of them. Simultaneously big business was given guarantees of immunity from nationalisation.

The emphasis in dealing with foreign capital was shifted from state to private contractors (this is especially true of US private capital and that of some Arab countries). Large concessions were given to leading Western oil companies. Foreign firms, first of all American, Gulf Oil, Aramco, Union Texas, and others began prospecting for oil and gas. Business contacts between Pakistani businessmen and their "colleagues" from the Middle East and Persian Gulf countries have been considerably expanded and are moving over from the sphere of trade and mediation to the sphere of production.

It is indicative, however, that the military administration's policy of relying on the private sector to promote the country's industrial development has met with serious objective

and subjective difficulties. The building of key industries in a developing country like Pakistan now requires a level of capital accumulation attainable only on a national scale. Moreover, the national businessmen prefer to use the privileges obtained from the military regime for commercial and financial operations often tied in with speculation and smuggling. Only such investments are made which promise fast capital turn-over and big profits. Those are mostly nonproduction industries: tourism, hotel and store construction, or at the most, construction of repair shops or agricultural produce processing plants. Despite the incessant appeals of officialdom to business circles "to respond with enthusiasm to the new possibilities opened to them by the federal government", the influx of private capital into the production spheres of the economy is rather scanty.

The military regime's harsh measures "to enforce order" (consisting mostly of reprisals against the workers, prohibition of strikes, pressuring trade unions, etc.) injected some vigour into economic activity. Also very helpful were the exceptionally fa-

vourable weather conditions boosting Pakistan's leading branch of the economy, agriculture, and the gross national product (GNP) as a whole. In the period under discussion, "labour force export" from Pakistan has grown sharply, especially to the oil-producing Arab countries, with the yearly emigration rate reaching almost 120,000; now about two million Pakistanis work abroad. The flow of money remittances by the Pakistanis working abroad was also growing rapidly. Pakistan is now the world's leading country in the total amount of incoming private money orders (this year it exceeded \$2 billion, which about equals the country's annual export earnings). This very substantial hard currency input has naturally improved the financial situation of Pakistan.

However, the chronic weaknesses and discrepancies of the Pakistani economy, such as interbranch disproportions, low productivity in the traditional sectors, the limited energy and fuel resources, etc., aggravated by the military regime's socio-economic policies, soon led to the deterioration of the economic situation, slowing down the rate of economic development. In 1980-1981 the rate of growth of agricultural production dropped 2.5 per cent below that of the previous year, and the growth of the GNP dropped accordingly. Deficit in financing is growing, expenditures exceeded income by 6.9 billion rupees in 1980-1981. The 1981-1982 budget pro-

vides for the amount of deficit financing to go up to 9.3 billion. The five-year plan of economic development for 1978-1983 was thwarted. A three-year "corrected plan" has been drawn up instead.

Pakistan's economy is heavily burdened by constantly growing military expenditures. A new 10 per cent increase is planned for the 1981-1982 budget. This means that defence-oriented allocations will account for 50 per cent of the country's current budgetary expenditures. Large resources are being spent on the ambitious plans of the Islamabad rulers to create their own nuclear bomb.

The country's economy is becoming ever more dependent on foreign "aid". Pakistan's foreign debt has reached the enormous sum of \$9 bil-

lion. 20-30 per cent of its hard currency earnings must be used to repay this debt. The emigration boom is stripping the Pakistani economy of part of the skilled labour force greatly needed at home. As to the incoming money orders, only a small part of them are turned into investments.

These economic setbacks have an unfavourable effect on the well-being of the broad masses of the population. The military regime has intensified exploitation of industrial and office workers in the private sector; there are more abuses of power on the part of managers of state-run enterprises. Lockouts, sacking make redundant thousands of people who then join the ranks of the long-time unemployed. The urban employment level in Pakistan is extremely low, less than 30 per cent in most cities. The growth of the cost of living is yet another scourge. Inflation is growing; prices are rising all over the country. Almost all grocery items and basic necessities went up in price in 1981. Thus, the price of potatoes increased 1.5 times; the price of rice almost doubled, and that of beans almost tripled.

The deterioration of the situation among the lower-grade employees is quite marked.

Special note must be made of lower level and marginal urban populations. Their number in Pakistan has grown enormously. This is explained, first of all by rapid natural population growth (increment of almost three million annually) as well as by increased migration from rural districts caused by the disruption of traditional relations in the countryside, impoverishment of petty peasant owners, and the busting of land-renting farmers. As a result, a "fringe" of slums, clusters of clay cabins, huts of planks, tin, plywood and rags, appeared around the urban centres, especially the larger ones. In Karachi,

the country's largest city, the population of which exceeds six million, over two million people live in conditions of extreme crowdedness and poor hygiene. In the city of Lahore, country's second largest, the number of "squatters" (inhabitants of the randomly and "illegally" mushrooming settlements) inflated from 30,000 in 1964 to 700,000 in 1979, or twentyfold.

This phenomenon of extreme poverty among the new urbanites sets in sharper contrast the conditions relegated to the privileged strata of Pakistani society. In special localities preserved from former colonial times (the so-called cantonments), in villas drowning in luxury dwell the business magnates, hereditary landlords, high-level officials, and the brass. The numbers of the elite compared to the mass of the population

are negligible, but it has monopolised control of the country's natural, material and manpower resources, which accounts for its huge profits. Back in the 1960s, the family incomes of the top bourgeois monopolists were 2000-fold the country's average. Presently, the military dictatorship, which serves the interests of the Pakistani elite, and its practically uncontrolled rule, leads to a further widening of the gap between the material and social status of the rich and the poor, men of property and the disinherited of the land.

The low standard of living of the masses, the growing material and social inequality, political lawlessness, involvement of the country in the dangerous plans of American imperialism, and Pakistan's participation in the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have called forth profound dissatisfaction among different social groups in Pakistani society, this dissatisfaction surfacing in outbursts of popular unrest. In this situation, to stay in power and split the opposition, the military regime combines a policy of terror and reprisals against its opponents with energetic manoeuvring, and social and political demagoguery.

Since the military takeover, severe suppression of any dissent has been the rule in the country; all political activities have been strictly limited, and relentless censorship of the press has been introduced; starting in November 1979, all political parties were banned and the 1973 constitution was suspended. Life in the country is regulated by martial law, the violation of which entails harsh punishment, including execution. Special tribunals have been set up to handle that type of "crime". The civil courts

have been denied the right of passing indictments regarding the activities of the military administration and of considering appeals against the decisions of the military tribunals. The constitutional guarantees of basic civil rights have been suspended by the military regime, so the judicial institutions are unable to perform their fundamental function, that of supervising the observance of human rights and enforcing them whenever those rights are violated by the administration. Thousands of opponents to the regime have been put behind the bars; the prisons are overcrowded, and the political prisoners held there face a death of starvation and disease.

Reprisals are spearheaded against the country's democratic forces, first of all against the Communist Party of Pakistan and progressive trade unions. In the spring of 1981, a special military tribunal sentenced Jam Saqi, one of the Communist Party leaders, to 10-year's imprisonment. Also thrown into prison were Professor Jamal Naqvi, a well-known public figure, Shamim Vasti and Shabir Shar, both leaders of the amalgamated workers' federation, and others. During interrogations they were systematically beaten and tortured. A prominent figure in the Communist Party, Nasir Abbasi, died in a Lahore prison in 1980. The authorities have repeatedly arrested progressive public figure, and member of the World Peace Council Mazhar Ali Khan.

Although it made mistakes, the former ruling party of Pakistan, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) had positive record in many spheres, and succeeded to secure a rather strong position in the Pakistani society. The overthrow of the PPP gave it the halo of martyrdom, and raised its prestige. Therefore, the military authorities are seeking to weaken that leading opposition party. Practically all its leaders and many of its activists are held in prison; its leader, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was executed in April 1979 on grounds of complicity in a political assassination. The state apparatus and judicial institutions all underwent a thorough purging of supporters of the former Prime Minister and all those who entered government service under the PPP rule.

Many prominent party members have been denied the right to engage in political work for seven years (up to 1987) on the accusation of "abuse of power" and "illicit appropriation". This measure enabled the government to remove experienced and dangerous opponents from the political arena for a long time and to inflict tangible moral damage upon the party. The extensive campaign to discredit the PPP is

being mounted for the same reason. Those in office and the mass media persistently expound upon the sins, true and imaginary, of the country's former leadership. The accusations of abuse of power, "bad conduct", corruption, etc., are accompanied by accusations of neglect of Islam and "implanting ungodly socialism".

The authorities employ all possible occasions to lash out at the party. Thus, they charged the party with complicity in hijacking a Pakistani airliner in March 1981. The government mounted a sweeping propaganda campaign accusing the PPP of subversive activity and involvement with terrorists. Simultaneously, there was a wave of arrests among party members and supporters; among those arrested were the leader of the PPP, widow of the former Prime Minister Nusrat Bhutto and her daughter Benazir.

General Zia-ul-Haq revealed his flair for vigorous political manoeuvring from the very start of his activity. After seizing power, the army top brass, unlike in other coups, did not ban the political parties or the constitution, it just "temporarily suspended" them; it was also announced that a general election would be held in October of the same year to transfer power "to the legitimate representatives of the people". However, in a few months, the election date was put off on the pretext of "correcting the mistakes" of the former regime. The elections were first scheduled for November 1979, then postponed for an indefinite period altogether. After that, the government further curtailed political activity in the country, banning political parties and public organisations. All those steps have been and are being augmented by measures that are supposed to signify support of the regime by the masses.

Islamisation of various spheres of life in Pakistan is an important element in the policy of Zia-ul-Haq's government. A separate election system has been introduced, or voting according to separate list compiled on the basis of religious affiliation (this system was employed by the British during the colonial period and abolished in the years of independence). The Shariat Court has been set up as a division of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. It has the right to nullify any law that, in its opinion, disagrees with Islam. Traditional Moslem punishments for certain types of crimes have been practised.

All these measures are concomitant with a massive ideological campaign meant to prove that a truly Islamic society is being created in Pakistan, a society of "general prosperity and equality".

However, time is bringing ever more convincing evidence that the life of the masses has not changed for the better; property inequality is growing; corruption, speculation and graft are flourishing, i. e., all that breeds disappointment, kills hope, and eventually arouses dissatisfaction over the Islamisation policy, its consequences, and its sponsors themselves. The situation is aggravated by the fact that Islamisation, being carried out on the basis of Sunnism, is arousing dissatisfaction among the religious minorities and affects the economically important Shiite community (about 20 per cent of the population).

The situation in the country is further aggravated by the present foreign policy course of its leadership. Pakistan is responding favourably to US attempts to draw it into the orbit of Washington's policy in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf areas, and to increase its participation in aggres-

sive moves against people's Afghanistan. Immediately following the Afghan revolution, counterrevolutionary emigrant organisations began their activities from the territory of Pakistan; scores of training camps and bases were set up where Afghan counterrevolutionaries are armed with American and Chinese weapons. These get financial support from the USA and some reactionary Arab regimes. Work on the construction of the Karakorum highway connecting Pakistan and China was greatly stepped up. It was opened to traffic in summer 1978, a year ahead of schedule. This road is used for delivering Chinese weapons to the Afghan saboteurs. Under pressure from Washington, Peking, London, and a number of reactionary Arab regimes, Islamabad has taken an extremely hostile stand towards Afghanistan, turning down every proposal by the DRA to open negotiations for normalising relations between the two countries. On the international arena, with the nonaligned movement and in the Islamic Conference Organisation, Pakistan is the initiator of all anti-Afghan measures.

A few years ago, the USA gave Pakistan neither military, nor economic aid because of human rights violations and concealment of nuclear programmes from international control. Today nothing has changed in Pakistan in this respect, and yet, the American Administration, in circumvention of US legislation, has renewed both types of assistance, and began to sell modern weapons to the country. An agreement was reached in June 1981 to give Pakistan military and economic aid to the tune of \$3 billion.

on for a five-year period (the share of economic aid is \$1 billion). Above that, Pakistan was given permission to buy arms in the USA with its own money (in effect, with money coming from other countries, mostly from Saudi Arabia). Forty F-16 fighter-bombers, tanks, rockets, helicopter gunships and other modern weapons will be delivered to Pakistan in the near future. According to the press, Pakistan is also interested in purchasing destroyers and submarines from the USA. The military-political rapprochement of Pakistan and the USA has affected the foreign policy course of the former, making it unfriendly toward the neighbouring countries, the Soviet Union included, and turning it against Afghanistan.

The final aim of the American loans and credits is to turn Pakistan into a strategic bridgehead, to obtain bases for the American rapid deployment forces, and to force Pakistan to perform police duties on the eastern flank of the Persian Gulf area.

The "special nature" of Chinese-Pakistani relations is mentioned all too often in Islamabad. Actually this "special nature" consists of Peking's support and encouragement of the ambitious plans of the Islamabad rulers and of China's continuous participation (since 1965) in the militarisation of Pakistan which has been dramatically stepped up at the present time.

The domestic and foreign policies of the military regime are meeting with growing dissatisfaction among broad strata of Pakistani society. The demand to hold elections and end martial law has become universal. Outbursts of unrest among the masses have become a permanent factor. In the summer of 1980, the streets of many cities were flooded with many thousands of demonstrators protesting the course taken by the government. The capital of Baluchistan province,

Quetta, became the scene of mass meetings in the spring of 1981. The students were the first to rise and were supported by many groups of working people. At the so-called conference on labour convened late last year, even representatives of the opportunist trade unions present there refused to support the anti-labour legislation tabled by the authorities. Even these conservative groups favoured the position of the working people. Business circles are dissatisfied with some Islamic principles introduced into the economy. Dissatisfaction has corroded even the Army and higher echelons of the bureaucracy, as evidenced by the court martials among the officer corps held last year as well as by the refusal of several members of the higher provincial courts and of the Supreme Court, including its Chairman Anwar-ul-Haq, to take an oath in accordance with the "provisional constitution".

The patriotic sections of the Pakistani society support the normalisation of relations with Afghanistan, expressing concern that the political and military rapprochement with the USA already underway will make Pakistan's foreign policy less independent and tie the country to the plans and actions of the Pentagon, as was the case in the past. Reflecting this sentiment, *Tamir* newspaper wrote, "The bitter lessons of the past, when our country was tied to the military blocs cost the Pakistani people too much..."

The way out of the complicated situation in which Pakistan is presently involved is to be found, in the eyes of the Pakistani public, in the democratisation of the country, in progressive socio-economic transformations, in a peace-oriented, independent foreign policy, and in the development of friendly relations with all states, above all with neighbouring countries.

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