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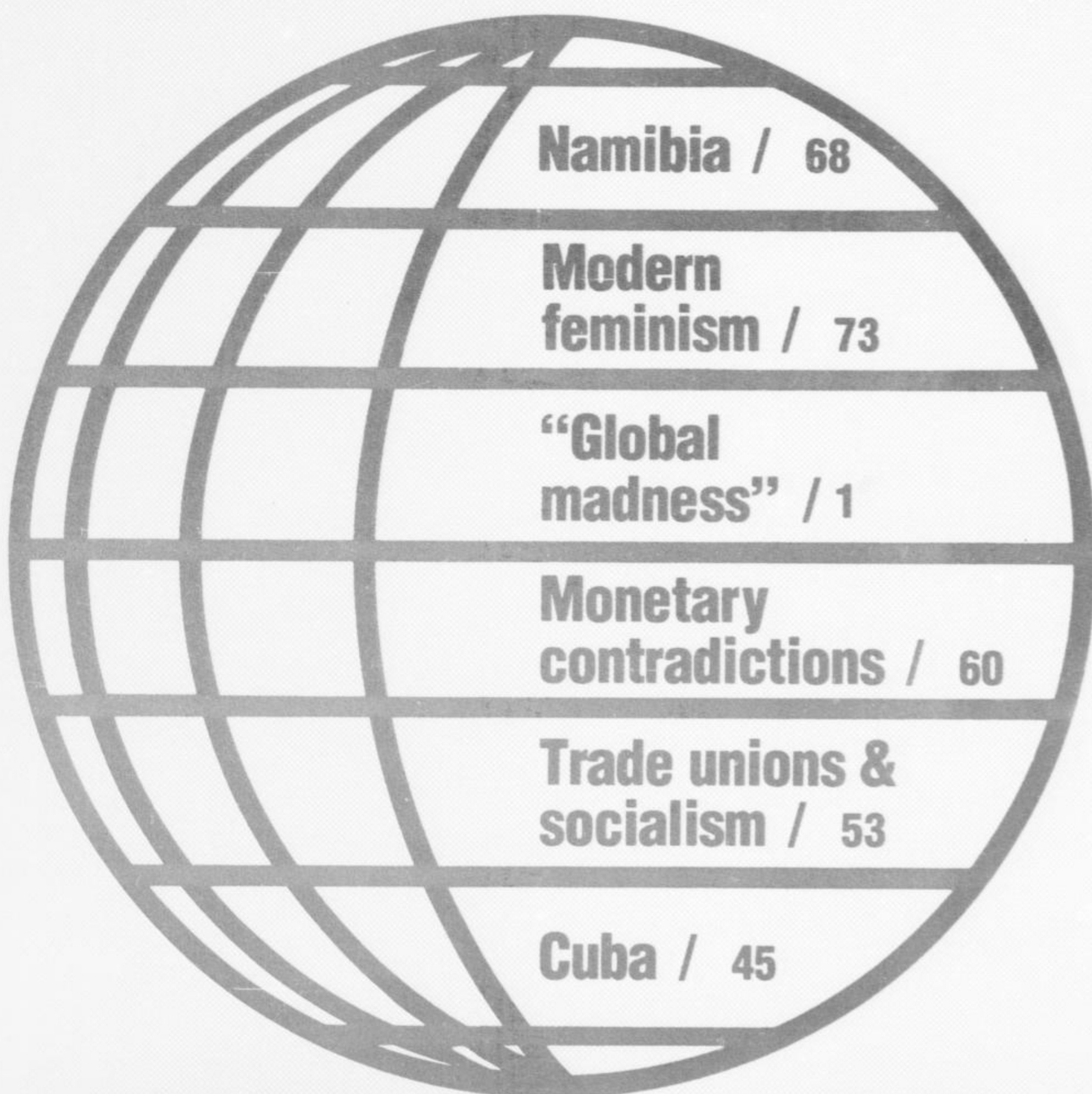
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Global madness once more

Rodney Arismendi
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*The time for joy is not yet come:
If the womb is still fertile
That can beget the reptile.*

Bertolt Brecht (*The Career of Arthur Ui*)

This warning by the distinguished German author comes to mind immediately when you read *A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties*,¹ a classified document prepared for the Council for Inter-American Security, Inc., in the USA. It appears that what we have before us is a draft of the Reagan administration's basic guidelines.

Presented without embellishing its most brutal aspects, this is a military and political doctrine relative to the Latin American and Caribbean states. Revealing a world domination thrust in the spirit of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, it is based on the premise that the USA's bid for world hegemony is opposed by "international communism." Moreover, the political category used in it embraces the USSR and other socialist nations as well as new states that emerged as a result of the downfall of the colonial system, all national liberation movements, and the political forces (parties and governments) pursuing an independent policy, a course toward peace and national sovereignty. In accordance with this universal conception, Latin America and the Caribbean are accorded (through the mechanism of "inter-American relations") the role of "shield of the new world security and sword of U.S. global power projection." "U.S. global power projection," the document says, "rests upon a cooperative Caribbean and a supportive South America... the Caribbean and Latin America... helped the United States generate sufficient surplus power for balancing activities on European, Asian and African continents."

The *New Inter-American Policy for the 1980s* mirrors U.S. imperialism's traditional approach to Latin America, an approach called the Monroe doctrine. For more than a century this doctrine has been the geopolitical foundation for intervention in countries south of the Rio Grande. It has neither a historical nor a

judicial basis; the USA uses it as a smokescreen for its crimes.

A close scrutiny of the central idea underlying this doctrine will leave nothing save a picture of the obsession that the Western Hemisphere is the preserve of the USA, the starting point on two oceans for the attainment of world supremacy. Back in 1912 Elihu Root, a former U.S. Secretary of War, declared that he was quite certain that by the year 1950 the USA's frontiers would embrace the entire continent. This was no more than an imperialist utopia: it ignored the laws of capitalist development leading to the socialist revolution or of the role that the awakened peoples of colonies and dependent countries would play in it. However, Root's predatory ambitions, formulated differently to suit the new situation, continue to inspire the Pentagon strategists.

During the cold war, after the USA had become the predominant force in South America, various regional systems were set up to ensure total military, political, and also economic control over the region. This imperialist drive was at first mirrored in the Truman plan, which envisaged coordination of the actions of the continent's military forces and subsequently led to the formation of the Inter-American Defense Board and other supranational agencies, and then to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed in Rio de Janeiro and complemented at conferences in Bogota, Caracas, and other cities. These documents laid down the strategic guideline assigned to our countries by the USA.

A huge land mass extending from the North Pole to the South and affording a convenient position on two oceans, the Western Hemisphere was the USA's economic, military and political sanctuary and the rear zone of the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty. Latin America and the Caribbean were reduced to the unevitable status of suppliers of raw materials, to the status of an economic patrimony, of a totally subjugated empire. Our peoples were regarded as potential cannon fodder. The Latin American armies were given the police func-

tions of protecting in their own countries, every oil well, every mine, and every manufacturing facility belonging to U.S. monopolies. Precisely this underlay the "doctrine of internal war against international communism," used to this day by fascist and other despotic regimes in South America, in parallel with heightened war hysteria and an anti-communist and anti-Soviet clamor.

For almost two decades after the Second World War, the USA and, with it, other imperialist powers compelled humankind to live according to the John Foster Dulles recipe of "on the brink of nuclear war." They unleashed local wars on all continents and planned a nuclear strike against the USSR, going so far as to set the exact date (this is testified to by former rulers of the USA and by journalists). They organized coups and the assassination of presidents, ministers, and political leaders; wherever possible they set up dictatorships of the fascist or neofascist pattern.

Latin America remembers those times. Pan-Americanism and the cacophonous "anthem of the two Americas" were a screen for the USA's ruthless exploitation of the continent, for embellishment of the political systems relying mainly on military dictatorships. Drowning popular actions in blood, these dictatorships "saved" the West from communism, and obediently voted at sessions of the Organization of American States, justifiably called the U.S. Department of Colonies.

Against this background, Washington's policy underwent modifications that did not, however, affect either the direction of its main thrust or its methods. The new situation that held out the promise of an end to the cold war and deliverance from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe emerged mainly from imperialism's setbacks, notably the historic victory of the Vietnamese people. The Cuban revolution and the overall upswing of the revolutionary movement in Latin America were of immense significance for our continent and the world generally. The entire system of Pan-Americanism and U.S. domination began to crack at the seams and was hit by an irreversible crisis. Despite bitter trials and even vacillation and setbacks, and despite the counter-offensive of imperialism and fascism, which installed fascist dictatorships in Uruguay, Chile, and some other countries, a new period commenced on the continent. Evidence and, at the same time, a major milestone of this period is the revolution in Nicaragua.

The changes in the balance of economic, political, military and historical strength between the USSR and other socialist states on

the one hand, and imperialism on the other, the total disintegration of the colonial system, and the shift toward peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism created the objective conditions for easing tension for the benefit of all humanity. It is self-evident that there is no alternative to coexistence and détente save a military catastrophe involving the use of advanced weapons of mass destruction.

The arms race and the fanning of tension, intensified under the Carter administration, are once more subjecting the world to mortal danger that has grown on account of the irresponsible and militarist actions and pronouncements of Reagan and his entourage, which have alarmed even their NATO allies.

Needless to say, nowhere in the world, Latin America included, can the U.S. imperialists do what they choose. Nonetheless, without giving way to fatalism, one must realize that there is a terrible danger: that world peace and, consequently, independence, progress, democracy and social change in Latin America are threatened. The Soviet Union's new proposals, enunciated by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU, are a well-considered, constructive contribution to the quest for ways to peace and détente. In spite of the angry outbursts with which Reagan began his term as president of the leading imperialist power, the world balance of strength is conducive to this quest. At the 26th congress of the CPSU we declared that *unity in the struggle for peace was the cardinal and most pressing task of humankind, that this struggle was inseparable from the historic battle of the Latin American peoples for democracy, for political and economic emancipation.*

The document written in Santa Fé and backed up by statements by Ronald Reagan, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, the U.S. representative in the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick, and others is indicative of the dialectical linkage between Washington's militarist policy and its actions aimed at intensifying the exploitation of the Latin American peoples. The document's introduction — *Foundation for a Fresh, Forward-Looking Foreign Policy* — proclaims the international premises of the USA's Latin America policy in the form of a monstrous philosophy. Not for nothing did we compare it with Hitler's blueprint for world domination. "Foreign policy," the document says, "is the instrument by which peoples seek to assure their survival in a hostile world. War, not peace, is the norm in international affairs . . . Containment of the Soviet Union is not enough. Détente is dead . . .

America must seize the initiative or perish . . . World War III is almost over."

The thinking that a third world war has already begun has long since become the cornerstone of the lectures on counter-insurgency for Latin American military and police at U.S. training centers in the former Panama Canal zone. This thinking even serves as moral justification for special courses on torture. In Uruguay, for instance, even rank-and-file warders practise torture on political prisoners held in dungeons. It is not accidental that Pinochet and the Uruguayan fascist generals claim they are in the forefront of the "defenders of the West" in the already raging Third World War. This thinking was discussed at a conference of commanders of the OAS armed forces in Bogota after the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution. Together with the thesis of "internal war," likewise invented in the USA, it continues to serve as the ideological "argument" of fascist, despotic regimes.

From these positions the Santa Fé document assesses the political situation on the continent and the striving of its peoples to defend their national identity, achieve genuine independence, and create the conditions for social development and progress. "Latin America and South Asia," it says, "are the scenes of strife of the third phase of World War III."

On the strength of the aforesaid it is declared that there is a need for a comprehensive global foreign policy within the rigid formula of "either a Pax Sovietica or a worldwide counter-projection of American power is in the offing. The hour of decision can no longer be postponed."

This total lack of camouflage for the basic guideline of U.S. imperialism's most aggressive and adventurist circles, who are out to achieve world supremacy, can rarely be found in writing. The specter of a Soviet threat, the proclamation that the "empire" is in jeopardy, and the statement that the frontiers of U.S. security run across all latitudes are used to poison people's minds for psychological warfare. The central, in fact overriding, aim is to bring the entire world under U.S. supremacy, to subjugate all countries that reject peace on Soviet terms (regardless of their political system and national interests). Defying logic, all governments, parties and movements that reject or have shaken off imperious U.S. protection are regarded as hostile. Such governments may be subjected to sanctions and brought down through conspiracies, destabilization, and the assassination of leaders. The nations represented by them are becoming potential objectives of intervention, especially if they are in

Latin America and the Caribbean, regarded as preserves, as the internal sphere of U.S. international influence. Clearly, thinking along these lines is tantamount to walking along the edge of a razor blade, on the brink of a nuclear shambles.

The Santa Fé document exudes rabid militarism. The section concerning plans of action against Cuba, Central America and the Caribbean nations is written in the tone of an ideological crusade. Its inspirers take two premises for their point of departure: (a) the Caribbean "is becoming a Marxist-Leninist lake;" (b) the Caribbean nations constitute the soft underbelly of the USA, "global factors in America's equation of continental security," and are threatened by "the irrepressible activity of a Soviet-backed Cuba."

The net result is that Cuba is regarded as the principal adversary that has to be destroyed; Nicaragua has been brought into gun sight because of the democratic and anti-imperialist character of its revolution: the question is raised of police actions against the governments of Panama, Guyana and Grenada. Guyana under Linden Forbes Burnham is called a "Marxist pro-Soviet state." Neither do they forget hostile action against the democratic forces of Costa Rica and Venezuela, and intrigues against Mexico, although relative to the latter they recommend a cautious, special policy. The governments and parties of these countries are dissimilar, politically heterogeneous. But all are stigmatized for aspiring to pursue an independent foreign policy, demanding the return of their national wealth, and refusing to accept despotic regimes installed and patronized by the USA. In fact, they obviously cannot be forgiven for their support of Nicaragua and for their normal relations with Cuba.

All the indications are that the USA sees despotic regimes as its only true friends in the region. The Santa Fé advisers declare that these regimes should be aided because they are "under attack by armed minorities." The implication is obvious: more assistance to the murderous dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala, against which the democratic, revolutionary forces are fighting. The Reagan administration's aggressive, uncompromising stand relative to El Salvador and also its growing interference in other Central American states and its provocations in the Caribbean, especially against Cuba and Nicaragua, are clear evidence of the document's impact on the strategy pursued by the present U.S. administration.

One of its points bluntly invokes the Monroe doctrine: "no hostile foreign power will be al-

lowed bases or military or political allies in the region." This is a provision against any government refusing total U.S. tutelage or venturing (remember Guatemala in 1944-1954) to apply its laws to U.S. monopolies. Governments doing so may be charged with entering into a political alliance with socialist or non-aligned nations. Washington would have been happy, for instance, to punish Nicaragua, which has friendly relations with socialist states and all progressive forces in the world and is a political friend of Cuba. But, as Fidel Castro has noted, nobody authorized the degenerate U.S. finance oligarchy, the Pentagon and the CIA to determine the political system and ideology of the Latin American peoples.

The question of Panama is raised in the same sinister vein. What the document suggests is neither more nor less than jettisoning the canal agreement signed by Carter and compelling the armed forces of Latin American countries to take part in a demonstration of military muscle in the Caribbean. *It is declared that the canal should be placed under the control of the Inter-American Board and that there should be a security zone so as to "put the Soviets and their Communist allies in this Hemisphere on notice that we are ready, willing and able to defend our vital interests."*

This mad program, reminiscent of Hitler, recommends war against Cuba. "The United States," the document declares, "can no longer accept the status of Cuba as a Soviet vassal state."

Dollar imperialism, which knows and practises only relations of dependence and subordination, does not or makes believe it does not see that as a member of the socialist community Cuba is a free and independent country. This moves it to the front line of the struggle in Latin America, a region that is stirring and moving along diverse paths, a region where political trends of different depths and heterogeneous class composition are active. But the spokesmen of these trends agree that there must be economic independence, complete self-determination, democracy and social progress. By dispersing the myth that the Yankee yoke is unavoidable, socialist Cuba has been and continues to be a symbol and powerful stimulus of dynamic development along the road of second liberation.

The Cuban revolution strikingly reaffirms the crisis of imperialist domination on the continent. This crisis continues to deepen, and it cannot be stopped either by force or political corruption because its motor is the passionate desire of our peoples for independence. The constant shifts of the U.S. government from

Pan-American demagoguery (in order to extend the base for its hegemony) to the traditional "big stick" policy, intervention, and installation of fascist regimes, the present shift from Carter's human rights rhetoric to Reagan's imperialist recklessness are evidence of the failure to adapt to Latin America, which hungers for and is beginning to win freedom.

For more than 20 years the USA has been blockading Cuba, mustering armed gangs, organizing invasions, orchestrating subversion, and planning the assassination of Cuban leaders. However, Cuba has stood firm, and grown stronger than ever. Although the record of hostile actions and crimes against Cuba is long, the question of a war against Cuba is being raised openly and cynically in a document of an advisory group of the U.S. government for the first time since the 1962 Caribbean crisis. Police actions are planned as a first step, and if Cuba does not renounce militant solidarity with other Latin American states this is to be followed by "other appropriate steps." However, the main demand is that the Cuban revolutionaries should cease maintaining internationalist relations with the USSR and stop cooperating with the governments of free African nations. If this demand is not met, and "if propaganda fails, a war of national liberation against Castro must be launched."

The reply to this — by way of a warning or with knowledge of this threat — was given by Fidel Castro at the 2nd congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. He said that at this stage socialist labor and defense were the main, indivisible tasks. If there was intervention the Cuban people would rise as one man and fight to the end.

"Cuba is not alone!" This slogan has been resounding throughout the world for more than 20 years. As was the case with Vietnam, all the peoples will side with Cuba. It has had and will have the solidarity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and also of the working people and all other progressive governments, particularly of Latin America.

An attack on Cuba would come perilously close to crossing the line separating world peace from war. For that reason not only the revolutionaries and democrats but all other sober-thinking people will act against the imperialists who have lost their senses. Members of the U.S. Congress, church circles, intellectuals, and public organizations are already protesting against Washington's intention to use armed force in Central America and the Caribbean. They are warning of the emergence of another Vietnam and recalling the USA's ig-

nominious defeat. There are signs of disagreement even among the imperialists.

But the danger should not be underrated. To take a light-minded stand and lapse into the naive optimism of Voltaire's simpleton would mean to ignore the essence of imperialism, to forget its record throughout the present century, and stuff one's ears with cottonwool so as not to hear how loudly the Washington rulers are speaking the language of the despicable monsters of Santa Fé.

Danger is threatening everything linked to democracy and freedom in Latin America. The entire world, the peoples of our continent in the first place, must rise to struggle. Support for Cuba and Nicaragua and solidarity with El Salvador and Guatemala and also with the patriots of Panama are closely linked to the struggle against fascism and the despotic dictatorships in Uruguay, Chile and other countries, to the struggle for democracy, independence and socialism.

Everything that Reagan has said and done as soon as he crossed the threshold into the White House is evidence that the Santa Fé document is the blueprint for U.S. Latin American policy.

The initial pretext for the clamor was the heroic struggle of the people of El Salvador. On the allegation that the criminal junta had become the victim of Soviet aggression through Cuba and Nicaragua, Reagan and his aides are intensifying their interference in the affairs of El Salvador. They go so far as to declare they will intervene to suppress a rising of the democratic forces. General Haig is threatening Cuba with a total blockade and a direct invasion. The U.S. government has cut off loans to Nicaragua and frozen the so-called wheat credit, which is a form of the food war. It openly encourages armed provocations along Nicaragua's frontiers and speaks of the possibility of a war in Central America, a war in which the USA will supply military hardware to despotic regimes and direct their operations. Former Somoza gorillas and Cuban mercenaries are being openly trained in Florida.

Combining intimidation-related blackmail and undisguised militarism, Washington holds major naval exercises in the Caribbean. In the Panama Canal zone, demonstratively ignoring recent agreements, it is holding something in the nature of a dress rehearsal of military operations against Cuba and other Antilles nations, and also against Central American states. A further provocation is that nuclear-armed aircraft carriers are cruising off Guantanamo (Cuban territory usurped by imperialism).

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared at his very first press conference that in

U.S. foreign policy the struggle against terrorism would get the priority hitherto given to human rights.² Imperialism's spokesman speaks not of the terrorism that all progressive opinion knows and condemns, not of terrorism as defined in any political dictionary. He is repeating the definition that Hitler and Goebbels gave to European Resistance. In other words, the U.S. government is officially identifying terrorism with the revolutionary struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

On the historical plane this identity may be extended to include all the champions of liberation in North and South America, from Simon Bolivar to George Washington. In our day this definition covers many governments represented in the United Nations and set up as a result of the collapse of colonial empires. It is the definition given by the Reagan administration to the patriots of El Salvador and Guatemala. Yet the revolutionary movement in these countries includes communists, democratic Christians, social-democrats, Catholic priests, professionals, teachers of institutions of higher learning and others. Similarly, had the heroic resistance of the peoples of Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Haiti and other countries oppressed, tortured and persecuted by fascist or pro-fascist dictatorships, got to the point of the use of arms (to which peoples have the legitimate right in accordance with the UN resolutions), the U.S. government would have tagged the label of terrorists to patriots. Such is the potential criminal character of the formulations being imposed by Washington.

Along with Haig, William Dyess, a U.S. State Department official, stunned the world press with new explanations of the struggle with terrorism as the official doctrine of the present administration. He said that the USA regarded as terrorism, financial support for and the training of revolutionary groups acting against lawfully established regimes, and also the sale or transfer of weapons to these groups.³ And added that what was taking place in El Salvador was terrorism.

An unprecedented definition, for the example of El Salvador boomerangs against the USA itself. As though that were not enough, a few days later Reagan made it plain that his administration placed no value on what it said. He announced that the USA would supply a large quantity of armaments, including heavy weapons, to Afghan reactionaries openly operating from Pakistani territory, where the CIA has set up camps, and of the USA's intention to help the former agent of PIDE (the Portuguese secret police) Savimbi, who, together with the South

African racists, is responsible for the bloodshed in southern Angola during raids from Namibian territory. These two examples illustrate how the U.S. government behaves in issues linked to the application of its own doctrine. True, Reagan can say that neither the Afghan bandits nor Savimbi's cutthroats are revolutionaries either in the scientific or social sense of the word.

There is ambiguity also in the definition of regimes regarded by the USA as "lawful." The military-democratic Christian junta in El Salvador took power as a result of a coup and the downfall of the dictator Romero. For half a century this small country has been tormented by similar coups and counter-coups that had the blessing of Washington. Pinochet came to power in Chile as a result of a fascist putsch — orchestrated and funded by the U.S. government — against President Allende, who was elected by the people. The maniacal tyrant Somoza was able to set up his bloodthirsty regime, which was handed down to his heirs, as a result of Nicaragua's occupation by U.S. Marines. The coup in Uruguay, inspired by the Pentagon, led to the overthrow of a constitutional government with long democratic traditions.

The record of such examples is endless. How does one, in such cases, approach the lawfulness Dyess spoke about?

The Reagan government sees the Latin American usurpers as its friends, with the exception of the deposed Somoza family over which the Santa Fé advisers are shedding tears. It is thus obvious that the sole criterion of lawfulness is whether it accords with the USA's imperialist interests.

The new definition of terrorism was needed, above all, to question the right of the popular democratic movements to request assistance — legitimate assistance — in the unequal battle they are fighting for freedom, independence and social progress, in their struggle against fascism and the despotic regimes installed and armed to the teeth by the USA and other imperialist powers. I also have in mind the legitimate right to purchase weapons in any country selling them.

On the other hand, if terrorism is seen as a political category it is quite applicable to the past and present actions of the U.S. imperialists. We Latin Americans have experienced for ourselves many of the practices of these cloak and dagger experts. One does not have to look very far. Suffice it to recall the Congress inquiry into the Watergate scandal. And then the Frank Church commission report confirming the USA's political and military

interference in the affairs of many countries mainly through terrorist tactics. These records cover a 13-year span of the CIA's activities in Cuba, Congo, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Chile, Guatemala, Peru, Laos, Iran, Indonesia and other countries. The story of the plots to assassinate leaders of the Cuban revolution, notably Fidel and Raul Castro, provides more disgusting reading than the most macabre detective story. Former U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson put it most eloquently when on July 20, 1973, he admitted that in the Caribbean the USA was operating a murder syndicate.

Following the road indicated by the Santa Fé advisers, Reagan is now pumping millions into that syndicate.

The Dyess statement concerns relations with the Soviet Union and, consequently, the destiny of peaceful coexistence, peace, détente, the SALT agreements, and so on. He said that in the interests of these relations the USSR should "cease . . . its infiltration of Latin America."⁴

The Soviet Union's "role" in assisting "terrorist" groups — from Namibia to El Salvador — Dyess declared, would be the basic factor deciding the future. The USA, he said, would closely watch the actions of countries "representing" Moscow's interests. He named Cuba in the Caribbean and Libya in Africa.⁵

This is empty rhetoric, nothing more. Clumsy and unconvincing, it contains nothing resembling a hint of a serious political analysis of the possibility of issues being settled by negotiation. But this is a deliberate clumsiness. Irresponsible statements and strident protests are a cover for the U.S. government's return to the orchestration of armed conflicts and police operations in Central America and the Caribbean, and to undisguised interference in other parts of the world. Moreover, this is done to avoid responding to the Soviet leaders' offer of a constructive dialogue in the interests of peace and détente, an initiative that has now had a favorable response in the most diverse circles.

Here it would be appropriate to specify two important points: (a) everybody knows the Soviet Union's emphatic condemnation of terrorism, a condemnation based on the principled stand of the communist and working-class movement, on the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin; (b) it is unquestionable that the liberation movement in Latin America is a struggle for second liberation, as José Martí used to say, and it is neither terrorism nor the product of imagined Soviet infiltration. It has become irreversible as a result of the historic victory of the Cuban people and their transition to socialist development, and emerged as a synthesis of almost a century of struggle for

democracy, against the dollar empire. It has entered a new phase of progress, as seen from, among other things, the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution — and its mainsprings must be sought in the economic, social and political realities of our countries. In the modern epoch, ushered in by the October Revolution, this movement has acquired a historic dimension, especially in the context of the new balance of strength in the world.

The attempts of the new U.S. administration to make a dialogue with the Soviet Union, i.e., the settlement of the question of peace, contingent on the preservation of the economic and social status quo now existing in Latin America and the continued maintenance of the fascist, despotic regimes are not only a piece of future blackmail but also a reactionary utopia. Nobody can give the USA guarantees that its creatures — the fascists and tyrants of Latin America — will be eternally in power and that the Western Hemisphere will always be under imperialist domination.

The present Washington administration's intentions are obvious. To drop the "human rights" issue and fight so-called "terrorism" means extending active support for fascist and other dictatorships in Latin America, attacking progressive governments aspiring to pursue a foreign policy independent of the USA.

A few hours before Haig's press conference, Dyess declared that from now on the USA would make its claims on or criticize other governments exclusively through diplomatic channels.⁶ The news media noted at once that the "new policy will improve Washington's relations with the governments of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Chile."

Shortly afterward, the White House agreed with Pinochet on the question of "terrorism." It called off the sanctions imposed by Carter in connection with the assassination of the former Chilean Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier and his secretary in the USA by agents of the military junta. Washington did not overlook the Uruguayan dictatorship either, promising it "good relations" and offering advanced weapons for the achievement of "common" aims in the South Atlantic.

Clearly paraphrasing the Santa Fé document, Jeane Kirkpatrick declared that by comparison these authoritarian regimes (meaning the murderous dictatorships of Latin America and the Caribbean — R.A.) were not the worst, whatever their faults. She stated that in any case they were better than Marxist regimes.⁷

Everybody remembers the patronage given to Somoza by a top-ranking U.S. leader, who said that Somoza "is a son-of-a-bitch, but he's our

son-of-a-bitch." To nourish and support even sons-of-bitches so long as they were Washington's is the political credo of the Reagan administration relative to Latin America.

To secure the implementation of their plans, the Santa Fé advisers urge the resuscitation of the Rio de Janeiro Treaty with emphasis on the Inter-American Defense Board. An elevation of this agency spells out a reactivation of its supranational functions linked with anti-people coups and the hardening of the Pentagon's control of Latin American armies.

The present U.S. government's plans are an ominous cloud over our America. For the peoples they mean more ruthless exploitation, fascism and new bloodthirsty dictatorships. Nor should we rule out direct interference with the aim of stopping the liberation movement, which, first in Cuba and now in Nicaragua, has begun to change the continent's make-up. The massive support for the junta in El Salvador and the high-handed provocations in the Caribbean are evidence that there is no intention of shelving these plans.

Of course, account should be taken of elements of blackmail, psychological warfare, pressure on European allies, and intimidation of Latin American governments and national reformist parties, and also of the attempts, by means of irresponsible speeches and statements, to force on them certain aims in foreign and internal policy (within the framework of the strategy of domination). Also, attempts are being made to use the situation to escalate the arms race, increase expenditures on nuclear programs, and even overcome the irresolution of the NATO European allies in all these issues. But the main thing is that behind the beating of drums, one must identify the main thing, namely, that the Reagan policy mirrors the sentiment of the most aggressive, ultra-imperialist elements in the USA. They are a menace to peace in the world, including Latin America. For that reason one should not underestimate a single line in the Santa Fé document. Experience shows that what we have before us is not a particular opinion but a specification of the ultimate, global aims of U.S. Latin American policy. The question is how far the imperialists will go under the present situation in the world and on the continent.

There is a wise saying that you can't jump over your own head. In the world today, and latest developments have borne this out, large bodies of opinion are condemning militarist intoxication and adventurism. Precisely this is the reaction to the USA's provocations relative to El Salvador.

As regards Latin America, imperialism's lust for blood is fostering the growth of the social and political forces that at various levels oppose or reject dictation from Washington. The counter-offensive of imperialism and fascism in 1973, carefully masterminded by the U.S. government under Henry Kissinger's guidance, the coups in Chile and Uruguay, and the subsequent negative changes in some other South American countries clouded the political situation in the region but could not stop the growth of the forces opposed to the USA. As the Communist Party of Uruguay foresaw at the time, in the struggle against fascism it has become necessary and possible to combine unity and convergence of the national, democratic interests of our people with unity and convergence of the interests of other peoples, of the democratic governments of Latin America and the Caribbean adhering to principled positions and threatened by the brown or other sinister menace from Washington.

The question we were sometimes asked at the time was whether this orientation was realistic or only wishful thinking? Was it not true that the capitalist development of Latin American countries was making it mandatory to link the historic fight against imperialism with the acute class struggle?

We replied in the affirmative, saying that this was a feature of our society. It has been, as it will always be, a mandatory element of the socio-political process with all its nuances and deviations. But only people with a very superficial knowledge of Marxism can believe that the class struggle and potentiality of the proletariat, of the entire revolutionary movement, automatically rule out the possibility for a broad political strategy of unity and anti-fascist convergence in the historic battle of our peoples for a democratic, anti-imperialist alternative. In Latin America the development of precisely this type of revolution, which — it is not to be excluded — may evolve into a socialist revolution, does not remove the stages, the intermediate phases and, much less, the political situations in which the conditions arise facilitating an expansion of the alliances of the working people and other revolutionary forces. This means that the experience acquired in the anti-fascist struggle is suitable also as a means of cutting short the most brutal forms of imperialist policy.

The questions raised at the time were answered by life. Practice continues to bear out our political previsions. This answer was, in particular, the active solidarity of the peoples and democratic governments with Chile, Uruguay and other oppressed nations. But the

most compelling argument was the support of the governments of Venezuela (under C.A. Perez), Jamaica (under Michael Manley), Panama, Costa Rica, Mexico and Cuba for the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution in Nicaragua. Patriots, democrats, Catholic priests, Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, and individual bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups rallied around the Sandinista Front. Today many of these forces sympathize with the revolution in El Salvador. They include national-reformist parties and governments; elements linked to the Socialist International or affiliated to COPPPAL, an influential inter-party coordinating agency founded in the Mexican town of Oaxaca; members of the Catholic clergy who revere the memory of the late Archbishop Romero; and, of course, as in the case of Nicaragua, the communist and workers' parties. Thus, on the question of El Salvador, there is a democratic front with a spectrum of wide political forces.

The overall strategic approach, which embraces the continental orientation of the anti-fascist struggle and non-acceptance of the most brutal aspects of U.S. imperialist policy (exemplified today by the Reagan line) should be part and parcel of the specific tactics of each Latin American country. National strategy, on the other hand, depends on the alignment of forces, the specific character of the class confrontation, the economic development level, the make-up of state and political structures, and a concrete analysis of all aspects of the obtaining situation. But since this strategy is linked to the dynamics of the world process, it cannot be divorced from Latin America's common struggle against imperialism. Today the efforts to cut short the USA's present policies and put an end to fascism and tyranny on the continent have become part and parcel of the national, democratic forces of each country.

We feel that in this struggle against fascism and Reagan's policies use must be made of the dialectical unity of the masses, a unity that is growing in breadth and depth. This requires combining the interests of the broadest sections of the people — uniting the social and political groups that spur the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution.

Reagan's policies bear out our conclusions. With Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, the revolutionary movements generally, and above all El Salvador and Guatemala, as its targets, the USA is attacking the democratic parties, movements and governments that have even not finally adopted an anti-imperialist stand, are resisting

dictation from Washington, and seeking greater economic and political independence.

Saber-rattling and intimidation can generate vacillation among the local bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie. However, the present tendency gives grounds for foreseeing the growth of the patriotic, democratic forces. An important factor of this growth is the strength of the massive popular protest and the correct line pursued by the revolutionary movement, a line far removed from sectarianism.

Whether the threat created by U.S. imperialism can today be neutralized and removed depends on the ability of these forces to unite, despite their heterogeneity and existing contradictions. It is vital to know the nature of

the present danger and to act accordingly.

1. *A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties* for the Council for Inter-American Security, Inc., Washington, 1980. This document was prepared by a group styling itself the Committee of Santa Fé nearly a year before Reagan's election to the U.S. presidency. Nevertheless, the basic propositions of this document coincide with the latest pronouncements of Reagan and his closest aides. The authors of this document are L. Francis Bouchey, Roger W. Fontaine, David C. Jordan, Gordon Summer, and Lewis Tambs (editor). The foreword is by Ronald F. Docksai, an associate of the Council of Inter-American Security, Inc.

2. *El Pais*, January 29, 1981.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *El Pais*, January 29, 1981.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *L Humanité*, March 7, 1981.

Leninism and the "strategy of reforms"

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Hardly anybody will dispute the fact that reform and revolution differ, not only as concepts. However, it would not be enough to say that revolutionaries recognize this difference. They also recognize the need for both revolution and reform as the means of progress, and note their extremely intricate relationship, which is not given once and for all, and the mobility and changeability of the line dividing them. For reformism and petty-bourgeois revolutionariness, those eternally wrangling Siamese twins, a characteristic delusion is that this "dividing line" may be drawn in a way that one of the sides is seen as "purely negative" or disappears altogether as though it is possible for one of two poles to exist alone — in short, either a soft, almost imperceptible transition to the new society or a "total rupture," an "absolute negation of what exists," an "exclusively revolutionary settlement" of all issues under all circumstances. In either case, one-sidedness is elevated into a theory and one-leggedness into a premise for advance. The former acknowledges only various ways of creeping, and the latter only jumps and leaps.

In fact, development proceeds dialectically and, as Lenin pointed out, the contrast between reform and revolution is "not something absolute, this line is not something dead, but alive and changing, and one must be able to define it in each particular case" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 17, p. 116). The Kautskyan motto of either reformist

policy or renunciation of reforms, he wrote, was a "bourgeois presentation of the question" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 194). This motto makes renunciation of the efforts to overthrow the bourgeois system as the price for reforms. Either revolution or the dead end of reformism — this is the view of the petty bourgeois who has lost his self-control, the petty bourgeois who thinks that "willpower alone can move mountains," that history is made by the "resolve of the élite," as though a few hotheads are enough to break any, even the strongest, wall.

What have reforms not only been? A means for changing the alignment of class forces and the conditions of struggle; steps to enhance the public role of the working people up to the creation of the preponderance of strength needed to defeat a heavily armed adversary. But they also brought about changes — frequently significant, that improved the lot of many people — which at the same time prevented bigger, more important changes. Reforms were a means of a temporary retreat and achieving a respite for mustering or regrouping forces. They have been a launching pad, a springboard toward revolution. But they could also be a barrier, a means facilitating the temporary triumph of counter-revolution, or even the lid of the coffin into which reaction would like to cram progress.

Without the most circumspect consideration of many factors it is impossible to define the

place of reforms in social development, to understand their "dual" nature.

With the emergence of the socialist world the possibility of enforcing reforms and the role played by them depend not only on the struggles of the people of a given country although, in the long run, the people concerned have the final say. Victorious revolutions may, for some time, induce capitalism and its partners to display an amazing "eagerness for reforms."¹ Consequently, it is not easy to adopt a correct attitude to reforms if only because in every case this has to be approached differently, in a changing situation.

New and old reformism

Since the days when Lenin noted that "reformism versus socialist revolution ... is the formula of the modern 'advanced' educated bourgeoisie" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 17, p. 229) the forces of socialism have grown immeasurably stronger. But capitalism, too, has had to learn much in order to prolong its existence. On the one hand, if we take development as a whole, socialism's achievements and all the new victories of the revolution are compelling capitalism to have recourse to the "second method of rule": reformism, concessions and handouts. On the other hand, the successes of the revolutionary movement and the aggravation of capitalism's general crisis are visibly narrowing the opportunities for this method, again if we take development as a whole, because there are significant political distinctions between the capitalist countries. Thus, more than ever before, capitalism has to combine two basic forms of its rule, to modify them, while keeping the first in readiness, as a contingency, namely, renunciation of important reforms and the use of force up to out-and-out terrorism.

Unquestionably, there is still a relatively broad objective base for opportunism in the working-class movement. One can hardly find, at least in countries dominated by state-monopoly capitalism, a single major issue concerning the dimension, basic character, and content of reforms over which no struggle is waged between the three main forces. First, this is the "modern bourgeoisie," which has long ceased to be united and is not in the least progressive in any highly industrialized capitalist country. Second, this is the reformist wing of the working-class movement, in which the growing contradictions of capitalism generate friction, disagreements, and even crises that lead to splits. Lastly, there is the revolutionary working-class movement, which, while fighting for reforms, is set on creating springboards, even if in many cases they are unstable

and vulnerable, for a further advance toward socialism. It seeks to draw the reformist-influenced masses into the struggle for specific reforms, helping them to draw lessons from their own experience and see that this struggle is justifiable but that solely reforms cannot lead to fundamental improvements.

In view of the complexity of the confrontation on many fronts, the question we ask ourselves is whether there is truth in the widespread belief that the term reformism embraces a party, a tendency or representatives of the working-class movement contending that the new social system can be achieved exclusively by means of reforms? But this definition is in many ways inadequate for a characteristic of the reformist trends in Austria (reformist influence in Austria is the strongest in the capitalist world).

Prior to the First World War the Austrian social democrats proclaimed themselves proponents not only of socialism as an aim but also of revolution as the indispensable way of achieving socialism. What then was the crux of reformism? Victor Adler and Otto Bauer had repeatedly said that the maximum reforms could only be achieved through adherence to the revolutionary aim. However, so far as the social-democratic leaders were concerned, this adherence never acquired a more "dangerous" form than the preaching of the "theory of the collapse" of capitalism and summons for the "great day of reckoning." Priority, they said, belonged not to the subjective factor of revolution but to history, which, they claimed, would itself execute the sentence it had handed down. This was entirely in harmony with the situation when the social-democratic leadership did not find bourgeois partners, despite the predisposition to form coalitions and blocs with them, when, as Otto Bauer put it, the "uniqueness of the state" "inhibits even the temptation for blocs and ministerialism."²

The appearance of state-monopoly capitalism was accompanied by the rise of a new variety of reformism, and since then the revolutionary movement has been fighting its innumerable manifestations. This state-monopoly reformism was most clearly defined as early as 1917 by Karl Renner. His main thesis was that the penetration of "statehood into the cellular fabric" of the private economy preconditioned not only the appropriateness but also the need for cooperation with "the most progressive segment of capital." This segment is seen in monopoly capitalism in an entirely "Marxist spirit," for, it is argued, it represents the "highest development level of the productive forces." This thesis is coupled with the

corresponding theory on the state, claiming that as a result of the reforms it puts into effect, the state can "pass from hand to hand." It is alleged that the outcome of "social administration organized by the state" is that the "instrument outgrows its master," ultimately evolving into a "lever of socialism."³

Renner had written, in a "Marxist spirit," that "economic, social and political trenches run across every institution of society." From this he concluded that instead of a sudden, radical change of the system or the fall of the bourgeoisie, there can only be a "gradual advance of the line of trenches."⁴

In Austria, a few decades later, this theory was partially implemented in the form of "social partnership," i.e., it evolved into institutionalized, constant, and "historical" collaboration of the social-democratic elite with the "most advanced segments of capital" or, in simpler terms, with big capital. Lately, when the opportunities for distribution have diminished for the working class and the constant redistribution of social wealth in favor of big capital has become more tangible and striking, tension and even conflict has erupted between state-monopoly reformism of the social-democratic school and the old, traditional reformism. Today, for the struggle for reforms it is by no means a matter of indifference whether preference is given to the maximalization of profits, the stabilization of the system and the "national interests of the economy," or the order of priorities is established differently, as the "old" reformists had urged, while the interests of the working people are taken into account only from the angle of stabilizing the system.

The importance of this distinction is growing visibly today. But even this is not enough. In the Socialist Party of Austria there is growing resistance to the policy of reforming the system, to social-democratic managers and wheeler-dealers, who have taken over from the bourgeoisie not only the cult of profit but also bourgeois vices, and personify a negation of the traditional norms and values of the working-class movement. For example, a statement by a number of opposition Austrian socialists declares: "We cannot go along with reformism that believes fundamental changes can be achieved solely by moving from one reform to another, without a rupture with capitalist logic."⁵ However, in their conclusions there only are scattered embryos of an anti-monopoly strategy, while the illusions about "gradually bringing the functions of the state into harmony with the interests of the working people" are still very much alive.

From its own experience the Austrian working-class movement is coming round to the conclusion that when reformist currents objectively cannot align themselves or form coalitions with a segment of capital, when among the people there is unrest or a growing aspiration for radical changes, varieties of reformism that do not lend themselves to the usual definition inevitably spring up. To illustrate, let us reconstruct the instructive arguments presented by Otto Bauer, who was a leading theorist of the Second International. He held that by setting tasks that could only be achieved in a revolutionary situation the communists confused the present with the future. Petty-bourgeois democrats, on the contrary, believed that the bourgeois republic would consummate historical development. They confused the future with the present.

In these arguments revolution is by no means either "written off" or reviled. Bauer claims to a supreme combination of soberness and realism in day-to-day politics with a historical understanding of the need for the "final battle." But he juggles: it is quite enough, he declares, to become a revolutionary when a revolutionary situation arises. Reforms are described as an "autonomous sphere," a "broad field of political education" unlinked to the forms of struggle that may prove vital for the accomplishment of a revolution. Bauer had himself once characterized this stand, partly by way of self-criticism, as "temporizing": reformist day-to-day politics, avoidance of decisive class battles, a wait-and-see tactic coupled to comforting references to an imminent "final battle." Like petty-bourgeois revolutionariness, this "temporizing" divorces the present from the future, ignoring its potentialities.

The fact that today a return is to be observed to some tenets of Austro-Marxism, notably to "wait-and see," is evidence of the gravity of capitalism's crisis. But has there been a radical change in the correlation between reforms and revolution with the development of state-monopoly capitalism and new functions of the state, particularly in the economy? Can one identify, for instance, the "strategy of reforms" with the struggle for socialism? Now, as before (when Lenin wrote the words), it is important to subordinate "the struggle for reforms, as the part to the whole, to the revolutionary struggle for freedom and for socialism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 406).

The most diverse theories about the "radical reforms" allegedly taking place in the correlation between reforms and revolution are based, in the final analysis, on the illusion that the

class character of the state can be neutralized or even changed by means of reforms.

The central issue

In order to ensure its continued operation state-monopoly capitalism has to have recourse again and again to reforms in order to defuse its own tensions. And since progressing socialization of the productive forces has somewhat to be taken into account, the opportunity presents itself of passing many of these reforms off as "useful" for the entire economy. However, damage is inflicted more and more frequently on large segments of the population, whose interests come into conflict with the system in one way or another. The steep rise of discontent, protest and self-aid movements — that are in most cases spontaneous and diverse in origin, social composition, content and duration — is a very significant fact. Here revolutionaries are confronted with new tasks precisely because the "integrational mechanisms" of the state no longer function in the political system.

Many vices and contradictions at first seem to be isolated and are seen as problems of "individual spheres," of individual groups and strata. Hence the need to define one's attitude to every reform, from the most insignificant to the most important, and work out options, especially in cases where the proponents of the system try to prove that no options exist. Hence the need to couple reforms that make it possible to champion the material and cultural needs of the population effectively, and bring to light the causes of the unsatisfactory situation and in future ensure a further advance. Hence the need to use this sort of positive reforms to counter state-monopoly capitalism's reformist policy.

In drafting its new program, which is now being discussed, the Communist Party of Austria endeavored to take its own and international experience into account. In the "action program" section, in which medium and long-term demands are reduced to a "totality of reforms," it is stated: "Under pressure from the socialist nations and the changing balance of strength in the world, basic human rights in the political, economic and social fields were codified in the various UN conventions as norms mandatory for capitalist countries as well. For us — in Austria as in other countries — the struggle to get them codified constitutionally and ensure their actual implementation in all spheres coincides with the struggle for the old demands of the working-class movement. Where the realization and the securing of these

rights encounter barriers erected by capitalist relations of property and power, those whom this affects should be made to realize that these barriers must be broken down."⁶ Thus, we regard social and democratic reforms as a major area of our struggle for Austria's socialist future.

This interpretation of reforms in no way spells out a "reformist strategy": it generates — within the framework of the strategy of struggle for socialism — the demands around which concrete unity of action and alliances are already partly taking shape or can take shape. The central issue, the draft says, is the "conquest of power by the working class." For us there is no "third way." The CPA sets the course initially toward the stage of anti-monopoly democracy that will be achieved as a result of an upheaval. This conclusion mirrors an important lesson drawn by the party. In the past the revisionists had theorized about a "multiplicity of stages." For instance, they spoke of a stage of participation in management without the total abolition of "social partnership." Unquestionably, every reform should now be balanced not only with the "ultimate aim" but also with the objectively possible stage leading to it, a stage characterized by a qualitative change of the relations of property and power. However, if every step — and, needless to say, there will be many of them — is at once proclaimed a stage, the perspective is lost, sight is lost of the central issue (the issue of power) and one can easily slide into reformism.

Because economics, politics and ideology are intertwining ever more closely, it is becoming necessary to enforce a "totality or series of reforms" in the economy. Of course, here the point of departure cannot be the striving to ease the conflicts of the capitalist system, to "sanitize" it better than is being done by bourgeois and social-democratic "darners." Attention should be given to exposing the state's efforts to derive surplus value and redistribute it in favor of big capital, and also to showing the resultant fact that the satisfaction of the people's various material and cultural needs lags behind the level of social production, behind what is already possible. The CPA's local, regional and national economic concepts are in various forms aimed at revealing the mechanisms of redistribution in favor of capital. These mechanisms are counterposed by the demand for social redistribution and for the relevant funding. Of course, a "socialism of distribution" is fundamentally no socialism at all: it does not affect the relations of property and power. But if no use is made of the question of distribution for the purpose of explaining to

the people that they are being exploited, done out of their share and cheated, it will hardly be possible to approach the sphere of power and profits near enough to intervene seriously in that sphere.

Participation in management

The nationalized sector of the economy, especially in Austria where it is quite large, is an important factor in determining the role of reforms in the struggle against the state-monopoly system. As the draft CPA program declares, nationalization is the highest form of property under capitalism; it is "evidence of the inefficiency and untenability of the much-lauded 'private enterprise' in key areas."⁷ This is precisely why, along with the social-democratic governments, the conservative forces are opposed to an enlargement of the nationalized sector. Let us lay special stress on two aspects.

The first is that the preservation, extension and functioning of the nationalized economy and the funding of that sector are an object of active struggle by the working class. Actions against the state as an "amalgamated capitalist" can more easily evolve into a political movement and substantially contribute to the molding of anti-monopolistic consciousness.

Second, the nationalized industry can become a key position serving the people only if monopoly capital's managers and politicians are removed from the state apparatus and from the managerial agencies of the public sector of the economy. Experience shows that if anti-capitalism cannot assert itself again and again in the day-to-day struggle, it cannot sink roots in the minds of the people. Further, if in the name of "making it easier to win support," anti-capitalism abandons the tested conclusions of scientific socialism, it deprives the movement of its striking power.

More importance than ever is now being acquired by Lenin's repeated statements that socialism can win allies only if the revolutionary movement champions democratic demands in their most consistent and prospective form. Growing monopolization is accompanied by an increasingly more pronounced trend toward de-democratization. And the more varied the forms of this de-democratization, bureaucratization, managerial arbitrariness, emasculation of the people's rights and inhibition of their initiatives, the more diverse this struggle must become.

Right extremism and neofascism are on the rise in Austria. However, unlike the constitutions of most of the other bourgeois states a component part of the Austrian constitution —

the State Treaty — contains a clear-cut anti-fascist mandate: the banning of fascist organizations is not only the right but also the duty of proponents of democracy. A paradoxical situation is now to be observed in Austria: the conservative forces and the social democrats maintain that it is "democratic" to tolerate neofascist organizations, in other words, to ignore the constitution. They say that fulfillment of the constitutional mandate, demanded by a growing number of socialists, Christians and communists, is an "element of totalitarianism" and a violation of "pluralism." Of course, observance of constitutional norms can hardly be called a "reform." But it is extremely important to ensure their fulfillment in order to weaken reaction and anti-communism and promote the democratic, anti-monopoly movement.

Another element in this context concerns "democracy in the sphere of labor." This is also a key problem of the revolutionary working-class movement in Austria. It emerged when, speaking of "participation in management" the leadership of the Association of Trade Unions in fact became an executive agency of social partnership with capital. Within the framework of this class collaboration many production councils, the only representative agencies of blue and white-collar workers elected by direct voting, turned from agencies of workers' control into ancillary agencies of the leaders of "partnership" for control of the workers. As *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the central organ of the Socialist Party of Austria admits, many production councils are becoming "henchmen in dismissals," agreeing to the firing of factory and office workers for the sake of "objective necessity" and "order at enterprises."

More than half a century ago, Max Adler, a theorist of the left wing of "Austro-Marxism" doubted the justification of his party's drive for the "total democratization of the economy" without radically changing the relations of power and property. He wrote that "without the proletarian, class-revolutionary basic orientation, all the institutions of economic democracy turn into their opposites; into craft-unionism, estate egoism, economic privileges and, lastly, a mercenary link to capitalist interests."⁸ These words are borne out by the practice of "social partnership."

We are sometimes asked whether for tactical purposes it is possible to utilize and "reform" such a subtle system as participation in management? I would say that when this question is raised the following is ignored. To enable "partnership" to function at the highest level, decisions should in principle be taken behind the backs of those they concern, they

should be taken in their name but against them. Thus the working people are denied elementary democratic rights: the right to direct elections of all leading trade union bodies and to vote in advance on strikes at enterprises. The autonomy of sectoral trade unions is restricted or even denied; at enterprises democratic elections are obstructed or prohibited altogether.

"Participation in management without democracy in the localities," states the CPA draft program, "is the direct opposite of the working people's 'positions of power.' Under the guise of participation in management it makes 'representatives of the workers' dependent on capital."⁹ This makes the struggle for democracy in the localities a major issue. It signifies a change in the character of the trade unions, their conversion into an instrument of struggle ensuring the possibility for genuine control. That this is the correct path is borne out by the actions against "social partnership" by a growing number of non-party people, socialists and Christians.

Some bearings

Because of the diversity of the problems of the correlation between reforms and the revolutionary struggle even in one country taken separately, it would be meaningless to compose models of any sort. However, to get one's bearings one needs criteria. In this context we raise some questions. Do reforms facilitate or prevent organizing the masses, democratic independence, the understanding by the masses of their own interests and vital relationships? Do reforms improve the people's living conditions and create the opportunity for a sensible, more cultured life? Do they help to obtain strongpoints in the agencies, apparatus and institutions of the government and the political system? Or do they help the adversary to expand his "system of fortifications," close breaches and eliminate weaknesses? Do they contribute to a better understanding of the community of interests, for instance, of the interests of the working class and the intermediate strata? Or do they help to set these interests on a collision course, encourage estate thinking, craft-unionism and isolation? One of the perverse and most effective tricks of bourgeois and social-democratic reformists is to conceive reforms in a manner to engineer a split among the people. For instance, by steering toward a redistribution among the working people, to the benefit of some and the detriment of others, by diverting attention from redistribution affecting capital.

When capital and its partners find themselves in difficulties, they have recourse to a

"policy of rolling back reforms": first sacrifices (on the part of the working people) and, when the worst has been passed, reforms. In each such case the question in Austria has been not only one of the profits of the capitalists but of using "distribution of responsibility" as a cover to hit the working-class movement, weaken it, sap its vigor for as long as possible.

An important criterion of the relationship between reforms and revolution is unquestionably the nearness to the struggle for power, or for some power. However, at all stages of the development of social contradictions and the working-class movement all questions must be set in such a way as to lead, even if there are many mediating elements, to understanding the need for abolishing the state-monopoly system and to showing the class character of bourgeois democracy and the limits placed on it by monopoly-capital domination. This is the only way to turn temporary alliances into broader, more lasting and militant alliances, to avoid the danger of these alliances being again deserted by vacillating, irresolute people and also by those who have been partially won over to these alliances, notably members of the middle strata.

The arguments about an "escalation of reforms," of reforms "gathering momentum" sometimes surface in debates. There is an element of both truth and importance in these arguments. Let us recall the history of many revolutions: the growth and radicalization of grievances were the key element activating the people, expanding the movement, and drawing into it those who had hitherto been standing on the sidelines. An accumulation of reforms is almost always an expression of a deep social crisis, of the hastening of a situation creating possibilities and demanding decisions, of situations that sometimes are, to use Lenin's words, "harbingers of revolution" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 31). However, there is a negative side to the argument about an "escalation of reforms." It may lead to the misguided conclusion that reforms as such help to bring about qualitative changes in the system.

This conclusion underlies the concept of "reforms going beyond the framework of the system." Its proponents try to prove that capitalism can be defeated without storming the citadels of power. It was this that Bruno Kreisky meant when recently he said: "social-democracy is not a state of things that may be gotten, for example, by the seizure of power. It is a long dialectical process."¹⁰ Of course, to negate any qualitative advance means to ignore dialectics. Whatever way this negation is formulated, it is also directed against revolution.

Nothing in actual history gives grounds for surmising that the "strategy of reforms," the "strategy of democratization" will allow working out or replacing the strategy of the socialist revolution. Experience, including the lessons of the recent past, makes it clear that the struggle for reforms, as the struggle for democracy, must be combined with and subordinated to the struggle for socialism. Herein lies the crux of the matter.

1. Austria is one of the capitalist countries where quite a few socio-political reforms have been put into effect. In terms of history, there are two "periods of reforms": the first is from 1918, following the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy, to the early 1920s, when the masses were moving toward revolution. The second dates from 1945, following the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and the old state authority. The impulse making capitalism "eager for re-

forms" was, in the first case, the impact of the October Revolution, and in the second case the Soviet Army's defeat of fascism and some other factors. Capitalism's apologists concede that the concessions made by it in Austria would not have been so generous had there not been the "Red neighbor." In either case the reforms were thus a "by-product" of the revolutionary struggle, though in a somewhat different sense. A phase of freezing or curtailing social advances has now commenced.

2. Otto Bauer, *Der Kampf*, 1917, p. 328.
3. *Austromarxismus*, Texte, Frankfurt on the Main, pp. 269, 281.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
5. *Roter Anstoss*, 1980, p. 10.
6. *Programm der KPO (Entwurf)*, p. 21; *Volksstimme*, January 31, 1981.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
8. Max Adler, *Politische oder soziale Demokratie*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 144-145.
9. *Programm der KPO (Entwurf)*, p. 8.
10. *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, January 19, 1981.

For unity among patriotic forces

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More than two years have passed since the anti-imperialist, anti-monarchal, people's revolution triumphed in Iran. It placed on the agenda a series of important political, economic and social tasks, was a crushing blow at the piratical interests of U.S.-led world imperialism, and has become the objective of savage attack by it.

Prior to February 1979, Iran was ruled by a regime heavily dependent politically, economically, culturally and militarily on imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place. The nation's rich natural resources were pillaged and the fruits of the people's labor were appropriated for next to nothing by the "united front" of predatory monopolies of the imperialist states and the "Iranian" classes dependent on them. The latter were mainly members of the Pahlavi family and big capitalist entrepreneurs and landowners, who saw imperialism as their mainstay.

A vicious police regime ruled Iran. SAVAK, the secret police organized and trained by the CIA, the Israeli intelligence and the spy agencies of other imperialist states acted in close collaboration with them, drowning any opposition in blood. Tens of thousands of political prisoners were subjected to medieval torture, while many others lost their lives in the struggle to overthrow the brutal shah's regime.

On the international scene imperialism ac-

corded to Iran the role of policeman with the task of suppressing any popular movement for liberation and independence in the Persian Gulf region. Moreover, Iran was turned into one of imperialism's main spy and military springboards against socialist countries, notably against our great neighbor, the Soviet Union. The direction of these operations was assigned to more than 55,000 U.S. military advisers, who controlled Iran's armed forces.

The lion's share of the fabulous oil profits (upward of \$100 billion during the last five years of the shah's regime) was spent without any control on the purchase of U.S., British and West German military hardware. In addition, billions of dollars drifted into the bank accounts of the shah and of his family and accomplices.

The vast majority of the working people were denied the most vital necessities of life — food, housing, medical care and education. At the other extreme, a handful of people from society's "élite" sucked the blood of the nation and spent its revenues. Luxurious palaces in the northern part of Tehran that cost tens of millions of dollars to build and furnish, and nearby the wretched hovels of hundreds of thousands of working people of that large city — such was the inhuman, anti-people, piratical make-up of the deposed regime.

As a result, the internal contradictions rend-

ing Iranian society grew acute with unprecedented speed, and within the short span of from 18 months to two years the "island of stability," as our country was called by the shah and his imperialist patrons, disintegrated under the crushing blows of an outraged people.

The powerful revolutionary movement involved the entire nation. The shah and the ruling clique loyal to him were isolated. Even the army, on which the regime relied, retreated before the pressure of the relentless revolutionary stream. More than 70,000 people died and 200,000 were wounded in mass murders such as the shooting of a demonstration of working people on September 8, 1978. But the repression could not stop that stream.

As a result of the revolution, dramatic changes took place in Iranian society and in Iran's relations with other countries.

Throughout the period of the upsurge and last battles, the revolutionary movement in Iran unconditionally followed the lead of the anti-imperialist and anti-monarchal clergy headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Moreover, this clergy was closely linked to the masses. For that reason the socio-political aspects of the revolution intertwined with religious aspects. This was the determining feature after the revolution as well. It should be remembered that this intertwining was due to the fact that religious forms of the people's protest proved to be extremely popular, while the fighting clergy led by Ayatollah Khomeini unfalteringly expressed the people's aspiration for political independence and freedom, their demand to curb and punish those who had plundered them.

The strong link of the struggle against the monarchal dictatorship and imperialist, particularly U.S. domination with the struggle against exploitation by the big capitalists and landowners met with the aspirations of the millions of disinherited people in town and countryside. Consequently, all the anti-imperialist, popular forces of Iranian society united and moved the revolution inexorably to victory.

This victory brought the people considerable benefits in all areas: political, socio-economic and military.

— The regime of the Pahlavi family, lackey of the enemies of the Iranian people, was overthrown; this brought an end to the 2,500-year, hated monarchal administration and the establishment of an Islamic republic.

— A paralyzing blow was struck at Iran's political, economic, military and cultural dependence on the USA; the onerous Iranian-U.S.

military treaty was nullified; Iran withdrew from the aggressive military CENTO bloc and joined the nonaligned movement.

— Political and economic relations were severed with the aggressive racist regimes in Israel and South Africa.

— All the 55,000 U.S. military advisers were expelled; hundreds of contracts for the purchase of weapons in the USA and other imperialist states were annulled.

— An end was put to the piratical dominance of the imperialist oil consortium (of which the USA, Britain, the Netherlands and France were members). The entire oil industry was nationalized. The import of many non-necessities and luxury goods from the West was prohibited.

Significant steps were taken in domestic policy as well. The inhuman, terrorist SAVAK police machine was dissolved; some of the regime's ringleaders and officials, menials of imperialism, fled, others were arrested, tried and executed. The wealth of the Pahlavi family and the property of those who fled the country, were expropriated and private and foreign banks were nationalized. The factories and estates of capitalists and grasping landowners, which had accounted for over 70 per cent of the industrial and farm output, were expropriated as compensation for the debts of the Iranian banks and turned over to the state.

The progressive and anti-imperialist parties and groups that had been harassed for nearly 30 years acquired freedom of action. This is unquestionably one of the most notable achievements of the Iranian revolution.

Obviously, U.S.-led world imperialism could not tolerate, much less recognize, this revolution. This explains why the U.S. ruling circles promptly began working on two long-term options for retrieving the positions they had lost in Iran.

The first option was to distort the character of the Iranian revolution, strip it of its anti-imperialist, popular content. U.S. imperialism aimed to achieve this with the aid of the Iranian liberal bourgeoisie, which had participated in the revolution at the tail end of the masses. In the USA they were well aware that this bourgeoisie had taken part in the revolution with the hope of acquiring new sources of profit by seizing part of the wealth that had earlier been drained by the imperialist monopolies and officials of the shah's regime. They were also aware that after the revolution the bourgeoisie's aspiration to protect its interests and profits would clash with the wishes of tens of millions of disinherited people, who had taken part in the revolution and brought it to

victory. They calculated that in looking for protection against the pressure of the working masses the Iranian liberal bourgeoisie would ask world capitalism for assistance.

With the installation of an interim government consisting of bourgeois liberals, the imperialist vultures in the USA, Western Europe and Japan believed that the time had come to achieve their ends.

The second option was the forcible overthrow of the Islamic republic. As the former U.S. Ambassador in Iran William Sullivan publicly admitted, prior to the victory of the revolution, in the period when the movement was on the upswing, this option was favored. In the autumn of 1978 the White House sent General Robert Huyser to Tehran with the assignment of engineering a military coup that would suppress the mounting revolution.

This attempt came to grief, but U.S. imperialism went on plotting. It planned that if the conciliatory liberal bourgeois government failed to change the course of the revolution, to shake off the influence of Ayatollah Khomeini, the army would accomplish a coup at a propitious moment and return power to traitors such as Shapour Bakhtiar, Gholam Ali Oveissi, and the Pahlavi family. The Brzezinski memorandum sent to the then Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in the name of President Carter sheds light on U.S. policy in Iran at the time.*

The imperialists headed by the USA have abandoned neither option.

Under the interim government, important posts were held by people like Abbas Amir Entezam, who was exposed as a U.S. agent following the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. Entezam was Deputy Prime Minister, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh was director of the radio and TV network, and Hassan Nazih was director of the national oil company. In the USA they were still hoping to put the first plan into effect. Bazarghan, and the Foreign Minister and Defense Minister Ibrahim Yazdi and Mostapha Chamran respectively met with Brzezinski, the mastermind behind all the conspiracies against the Iranian revolution on November 1, 1979, in Algiers. This was the culminating point of the plan. The meeting was held without the knowledge of Ayatollah Khomeini.

In protest against this conciliatory step by the interim government — the meeting was seen as the beginning of political surrender to U.S. imperialism — students from among the followers of Khomeini seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979. In this spy center, which

directed subversion against the Iranian revolution, they found many incriminating documents. This was a heavy blow to the interim government's conciliatory policy. It had to resign. A new tide of hate for U.S. imperialism and struggle against its conspiracies aimed at undermining the revolution swept across the whole of Iran. This was a turning point in the development of the revolution.

After the interim government stepped down, the realization of the second option was placed on the agenda. This was accompanied by subversion in an attempt to divert the Iranian revolution. The U.S. thus did not altogether abandon its first option: many proponents of rapprochement with the imperialist powers were still in key posts in the government.

A period characterized by a duality of purpose commenced in U.S. policy in Iran. On the one hand, Washington used the events in Afghanistan and the campaign started over these events by imperialist provocateurs in an effort to divert the Iranian revolution from its basic aim of uprooting imperialist dominance. On the other hand, all forces were drawn into preparations for a military coup, for the overthrow of the revolutionary government.

It was not accidental that at precisely the moment Carter sent his appeal (which turned out to be a piece of hypocrisy) to Ayatollah Khomeini, a U.S. task force was training for a landing in Tabas,* while secret counter-revolutionary organizations were planning a coup in Iran. The U.S. clung to its criminal designs even after the failure of the Tabas operation. Preparations, this time on a larger scale, were made in the course of several months for another attempt at a coup, scheduled for July 9, 1980. This ended in a further setback for the USA and the Iranian counter-revolutionaries dependent on it. But even this did not sober the U.S. ruling circles. On the contrary, they began to act with greater superciliousness than before.

The huge, unprecedented concentration of U.S. naval forces in the vicinity of Iran's southern coast is evidence of imperialism's growing hostility for the Iranian revolution, for the firmness displayed by that revolution, and for Arab and African progressive regimes.

Brzezinski had clearly outlined U.S. policy relative to the Iranian revolution when he said that the fall of the shah and the war between Iran and Iraq were the factors largely responsible for the unrest and clashes in the Persian Gulf, and for the threat that they might spread to other coastal countries with the resultant

*This memorandum is discussed by Ali Khavari and James West in WMR, September 1980. — Ed.

*A reference to the attempt to free the American hostages in April 1980. — Ed.

stoppage of the production of one-fourth of the world's oil. It would take years, he noted, to achieve political and economic peace and stability in that region. The USA was aware of this, he said, and was not pursuing a temporary policy. It saw this as a question of vital significance to its national security and was making every effort to resolve it.

This was a lucid statement on U.S. imperialist policy of subjugating other nations. The USA is working on its long-term plan to establish "stability and security" in the Middle East the American way, in other words, to set up imperialist policemen such as the deposed shah, Sadat, and Zia-ul-Haq. To this end the U.S. ruling circles do not stop at any crime, conspiracy, or armed force if they feel it is needed. They are using and doing everything to whip up the conflict between Iran and Iraq precisely for this purpose.

The USA and the reactionary circles in the Persian Gulf region hoped that by bringing strong pressure to bear on the young Islamic Republic they would destroy its economic and military structures and deprive it of the ability to offer resistance. In this case the forces behind Ayatollah Khomeini and all the proponents of resistance to imperialism would be compelled to stand aside and open the road for liberals and conciliators.

At the second stage the USA intended to step in quickly and seize the country's western and, especially, southern regions, divide it into occupied territories, and establish a buffer regime headed by Bakhtiar, Oveissi, and other traitors; cut the oil pipeline linking Tehran with the south and deprive the republic's government of oil revenues; kindle civil war, send organized counter-revolutionaries to so-called liberated territories, and gradually approach the attainment of its main target. The courageous resistance of the Iranian people put paid to this plan as well.

The USA's sole "achievement" from its new criminal venture was thus one more blow at the economic potential of the Islamic republic. The only reason it was able to do so was that it had blocked Iran's hard-currency assets. But neither the economic blockade nor any of the other actions of the imperialist powers brought the Iranian revolution to its knees. Nor will they be able to do this in the future. On the contrary, despite its losses in terms of human life and economic and other damage the Iranian revolution has grown stronger.

Notwithstanding the discord and divergences provoked by the imperialists, conciliators and capitulationists, the anti-imperialist forces are gathering strength and

learning to differentiate between friend and foe. Iran has firmed up its friendship also with countries like Algeria, Syria and Libya, who are the principal members of the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation with the unholy alliance between U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism. Lastly, Iran's revolutionary forces are coming round to realizing that imperialism is the principal threat to the Iranian revolution.

There is no doubt that the imperialist plunderers headed by the USA will use all their sinister forces in another bid to establish "stability and security" in the Persian Gulf. However, the peoples inhabiting our region, including the Iranian people, who have risen and won, will likewise have a say. They are not likely to open the door to the restoration of imperialist dominance and pillage. In spite of the imperialist violence and conspiracies, there is steadily growing resistance and the peoples of the Persian Gulf region are increasingly learning to have faith in themselves. The situation is by no means becoming favorable for the restoration of imperialist rule in the region. On the contrary, the pillars on which the power of imperialism's lackeys rests in the countries that remain to be liberated are becoming more and more precarious.

The USA and its allies are not concentrating large military forces in the Persian Gulf for a military parade. They are trying to bolster the morale of their servitors ruling coastal states; more important, these forces are being readied to suppress the revolutionary movement in Iran and establish what Washington calls "stability and security." A task of the revolution, of the Islamic republic and all of our country's revolutionary forces is, as the leader of the Iranian revolution Ayatollah Khomeini said on many occasions, to prepare the people for a long and hard struggle against imperialism headed by the USA.

On this historic battle will depend the destiny not only of the Iranian revolution but also of all the peoples of our region who are still disinherited and oppressed. In the imminent battle the main conditions for victory are unity among the revolutionary forces in the country and international support from all those who help the Iranian revolution for its struggle against imperialism and world reaction.

From the very first day of the revolution the People's Party of Iran raised the question of forming a united people's front, a front of all of the revolution's true supporters. We are consistently pressing for this aim. Such a front must rest on cooperation of the revolutionary forces loyal to the anti-imperialist, popular line laid

down by Ayatollah Khomeini with the proponents of scientific socialism in Iran.

To be sure, there are difficulties to be surmounted. One is the cunning, divisive policy pursued by imperialism and its Iranian lackeys and conciliators, in other words, those who champion dependence on world capitalism. Another is the result of prejudice, narrow outlook and underestimation of the political realities of the world today on the part of a significant section of the revolutionary circles loyal to Khomeini.

The People's Party of Iran is doing all it can to remove these difficulties, to help these circles understand the actual situation in Iran and in the world. As we analyze day-to-day developments we try to explain that the watershed between the revolutionary and counter-revolu-

tionary forces in Iran, as in any other country, does not pass between the exponents of religious convictions and the adherents of scientific socialism. It is a line between those who champion imperialism and the plundering classes and those who express the interests of the working, disinherited classes. The internal counter-revolutionaries, who have the support of the international counter-revolution, i.e., imperialism and reaction, cannot be defeated as long as the disinherited, working masses do not unite regardless of their religious or philosophical views.

The People's Party of Iran is working to achieve such unity and unanimity. It hopes that sooner or later all the revolutionary forces of Iran will unite in a close-knit front and jointly crush the plots of the revolution's enemies.

The social role of science at the present stage

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In our day, science is becoming a direct productive force in the society, exerting a direct effect on all its components: hardware and technology, production and social relations, and man himself.

Under socialism, the dependence of the society's economic, socio-political and cultural development on the use of the results of the scientific and technological revolution is markedly increased. Science and technology develop into ever more important factors of social progress, bringing about tangible changes not only in material production, but also in the management of social processes, and the shaping of models of the new society.

In the Soviet Union, such a role for science tends further to grow in the 1980s in view of the operation of a number of factors complicating economic development: limited increase in labor resources, more difficult access to newly developed sources of raw materials, and objectively rooted growth of expenditures on environmental protection. In his report to the 26th congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The conditions in which the national economy will be developing in the 1980s make the acceleration of scientific and technological progress ever more pressing. There is no need to persuade anyone of the great importance of

science. The Communist Party proceeds from the premise that building up a new society without science is simply inconceivable."

Under socialism, science serves social progress and has a direct impact on the all-round development of man, the society's chief productive force. The elaboration and materialization of scientific ideas imply that man's intellectual capacities and his sense of social and moral responsibility are on a high level. By creating conditions for tackling key social problems, scientific and technological progress gives people broad opportunities for taking a creative approach to the reality and realizing their endowments and capabilities. At the same time, the human factor is the central one in conjoining the advantages of socialism and the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. This task can be successfully realized only on the basis of labor and social activity by the working people and their conscious and vigorous participation in economic, social and political activity.

When characterizing the basic features of present-day scientific and technological progress, it is necessary to bear in mind that its source is basic research, which helps to discover new phenomena and uniformities in nature and brings about radical changes in the

economy, hardware and technology. Thus, electronic computing techniques and hardware, which have changed the face of many industries, emerged at the interface of algebra and logic, on the one hand, and of electronics, on the other. The study of the atomic nucleus led to the discovery of a fundamentally new source of energy. In the USSR, this is now already a developed industry which builds not only nuclear-power plants but also nuclear plants for the supply of heat, that is, nuclear heat-and-power plants.

Basic research in the field of quantum electronics, optics, radio physics and physical electronics, solid-state physics and low-temperature physics has led to the development of new types of lasers, means for the transmission and processing of information, super-hard, semi-conducting, super-conducting and other progressive materials. The study of the mechanisms of heredity has helped to develop new strains of grain crops through the purposeful changing of the genetic properties of plants.

Basic research has directly led to the development of modern industries like cosmic engineering, the electronics and micro-electronics industries, the production of crystals and artificial diamonds, the cryogenic industry and many others.

The successful fulfillment of such large-scale economic tasks largely depends on how organically basic and applied research, development and engineering are combined. It was emphasized at the 26th congress of the CPSU that the application of scientific discoveries and projects is the crucial element. The acceleration of scientific and technological progress is now determined not so much by the existence of promising lines of research, ideas and recommendations, as by the pace of massive application of novelties.

In the 1980s, we in the Soviet Union have to take yet another important step in conjoining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and the advantages of mature socialism. The forthcoming decade is to be a stage of extensive and large-scale practical realization of scientific results. This will be a period of in-depth and massive application of the most significant scientific advances capable of bringing about revolutionary changes in production and ensuring the solution of key economic problems.

This specific feature of the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution — the purposeful practical approach to research — has been organizationally realized in the USSR in the form of complex intersectoral sci-

entific and technical programs. Such programs are coordinating mechanisms used to concert — in the light of the planned final national-economic result — the efforts of all the units of science and production, ranging from the research laboratory to the batch production of goods. The advantages of complex programs are especially tangible in tackling large-scale intersectoral tasks, where the complex approach helps to concentrate scientific, material and financial resources to obtain significant final results.

For the 1981-1985 period, 160 such complex programs have been worked out and approved in the USSR. These include 38 goal-oriented programs for realizing the most important scientific and technological achievements, while 122 programs are aimed to solve problems connected with the development of fundamentally new types of hardware and technology and the advance of research and development along the most promising lines.

In contrast to the previous five-year period, scientific and technological programs now not only provide for innovations and their engineering in industrial conditions, but are also designed actively to influence the scale of expansion of production and the use of new hardware and technology. That is why the goal-oriented programs include assignments for the batch production of new goods, the use of progressive technologies and the development of capacities required for their mastery and broader application.

Greater emphasis on the social tenor of current complex programs is yet another specific feature. Many programs in the 11th five-year-plan period have a direct bearing on such important aspects of the Soviet people's life as agricultural production and the output of consumer goods, improvement of medical services, working and everyday conditions, and so on. Thus, a number of programs are to ensure a marked increase in grain-crop yields and productivity of livestock. It is planned to develop new and efficient technological processes and equipment for making high-quality footwear, mass types of garments, fabrics and other consumer goods.

Science exerts an influence on the society by creating new technological potentialities and production processes and improving planning and management mechanisms. But it is also used to bring out the negative aspects of social development which tend to slow down scientific and technological progress and prevent the full realization of the advantages of the socialist economic system. Leonid Brezhnev says in the report at the 26th congress: "Science itself must

be a constant 'trouble-maker,' pointing to the areas where there are signs of stagnation and backwardness, where the present level of knowledge could secure faster and more successful advancement."

Socialist production is constantly influenced by new scientific ideas whose realization results in fundamental changes in technical facilities, technologies and labor organization. Research units frequently become the "leading shops" at industrial enterprises, being directly geared to the system of social production. It was this tendency that Marx anticipated when he characterized the process of production in the future as "experimental science, a science that is materially creative and embodied in things."*

It is also important to reckon with the fact that modern production feels more acutely than ever before the importance and complexity of the human factor. Wherever it turns out to be less reliable than machinery, the losses have to be compensated many times over. That is why it is so important today to strike a balance between the creative capabilities and social responsibility of workers and the potentialities held out to them by science and production. Only if such a balance is assured can scientific and technological progress truly yield the maximum effect.

Major scientific ideas are more successfully applied at large-scale enterprises with a high concentration of production. That is natural because they have skilled cadre of specialists capable of perceiving and realizing new ideas more rapidly and creatively. The greater concentration of resources and funds produces the necessary specialization of production and makes planning and the organization of technical and scientific progress more effective.

Concentration and specialization exert a substantial influence on the cadre structure of production. While enhancing the role of the factor of collectiveness in labor, they also enhance the individual responsibility of each worker. Besides, there is extensive involvement of men in the management of the most modern and powerful hardware, like nuclear power plants, rolling mills, and electronic computers. As a result, scientific and technological progress has a greater impact on many social characteristics of the society: the structure of employment, the character and content of the occupational training of personnel, the level of labor organization, etc.

The automation of production is an essential

component of scientific and technological progress. It is the extensive introduction of the means of automation in management, control of technological processes and design and development work that offers a virtually inexhaustible reserve for the further enhancement of the efficiency of social production.

The realization of the complex automation program results in a complete restructuring of social production, a change in the make-up of personnel at the enterprises, with a marked increase in the number of engineers, technicians and highly-skilled workers. Thus, the introduction of robots and automatic manipulators helps substantially to intensify that part of production which involves the most highly-skilled labor of workers and whose shortage tends constantly to increase with scientific and technological progress. Complex automation under socialism releases people from monotonous mechanical operations and holds out broad opportunities for occupational, intellectual and moral development.

At the same time, the scale and complexity of modern socialist production increase the demands on the competence, professional standards, organization and consciousness of workers and specialists. It is now no longer enough merely to display executive discipline, because there is a need for a responsible attitude to hardware and technology, an urge constantly to improve one's professional standards, and be able independently to make decisions. The worker, specialist and scientists with all these features are becoming an ever more typical phenomenon in the society of mature socialism.

The necessity for the further intellectualization of production has a substantial influence on the state education system. Scientific and technological progress accentuates new problems in the system relating to the automation of production, the development and use of new hardware, new materials and technologies, and the optimization of forms and methods of management.

The Soviet system of personnel training envisages the graduation of broad-profile specialists with well-grounded professional skills and knowledge. Such specialists, capable of swiftly adapting themselves to various orientations in science and technology and the modernizing production processes and management systems, are the chief motive force in modern technological progress.

The ever greater orientation of research and development toward the intensification of production also entails a change in the

*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Works, Vol. 46, Part 2, p. 221 (in Russian).

character of science itself. The process of obtaining new knowledge, the advance of basic and applied research, development and engineering tend increasingly to result from collective efforts. Today it is hard and frequently altogether impossible to obtain new basic results or solve large-scale economic problems without integration and the cooperated efforts of scientists and scientific collectives. That does not at all rule out — and in fact implies — a further improvement of individual forms of scientific endeavor. The organic blend of personal scientific interests and the tasks of the scientific collective is an important condition for the further development of science and technology.

The efficient use of the diverse forms in which science is connected with production implies not only an optimal distribution of resources between the various stages of a given cycle, but also to some extent a change in the nature of the scientists' own scientific activity. Orientation toward mass and large-scale application of the basic scientific results and greater practical returns from various projects are inconceivable without the scientists' own direct participation in these processes. Their activity in science and production associations, inter-sectoral science and production laboratories, etc., helps to develop the ability to "see" and appreciate the business effect of long-term research, and to formulate production problems in the form of concrete scientific tasks.

Such complex research gives scientific personnel a taste for tackling practical problems, enlarges their scientific and political horizon in the process of constant contacts with workers and specialists in allied fields, and inculcates in them a sense of civic responsibility for the development of science and technology. Ever more frequently, scientific personnel become full-fledged participants in social production; and workers in production, coauthors of scientific discoveries.

In this way the integration of science and production in its diverse organizational forms helps to overcome the essential distinctions between mental and manual labor, and between the working class and the intelligentsia, and closely to tie in scientific research with the realization of production plans and the effort to implement the party's economic and social policy.

But science makes the greatest contribution to social development through the technological embodiment of its ideas in various sectors of the economy. However, under

socialism, science also has another important social role to play as an active factor in shaping the communist world view.

With the development of our society, the ideological basis of science tends to deepen, and this induces every specialist to collate the goals and results of his own work with the requirements of the whole people and the imperatives of life, and to keep correcting his views and convictions. This is shown very well by the diverse social activities carried on by our country's scientists and specialists. The contribution made by the scientific and technological intelligentsia to socio-political life has as its collateral the shaping of a well developed and vigorous individual, with ever greater creative efforts, and the formulation and solution of important scientific, technological and social problems.

An important feature of the development of science today is the shaping of stable and ramified ties on the international level and joint work by scientists from various countries on the major problems of our day. Among these problems are those which are of increasing concern to mankind: the problems of peace and international détente, environmental protection, rational use of natural resources, food for the population of the world, alternative energy sources, exploration of outer space and the World Ocean, public health, etc. The participation by Soviet scientists in international cooperation is a manifestation of their active stand in life, their high sense of social responsibility and genuine internationalism.

In present-day conditions, the efficiency of science increasingly depends on subjective factors like the reasons for which a person decides to work in some field of science, his talents, skills and moral and psychological qualities. Hence the great mobilizing power of the moral model presented by outstanding Soviet scientists, among them academicians S.I. Vavilov, I.V. Kurchatov, M.V. Keldysh and S.P. Korolyov. It is the example set by the teachers that helps young scientists to effect the difficult switch from what may be an abstract admiration of science to concrete service of it, to an understanding of the fact that scientific activity is a complex and intense effort for the benefit of the society as a whole.

Scientific schools are one of the most effective forms for the training of young scientists. They ensure close contacts between generations and help to pass on to young people not only scientific but also social experience. The founders of such schools and lines in science

are men and women in imitation of whom young people shape their own lives. This makes special demands not only on their scientific but also on their socio-political make-up.

The natural, technical and also increasingly the social sciences are involved in the transformation of science into a direct productive force. The social sciences help to understand the uniformities of social development, formulate the principles governing the management of social processes and exert a direct influence on production through planning and organization. They also have a primary role to play in bringing up the members of the socialist society and shaping their scientific world view, ideological convictions and communist morality.

As never before in the past, the individual's

spiritual potential now operates as a powerful factor in the social and economic development of the society. Scientific and technological progress, combined with the advantages of socialism, already goes to create exceptional potentialities for bringing out the creative elements and harmoniously perfecting the individual, thereby advancing mankind to the ideals of communism. The 26th congress of the CPSU emphasized:

"Today, as we look five or ten years ahead, we must not forget that it is in these years that the economic structure the country is to take into the 21st century will be established. It has to embody the basic features and the ideals of the new society, be in the forefront of progress, and symbolize the integration of science and production, the unbreakable union of creative thought and creative work."

Will the Indian Ocean be a zone of peace? The pros and cons

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The U.S. administration has come out against the convocation of a conference in Colombo, Sri Lanka, to work out an international agreement to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.¹ This carried to a logical conclusion the obstructionist line of the United States, its NATO allies and China's delegation, a line designed to erect artificial barriers in the way of such a conference.

This fresh attempt by imperialism to drag out, if not to frustrate altogether, the discussion of such a highly important matter has caused disappointment and indignation not only among the peoples of the Indian Ocean countries, but of world progressive opinion as a whole. These sentiments are understandable: the well-being of hundreds of millions of people, their work and their food, the heat and light in their homes largely depend on the situation in the Indian Ocean, one of the strategically most important, mineral-rich and densely populated areas of the world. Nearly one-third of mankind lives in its 40-odd littoral, insular and hinterland states. Across its waters run five straits and many key sea routes linking

Europe, the Far East, Australia, the Middle East and Africa. It is also unique from the standpoint of natural resources, for it has nearly 65 per cent of the capitalist world's proved deposits of oil and uranium, and one-half of its gold deposits. The Indian Ocean countries are the main suppliers of diamonds, tin, rubber, tea, spices, jute and other commodities. Finally, it is well worth while to mention that most of these states threw off the shackles of colonial slavery only a relatively short while ago. Many of them are going through important processes of social development. Thus, the recent period has been marked by the consolidation of the revolution in Ethiopia, the establishment of a new system in Mozambique, Madagascar's entry upon the way of a socialist orientation, the revolution in Afghanistan, major socio-economic transformations in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and the overthrow of the Shah's regime in Iran.

This question arises: should not the United States, like the countries of Western Europe, Japan, Canada and other capitalist states consuming the bulk of the oil and other raw mate-

rials commodities extracted in the region or transported along its waterways, be interested in military détente and peaceful development in the Indian Ocean? One would think that it would be to their advantage not to have the energy and raw material problems aggravated as a result of disrupted communications. Why then have the U.S. administration and its allies, talking so much about the need to ensure the security of oil and other sea routes, come out against an international forum which is precisely designed to promote the achievement of such security in the Indian Ocean?

To answer these questions one has to recall that because of its self-seeking nature imperialism is always interested in security *only for itself, in impunity for itself*. When the U.S. imperialists speak of "security" in the Indian Ocean, what they mean is security of unhampered opportunity for plundering the wealth of the ocean, and the raw materials of the littoral and hinterland countries, for using their vast markets and labor resources, and for misappropriating their energy resources. What the U.S. imperialists mean by "security" is suppression of the people's struggle for their national liberation and social emancipation, and of the urge on the part of the newly liberated states to defend their wealth and national sovereignty.

Such is precisely the global strategic line of the United States, of which an important component part now is also the steady build-up of the imperialist military presence in the Indian Ocean.

The United States now has a whole complex of military units in the zone. It has concentrated here the largest naval armada since the Second World War, is stepping up the formation of a new, Fifth Fleet consisting of 40-50 warships, has started to transfer nuclear weapons to Diego Garcia, and to shape its rapid deployment force.² U.S. B-52 bombers fly regular patrol flights over the Indian Ocean from their bases in Guam and in Australia. Since the spring of last year, the ocean has been under constant surveillance by a spy satellite.

The United States has involved its allies in the performance of police functions in this region. Britain, France and Australia have markedly stepped up their military presence in the Indian Ocean. Britain, for instance, has moved some of its ships to the area from the Far East. In the autumn of 1980, it assigned 25 ships and 180 combat planes to join the United States in naval exercises. A similar naval force and more than 10,000 military personnel are being constantly maintained in the area between Djibouti, Reunion and Madagascar by France.

There is close coordination between these fleets. In an effort to ensure support of naval operations in the Indian Ocean, the NATO powers have extended the network of their strategic military bases in the South of Africa. The United States has added to these its own staging posts and military bases on the islands of Masira and As Sib (Oman), in Mombasa (Kenya), in Berbera (Somalia), in Ras Banas (Egypt), in Bahrein, etc.

The step-up of military activity by the United States and its allies is an open challenge to world opinion, which wants an end to the concentration of military power in the region, and its conversion into a zone of peace. But the imperialists ignore the peoples' demands and seek to overcome the resistance of the states of the region by saddling them with military tutelage and involving them in the arms race. For years now, the Persian Gulf region has been flooded with weapons.³ There is continued discussion of a new package of agreements on U.S. military aid totalling over \$2 billion to Pakistan, which is assigned the main role in ensuring U.S. interests in this zone. The Pentagon is studying the possibility of cobbling together a new aggressive bloc — Indian Ocean Treaty Organization (IOTO) — with the ostensible purpose of bringing "order" to the region, and has demanded the expenditure of \$25 billion over the next five years to build up its military strength here.

What has been said makes it clear why the U.S. imperialists and their allies have resisted in every way the convocation of a conference at Colombo. The purpose of this conference, as defined by the United Nations in 1971, is to turn the Indian Ocean "together with the air space above and the ocean floor subjacent thereto into a zone of peace for all time," to halt the further escalation and expansion of the military presence in the area, and to eliminate all military bases and installations, and stockpiles of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons. These purposes are clearly the very opposite of the military-strategic plans and practical steps of the United States, which are designed to establish U.S. domination over the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean, over their peoples' way of life, and over their tremendous natural resources.

That is why after 1978, the United States unilaterally suspended its dialogue with the Soviet Union on Indian Ocean problems. And as on so many other occasions in the past, in order to deceive the nations and cover up their own goals and plans, the imperialists seek to justify their military action by means of the old story about some "Soviet threat" to the coun-

tries in the region and their "oil bonanza."⁴

The littoral non-aligned countries are being subjected to the most intensive brain-washing, and this is understandable to some extent. After all, it is they who first called on all the states to regard the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, in which "there will be no place for rivalry, or competition between the great powers, or for bases, whether land, naval or air force."⁵

We find that the militaristic acts of the United States and their allies, on the one hand, and the peaceful aspirations of the states of the region run in diametrically opposite directions. These two lines, these two trends were most pronounced at a two-week conference (New York, July 1979) of littoral and hinterland countries of the Indian Ocean basin, and also of the permanent members of the Security Council attending as observers. While the United States, Australia and Japan strove to prevent any constraints being imposed on their plans for building up the U.S. military presence in the region, most of the other participants came out against the start of an arms race and the deployment of the strategic weapons in the region.

The final document was in the main a reflection of the anti-imperialist standpoint. Among the principles by which the conferees were guided by mutual agreement, was the removal from the Indian Ocean of the military bases of non-littoral states and an end to the expansion of their military presence in its waters; a commitment by the littoral states on the non-resort to the threat or use of force in relations with each other; and confirmation of the right of all the states to use the ocean routes freely and without any interference, in accordance with the rules of international law. They also demanded that the nuclear powers should refrain from deploying or testing nuclear weapons in the region, and came out in favor of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons among the littoral countries and the extension to them of guarantees that such weapons would not be used against them.

The conference did not support those who advocated a so-called balanced foreign presence, namely, Malaysia, Singapore, Somalia and some Persian Gulf countries, which sought to equate the build-up of imperialist military strength in the basin and the Soviet Union's "presence" in the area.⁶

Most reasonable-minded people living in the Indian Ocean countries have seen through the provocative character of such methods. We have no reason not to believe the Soviet leaders when they declare that the USSR has no schemes aimed against third countries or their interests. Every unbiased person can see that, in

contrast to the imperialist powers which seek absolute military preponderance and which have been doing everything to achieve this goal, the Soviet Union has no military bases in the Indian Ocean region, and has not deployed its strategic and naval forces here, but has maintained a limited number of warships. By contrast, U.S. acts directly threaten the interests of a great many countries, including the USSR. That is the light in which one should see the building of U.S. military bases and airstrips, and the dispatch to the Indian Ocean of warships armed with nuclear-tipped missiles, which are capable of reaching Soviet territory.

It goes without saying that the USSR also has its purposes in the Indian Ocean. These purposes can be easily understood: it does not want a new strategic threat to its security emerging from here, from the southern quarter. It is concerned with the possibility of reliable round-the-year use of the sea route linking the country's European part with the Soviet Far East. Still, despite the presence of the imperialist powers' naval fleets in dangerous proximity to its southern borders, the Soviet Union, far from increasing the number of its warships which have the function of surveillance in this region, has even reduced their number.⁷ What does this show? It shows above all that the land of the October Revolution is truly peaceable and that its policy is consistently and profoundly progressive.

Consequently, the facts show that it is the imperialist forces that are responsible for converting the Indian Ocean into a seat of tension. It is through their fault — and their fault alone — that this once peaceful region with much importance for the future of mankind, and for world peace, is being increasingly likened to a powder-keg.

How can this undesirable course of events be halted? Is there, indeed, a way out of the situation at all? We are profoundly convinced that there is. For the peoples of our region, industrious and talented, with millenia of cultural tradition behind them, but retarded in their development by centuries of colonial slavery, peace is the one and only condition that is required if they are to do away with hunger, poverty and backwardness. That is why the communists and all the other progressive forces in the Indian Ocean countries highly appreciate the efforts of world opinion aimed to eliminate all the imperialist bases in the area, and to return Diego Garcia to the state of Mauritius.

The sitting of the Bureau of the Presidium of the World Peace Council in Antananarivo held early this year, issued on behalf of peace

fighters on every continent, a resolute condemnation of U.S. action in the Indian Ocean. "No military bases in the region, no deployment of nuclear or other mass destruction weapons! No threat or use of force! Respect for the sovereign rights of the states in the region. No impediments to shipping!" — such are the slogans under which the peoples' struggle to demilitarize the Indian Ocean zone is going forward. They understand the idea expressed at Antananarivo by representatives of the U.S. peace movement, namely, that the struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace must be as intense as was the struggle to end the war in Vietnam.

In this context, we specifically emphasize: the Soviet Union's peace initiatives proceed above all from the assumption that the Persian Gulf area, like the whole of the Indian Ocean, with its littoral and adjacent states, is a sphere of the vital interests of the countries located in the area; no one has the right to meddle in their internal affairs or to claim to be their guardian. It is this realistic principle, which profoundly meets the interests of the people, that lies, we believe, at the basis of Leonid Brezhnev's initiatives during his visit to India, which have been confirmed by the 26th congress of the CPSU. In view of the special importance of developments in the Persian Gulf area, a subregion of the Indian Ocean, from the standpoint of the maintenance of international peace, the Soviet Union has called on the United States, other Western powers, China, Japan and all the other interested states to reach an understanding on the adoption of the following mutual commitments:

- not to set up foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf area and the adjacent islands;
- not to deploy nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in the area;
- not to resort to the threat or use of force against the countries of the region, and not to interfere in their internal affairs;
- to respect the nonaligned status chosen by the Persian Gulf countries, and not to involve them in military groupings with the participation of nuclear powers;
- to respect the sovereign right of these states to their natural resources;
- not to create any obstacles or threats to normal commerce and the use of the sea lanes linking the states of this region with other countries of the world.

Voicing grave concern over the sharp escalation of tensions in the Middle East, the Soviet party and state leader attending the ceremonial meeting in Tbilisi resumed his call for the convocation of an international conference with

the participation of all the countries concerned in order to consider the dangerous situation which has taken shape in this part of the globe. Leonid Brezhnev has emphasized that the Soviet Union is prepared to reach agreement separately on ensuring peace and security in the Persian Gulf region and also separately on a settlement of the situation over Afghanistan, or to discuss the international aspects of both these questions in connection with each other. There must, quite naturally, be no question of any interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region.

We are sure that this is a good basis for an approach to the solution of the whole package of Indian Ocean problems. But for the time being, the broad proposals made by the USSR and other peace-loving states have, regrettably, brought no favorable response on the part of the leading imperialist powers, which have been stepping up tensions in this region. It is all the more important that the democratic progressive forces should unite and invigorate their action, that all the peace fighters should realize the importance for the future of mankind of converting the Indian Ocean into a zone of security.

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka believes that the settlement of controversial issues in the region through negotiation is a realistic prospect. It is true that some politicians in the region, including those who claim to be members of progressive movements, assert that at the present stage adequate prerequisites have not yet taken shape for demilitarizing the Indian Ocean region. That is why, they say, the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and other international forums have turned out to be less than effective. To take this approach is tantamount to succumbing to the pressure of imperialism in advance. The communists cannot accept it. We believe that the task now is to give a fresh impetus to the struggle to convert the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The main thing is that this idea should have active support not only on the inter-state level, in the United Nations, but above all, in the mass action both of the nations of this region and in other countries.

To counter the policy of imperialism and reaction with the peoples' militant solidarity means forcing into retreat those who want to establish themselves in the Indian Ocean by means of armed force. That is the thing to fight for, before it is too late!

1. The decision to call such a conference was taken at the 34th and the 35th UN General Assembly sessions. The General Assembly entrusted the preparation of the conference to a UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean,

which was set up back in 1972. In order to strengthen the committee and to turn it into an effective political organ, it proposed that the committee should include, together with the littoral and hinterland states, all the permanent members of the UN Security Council, and also other states extensively using the waters of the Indian Ocean. The Committee now has 46 members.

2. A decision has already been taken in Washington to nearly double the strength of the rapid deployment force to 200,000 men. The huge amount of \$10 billion has already been appropriated for their maintenance over the next seven years. Almost every month, thousands of U.S. sailors and Marines land on their staging posts and bases in Singapore, Sri Lanka, Mauritius and Kenya. Such is the true worth of the talk by U.S. statesmen about their "peaceful" intentions.

3. According to SIPRI, the Middle East, for instance,

accounts for 48 per cent of the world's arms imports.

4. Thus, the Pentagon strategists make the absurd claim that the Soviet Union intends to mine the Strait of Hormuz to move troops and tanks from Afghanistan to Iran, etc.

5. See, the original documents published on September 14, 1970, by the Press Section. Public Relations Division, Zambia Information Services.

6. "Yes, of course, we would like to see the Indian Ocean declared a zone of peace," declared Michael Cheok, an official of Singapore's Foreign Office, "but the reality on the ground and on the water will not allow this... So we would like to have a balanced situation with multi-powers maintaining parity" (*International Herald Tribune*, April 24, 1981).

7. This has been recognized even by the bourgeois press. See, for instance, *International Herald Tribune*, April 21, 1981.



From communist congresses

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE SUPREME GOAL: THE BENEFIT OF MAN

Milos Jakes

CPCz CC Presidium member,
CPCz CC Secretary

The 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was held in Prague from April 6 to 10, 1981. It was preceded by meetings of primary organizations, district, city and regional conferences, and a congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, at which the communists assessed the results of the work that had been done and determined the tasks for the first half of the 1980s. Preparations for the congress were carried on not only by party members, but also by the whole National Front, by a majority of our people. These preparations were paralleled by a broad sweep of labor initiative, and socialist emulation to fulfil and overfulfil the targets of the sixth five-year plan. The people discussed a document on the country's further socio-economic development from 1981 to 1985, which the CPCz CC prepared for the congress. The opinions and proposals expressed by the working people and National Front organizations were used when the finishing touches were put to that document, and this is evidence of the profoundly democratic at-

mosphere in which the decisions of the party forum were drafted.

The work of the 26th congress of the CPSU laid an imprint on our party's ideological and political life, because its decisions creatively develop Marxism-Leninism, provide comprehensive answers to the vital problems of our day and determine the perspectives in the building of communism in the USSR and in the struggle to consolidate peace throughout the world.

The highest forum of the Czechoslovak communists, which was attended by 1,447 delegates, discussed and approved, with a sense of high responsibility to the party and the people, the Central Committee's report which was delivered by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz CC, the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCz, the Report on the Guidelines of Czechoslovakia's Socio-Economic Development from 1981 to 1985, and the draft directives on the new five-year plan. There were 44 speakers in the discussion. A new Central Committee and other party organs were elected.

The presence of 114 delegations of the communist and workers' parties, and democratic and progressive movements from 102 countries testifies to the broad cooperation between the communists of Czechoslovakia and the revolutionary forces of the whole world, and

shows the power and viability of the ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The congress and the whole country welcomed with great joy the fact that the CPSU delegation was led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, a great friend of our people, and a recognized fighter for peace and progress throughout the world. Our foreign guests could see for themselves the high exactingness and the sense of responsibility displayed by the delegates in assessing the work that has been done and in mapping out the ways for building a developed socialist society in the country, and the Czechoslovak communists' participation in the struggle for peace.

Our plans for the future rest on the important accomplishments of the recent period and the tremendous experience accumulated by the CPCz, which for 60 years now has consistently worked for a better future for the working people. At the same time, we took into account the whole complexity of the internal and international conditions of the party's activity.

The discussions and the decisions of the 16th congress of the CPCz were marked by a sober and principled approach, concreteness and self-criticism. That is the result of the ideological and political unity and the party's ability to act with the use of Leninist methods and forms of work. It constantly sees to it that its ties with the people, the working class in particular, are sound, responds in due time to the pending problems and strives to eradicate the shortcomings existing in various spheres of social life. The party works to create conditions for vigorous activity by the National Front and all the other social organizations, and for the people's extensive participation in running the economy and the state, and to give great scope to the creative activity and labor and social initiative by the masses.

Having assessed the results of the implementation of the CPCz's general line in building a developed socialist society, the congress stated that marked economic advance has on the whole been achieved. Although the growth rate has somewhat slowed down as compared with the past, in the sixth five-year period the national income increased by 20 per cent, industrial and building output by 25 per cent, and agricultural output by 9 per cent. Among the major accomplishments are the construction of the engineering base of the nuclear energy industry, and the opening of the Prague-Brno-Bratislava highway and a 20-kilometer line of the Prague subway.

Living standards have gone up and the people's social certainty has been further enhanced; 647,000 flats for roughly 2 million per-

sons (or nearly 13 per cent of the country's population) have been built; we now have a high per-household figure for consumer durables: TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines and cars; the annual consumption of food per head is as follows: meat 85 kg., milk and milk products 228 kg., eggs 311, etc. Let us note that this level has been up to physiological norms since the 1960s, and for some products is even in excess of them.

International comparisons show that Czechoslovakia is an economically developed country. Thus, it turns out per head of the population nearly a ton of steel, 4,750 kwh. of electric power, 58.5 kg. of plastics, 8 tons of coal, and 700 kg of cereals. The population has extensive use of free services and cash payments from social funds: the state allocates large amounts of money for public education, social security and health care, for the maintenance of low rents and food prices, and displays concern for children and young couples. There are 150,000 students in our population of 15 million. Outlays on social needs come to nearly 9,000 crowns per head a year. Monthly wages now average 2,643 crowns, or 339 crowns up on 1975.

However, the congress did not confine itself to giving due to these achievements. It also identified the shortcomings and the problems with which we have not fully coped, and indicated their causes. One of these is that the sixth five-year plan had to be realized in objectively more complicated conditions than had been anticipated. This applies above all to the rapid growth of prices for imported raw materials, and also to the intensified competition and discriminatory measures with respect to Czechoslovakia on the world capitalist market. We did not find ourselves adequately prepared for this.

The congress gave a clear assessment of the extent to which the external economic factor and the international situation as a whole influence the country's internal development. At the same time, it was most definitely stated that the causes for the short-fall in the fulfillment of economic and social plans should be found above all at home. Despite the successes, the resolute switch to realizing the long-term strategic line of enhancing the efficiency and economical nature of production and the quality of workmanship was not effected. We have yet to get all our citizens to understand that there is no other means of ensuring the Republic's stable socio-economic development, and maintaining and raising the existing living standards. Gustav Husak emphasized in the report to the 16th congress that "to bring about

such a turn is the task which most insistently faces us."*

If this task is to be fulfilled, there is a need to apply the latest scientific achievements in practice, to raise the level of management, to secure stringent discipline, and to create an atmosphere of high exactingness to oneself. All of this depends on men and women, on the extent to which they come to comprehend economic uniformities on the strength of their own experience. Only then is it possible fully to overcome all manifestations of inertia and formalism, and to do away with confusion, which tends to produce indifference and has a negative effect on human activity.

The 16th congress reaffirmed the correctness and reality of the long-term policy of building a developed socialist society in our country, the line formulated by the 14th and continued by the 15th congress of the party. This line was concretized for the forthcoming five-year period. It was emphasized that, as compared with the past decade, the economic conditions have been substantially complicated. The provision for the economy of fuel, oil, metal and other types of raw and other materials through imports and from home sources calls for ever greater outlays. Competition on the capitalist markets is intensifying, while foreign customers tend to make ever greater demands on the quality and technical standard of products, while the potentialities for capital investments are reduced and the balance of labor resources is becoming tighter.

The congress set before the party and the people a task which it will take serious efforts to fulfil: in the more complicated external and internal conditions and in complete accordance with the national-economic results, to maintain and even to raise the quality of the high living standards of the population which we have attained, and to strengthen the people's confidence in the future. The party's attention will continue to be focused on economic development. In the seventh five-year period, the national income is to be increased by 14-16 per cent, with the social product growing at a slower rate than in the past, because the national income is to be increased above all through higher productivity of social labor and reductions in the inputs of energy, and raw and other materials.

We believe that the development of science and technology and the rapid introduction of the achievements in practice are a primary factor of comprehensive intensification of the economy. This is a complex problem and calls

for joint efforts by all the participants in social production: workers, cooperative peasants, engineers, technicians, scientists and executives.

Industrial production is to increase by 18-20 per cent, with engineering and electronics, the basis of technical progress developing at a faster pace, together with our chief export industries. It is planned to expand the manufacture of consumer goods and also articles made of our own raw materials with a low energy-intensiveness. The chemical industry has been set the task of deepening oil refining, and special attention is to be given to progress in small-tonnage chemistry. In transport, priority is to be given to the development of railways and water ways.

It is planned to increase agricultural output by about 10 per cent, including cropping by 14-16 per cent, and livestock breeding by 6-7 per cent. The priority growth of cropping — through intensification — is the way to the Republic's self-sufficiency in food, notably in grain and high-quality produce. In livestock breeding, attention is to be concentrated on the fattening of cattle and sheep, so as to produce more beef and milk products in our soil and climate conditions. We shall continue to introduce industrial methods into agriculture, to advance mechanization and the use of chemicals, and to deepen the concentration and specialization of production. Efforts are to be directed above all to reducing non-production outlays and securing the fuller processing of farm produce. There is to be an increase in the growing of fruits and vegetables by making broader use of the potentialities of home-and-garden plots and auxiliary farms, petty farms, orchards and vegetable gardens.

In order to ensure the planned rate of industrial and agricultural development, there is a need not only to make more rational use of the fuel we have at our disposal, but also further to consolidate our own energy base through the extraction of coal and the building of nuclear power plants. The party's assumption is that the better use of the existing facilities, their modernization and remodelling, and also new capital construction will be a source of industrial and agricultural growth. In the seventh five-year period, the amount of investments is not being increased over the preceding period, so as not to scatter our resources and to reduce the work-in-progress in building, which tends to freeze resources.

The task set for the 1981-1985 period is to save 2 per cent of energy and 4.5-5 per cent of the metals in the economy every year, and to recycle raw materials more fully. In order to increase the incentives for enterprises and

*Rude pravo, April 7, 1981.

individual workers for the thrifty use of fuel, energy and raw materials, wholesale prices for these types of resources are to be reviewed, so as to bring them closer to their real costs of production.

The main thing is to turn out more technically high-quality products with the same inputs of raw and other materials and energy, and with the same volume of investments and size of labor force. Otherwise, we shall be unable to ensure the further development of the economy, to meet the requirements of international trade, to keep our foreign-trade balance in equilibrium and to raise the people's well-being.

Living standards largely depend on the retail price policy, which is an important element of our social policy. Mindful of this, we shall seek, however, to have prices more fully play the role of economic regulators and influence product quality, and also help to shape consumption in accordance with the real potentialities of production.

The party believes that rising living standards do not amount only to a growth of personal consumption. Its approach to the problem is a complex one, and includes efforts to enhance social certainty, raise the educational and cultural level generally, display concern for human health, the family, mother and child, and housing conditions (in the current five-year period, 550,000 flats are to be built and another 40,000-50,000 modernized). Our conception of living standards includes the operation of public transport, the state of the environment, working conditions, and relations among people in work collectives, and in other spheres of human intercourse, in short, every aspect of the shaping of the socialist way of life. It was said at the 16th congress that "everything we do, all our efforts for the development of socialism and the flourishing of our homeland are aimed at the working people's well-being. Man's well-being has been and will continue to be the loftiest purpose of our aspirations."*

Of important assistance to fulfilling these tasks will be the improvement of planning and the substitution of obsolete economic instruments, which have run into contradiction with the society's interests. In order to enhance the national-economic effect and to produce a more objective assessment of the results of activity at enterprises, the party's Central Committee and the federal government have issued a decree on a Complex of Measures for Improving Planning and Management of the National

Economy, which are designed for the consistent application of economic calculus and the socialist principles of remuneration for work. The 16th congress said that implementation of these measures is bound to involve struggle and conflict, because it will require deep-going changes in management methods and ways of thinking.

We devote much attention to enhancing the quality and efficiency of planning, the chief element in the management of the economy. If the elaboration and scrupulous fulfillment of plans are to be accepted by work-collectives as their very own cause, there is a need to create the prerequisites for the upward revision of plans with the working people's participation.

Yet another task is highly important from the political standpoint, and it is the need to overcome the elements of egalitarianism in remuneration for work, to end the payment of remuneration for poor-quality work or for actual idleness, and consistently to translate into life the basic principle of distribution under socialism: distribution in accordance with the quantity, quality and social importance of labor. It was said at the congress that this requires an effort to intensify, in the spirit of Lenin's ideas, control by the state, the party and the trade unions over the measure of labor and consumption, to create effective incentives, and to improve the system of remuneration. To enhance respect for labor means resolutely combating manifestations of philistinism, petty-bourgeois morality, parasitism, high-handedness, and everything else that tends to slow down our advance. While taking steps in this direction, the party seeks to match its words with deeds. This is the way which meets the vital interests of the working class, and all the other working people, and makes our policy more attractive for the masses.

Fulfillment of the tasks of the five-year period, it was said at the congress, will serve to verify the political maturity and the professional and organizational capabilities of our leading personnel at every level. The party and the people demand of them consistent realization of the CPCz line, display of initiative and disciplined fulfillment of state plans, intolerance of breach of public order, failure to do one's duty, all of which depreciates the labor of others and wastes social resources. We believe that intolerance of shortcomings, on the one hand, and a high appreciation of honest work and of socially useful initiative, on the other, are the assurance for attaining the set goals and multiplying the values of the socialist society.

In the course of the discussion at the congress, special attention was given to having the

*Rude pravo, April 7, 1981.

efforts in the sphere of the economy directly tied in with Czechoslovakia's ever more broad involvement in the international socialist division of labor. This means, above all, active economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the socialist-community countries, notably, the Soviet Union, because this guarantees our economy's stable development and opens up tremendous prospects before it. Of much importance is fulfillment of the program of specialization and cooperation with the USSR, and realization of long-term goal-oriented programs.

The Czechoslovak economy has reached a high level of development, and its further intensification calls for a deepening of specialization and cooperation of production, above all within the framework of socialist economic integration. That is why we met with great interest the view expressed by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU when he said that life requires that the coordination of plans by the socialist-community countries should be complemented with a coordination of their economic policy as a whole. The 16th congress of the CPCz supported this proposal, together with the proposal for a summit meeting of representatives of the fraternal socialist countries to discuss relevant matters. Such coordination will help more rationally to pool our forces and use our resources, and reduce the negative impact of the capitalist market.

The CPCz is prepared actively to promote the success of such a meeting, so as to turn it into a concrete step toward the shaping of "that single world cooperative" of working people of which Lenin spoke in his lifetime. Let us recall his emphasis on the need for the urge to "enter with an open heart that single world cooperative" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 333). Realization of the USSR's proposal will benefit the whole socialist community and will, besides, create better potentialities for internationalist assistance to less developed countries taking the socialist road.

International imperialism has ever more actively resorted to diverse economic and political means, half-truths and demagoguery in order to activate our internal adversaries and to weaken the cohesion of the socialist community. In their documents, the Polish comrades have repeatedly emphasized that the anti-socialist forces, which have rejected the results of socialist construction in Poland and the PUWP's leading role, seek to stage a counter-revolutionary coup and are being supported from outside, by class enemies. This adds urgency to the further strengthening of the

socialist countries' unity and cooperation.

The decisions of the 16th congress of the CPCz meet the interests of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia. In its activity, the party proceeds from the assumption that the outlined tasks can be fulfilled only with the working people's broad participation, and through their vigorous activity and initiative. The conditions for this have been created by the relations of production in the new society, by the development of socialist democracy and the certainty of the people — the country's master — that our party's policy is correct.

As the leading force of the society, the party sees to it that the fulfillment of its program should be adopted as its own cause by the whole National Front, which is an embodiment of the political alliance of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and of the unity of the communists with members of other political parties and non-party people. The CPCz believes that a key duty of the communists working in National Front organizations is to carry on organizational and educational work in the masses, aimed to realize the decisions of the 16th congress. The party wants to see the further development of the activity of mass and social organizations like the revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth League, the Union of Cooperative Peasants, the Women's Association, athletic organizations, and the various autonomous associations. All these organizations are a part of Czechoslovakia's democratic political system, which provides extensive opportunities for civic activity for the benefit of the masses.

The 16th congress of the CPCz set before the national committees and the state apparatus the task of resolutely coming out against any bureaucratic practices, corruption and abuse of official position, protecting socialist property and the people's gains, responding in due time to remarks and criticism, and improving the activity of the people's control. We believe that the working people's active participation in implementing the party's policy is the best form of education and an expression of their attitude to socialism.

The goals and tasks set by the congress, and the complexity of the internal and external conditions make considerable demands on the work of the party itself. It constitutes a great political force: on January 1, 1981, it had over 1.5 million members and candidate members. Today, one Czechoslovak citizen in seven over the age of 18 years is a member of the CPCz.

The congress said that concern for the party's Marxist-Leninist unity and competence, im-

provement of its make-up, consolidation of its working-class nucleus, enhancement of the effectiveness of educational work and of its leading role in the society should be central to the work of all party organizations. We strive scrupulously to observe Lenin's principles of party construction, notably democratic centralism and inner-party democracy, to develop criticism and self-criticism — the well-tested method for eliminating shortcomings and educating people — and consistently to fulfil adopted decisions. Much attention is being given to improving the selection and training of personnel, perfecting the party's style of work, and seeing to it that effective control over the fulfillment of adopted decisions should permeate the whole of its organizational and leading activity. High demands are being made on the communists. They have the duty to set an example in their work and personal life, and to differ from non-party people only in having a greater sense of responsibility and a higher level of consciousness, and in displaying the greater industriousness and dedication.

The congress devoted special attention to ideological work and the education of the working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and the preparation of the communists for fulfilling new tasks. This is due, in particular, to the fact that over 40 per cent of party members have joined it over the past 10 years. Propagandists explain the CPCz's policy and help to implement the congress decisions. We try to have them swiftly respond to the problems and questions that arise, and to counter the slanders of our class enemies: It is highly important to be able to provide convincing proof of the advantages of existing socialism and to expose anti-communism, bringing out the economic and social contradictions of present-day capitalism and actively rousing our social forces to the struggle for a peaceful future.

The 16th congress reaffirmed that the Communists and all the other people of Czechoslovakia have a vital stake in the preservation of peace. We fully support the proposals made by the 26th congress of Lenin's Party which are an organic continuation of the Peace Program. A life in peace is man's basic right and a prerequisite for the fulfillment of our bold plans and further construction of a developed socialist society, because peace and socialism are indivisible.

The congress put a high value on the importance of constantly strengthening the friendship and cooperation between the socialist-community countries, and especially the alliance and allround cooperation and friend-

ship with the USSR, the cornerstone of our security and the key prerequisite for the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the party forum.

We are sure that the socialist community, together with the world communist, working-class and national-liberation movement, and peace fighters all over the world will continue to give effective rebuffs to the forces of reaction and war and to ensure the maintenance of peace. Our people will also spare no effort for this great goal.

GDR

REALISM AND CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE

Hermann Axen

CC Political Bureau member and Secretary,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The 10th congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was held in Berlin on April 11-16 of this year. Our party's 2,172,000 members were represented by 2,691 delegates, of whom 64.2 per cent were workers. This congress and the impassioned, down-to-earth debates were permeated with a spirit of realism and confidence in success.

The congress was a milestone of nationwide significance. Millions of people contributed to the preparations for it, conducting the largest-ever emulation movement, which produced an additional output equal in volume to 3.5 days' gross industrial output. The congress summed up impressive achievements and elaborated a scientific concept of a steady, onward movement for the 1980s. Attention was rivetted on the new, more complex problems of the future.

The foreign delegations from 125 communist, workers, revolutionary-democratic, and socialist parties and organizations were strongly impressed by the SUPG's close links to young people. This was strikingly exemplified by the speeches and large number of young delegates representing communists in industry, agriculture, science and public education. It was reaffirmed that socialism needs young people, and that the latter need socialism, which gives a purpose to their lives and accords with their present and future interests.

As was noted in the report by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, the GDR — the first socialist state on German soil — continued to demonstrate political stability and economic strength in the latter half of the 1970s despite the savage attacks of imperialist adversaries. It has been and remains a dependable bulwark of peace in

Europe. The upswing started after the 8th SUPG congress in 1971 continued uninterrupted in all areas of society's life. This was the main outcome of the efforts of millions of people, the result of stable and unshakable relations of confidence between the party and the people. Developments have borne out once again that the SUPG is correct in pursuing a course toward the attainment of its main aim¹ and maintaining unity between economic and social policy. There has been a marked rise of the people's living standard and cultural level. This is due chiefly to the dynamic economic growth that was sustained despite the unfavorable external economic situation and the greater demands made of national defense on account of the imperialist arms race.

In the past five years the national income amounted to 812,500 million marks (in prevailing prices), the increment totalling 172,100 million marks or 25.4 per cent above the 1971-1975 level. During the past decade the people of the GDR gave the country a national income totalling 1,453,000 million marks, or approximately the equivalent of the sum for the preceding 20 years.

In industry, marketable output went up 32.2 per cent over the 1971-1975 period and added up to 1,625,000 million marks. In the same five years socialist agriculture produced 239 million tons of food and raw materials: here the increment was 20.1 per cent in the 1970s. A total of 650,000 million marks, or 24.9 per cent more than in the first half of the decade, was allocated for individual and social consumption. The population's net cash income rose from 101,000 million to 121,300 million marks, while the average monthly income of factory, office, and professional workers went up from 889 to 1,030 marks.

These few key statistics are evidence of the productiveness of the unity between economic and social policy and the benefits the people are getting from this unity. Pensions have risen significantly, steps have been initiated to shorten the work day, annual leaves have been lengthened, and more is being done for the welfare of mothers and children.

Considerable progress has been made in housing construction, which comprises the core of the party's socio-political program. The housing fund was enlarged by 813,000 new or modernized units in 1976-1980, or by more than 63,000 than envisaged by the plan.

The consolidation of the republic's economic potential and the growth of labor productivity (by 53.6 per cent in the 1970s) were due to the further intensification of the entire economy, especially as a result of accelerated scientific

and technological progress. This has served as the foundation of the impressive advance in social policy and has enabled the GDR, through dedicated effort, to become one of the world's 10 leading industrial states.

The CC report declared quite rightly: "The past span of time has convincingly demonstrated that conscientious work produces significant returns for the entire people and for every person individually. This should remain the case in the future as well."²

A new period has started in the country's development. Unanimously taking the CC report as its basis, the congress set the communists and people of the GDR further targets in the building of a developed socialist society. The decisions and other documents of this party forum inspire the people in their efforts to achieve the lofty aims of the coming decade.

Our long-term targets require concerted and coordinated efforts. The most important of these are:

- to continue following the tested course toward the attainment of the principal aim, that of maintaining unity between economic and social policy; to satisfy the people's material and cultural requirements more fully, thereby putting into effect the strategy of furthering the building of a developed socialist society;

- to look to the nation's defense capability, keeping it on a level making it possible confidently to counter the deterioration of the international situation and the accompanying dangers;

- to take an active part in the realization of the peace proposals of the 26th congress of the CPSU, in giving a rebuff to the imperialist course toward confrontation, and in the efforts to preserve and deepen political détente and complement it with military détente;

- to support the peoples who have won or are fighting for freedom in a spirit of solidarity and internationalism.

These tasks and requirements stem from the uninterrupted continuation of the socialist revolution on German soil and from the entire course, content and prospects of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism worldwide. The time is drawing near when the potentialities of existing socialism will also be seen in supremacy in labor productivity, in that decisive supremacy that is vital for victory in the economic competition with capitalism in all key areas.

A further qualitative change in the international balance of strength in favor of social progress and national liberation is the major condition that world peace will be safeguarded and that the pause in the vicious circle of

"war-peace-war" is turned into lasting peace.

For all spheres of our socialist system the 10th congress of the SUPG has provided a sure compass showing the way to resolving new problems and ensuring political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural changes to the needed depth. It opened up new vistas for social advance all along the line.

"The economy, the immense effort of our people to ensure the rapid growth of the economy," Erich Honecker said at the congress, "lies at the heart of the social policy pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This is where the question of further progress in the building of developed socialism is being resolved."³ There was thunderous applause at the congress when it was proposed that the line "toward raising the people's living standard and cultural level on the basis of rapid development of socialist production, greater efficiency, scientific and technological progress, and an enhancement of labor productivity"⁴ should be continued in the 1980s.

The party's policy and the main aim of that policy harmonize with the basic economic law of socialism and allow applying that law concretely in the conditions of developed socialism. The significance of this policy is constantly growing in proportion to socialist society's advance toward maturity and is the objective guarantee that the ideals and aims of communism are steadfastly realized.

The SUPG's successful work in the period after the 8th congress is due mainly to the fact that it has a many-sided and tested theory of a developed socialist society. This theory is now a material force inspiring the people; it inspired the people to join in a broad labor emulation movement in honor of the 10th congress. The party's program and Erich Honecker's report scientifically generalize the theory and practice of developed socialism, which are an achievement of the fraternal parties of the socialist community in the creative enrichment of Marxism-Leninism. This is the basis of the strategy spelled out in the CC report, a 10-point strategy aimed at achieving the party's principal goal in the 1980s.

In brief, these envisage:

- long-term stable economic growth through accelerated scientific and technological progress and the effective combination of socialism's advantages with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Orientation toward the finest world achievements. Active use of science and technology with the purpose of winning time to allow for the switch to intensive extended reproduction.

The main direction in which forces are being concentrated should be the base technology of the manufacture of superintegral micro-electronic software, optoelectronic parts for light-conducting and laser technology, comprehensive integral automation mechanisms and instruments, and also flexible processes of automation with the use of third-generation robots, highly productive utilization of fuel and raw materials, and new energy-saving technologies, and the development of nuclear power engineering;

- a visible countrywide growth of labor productivity, the release of labor and its employment in industries playing the key role in the growth of labor productivity, and also in the services industry;

- a much more rational use of raw materials, basic materials, and production assets;

- a perceptible improvement of the quality of output throughout the national economy;

- a steep rise of labor efficiency (chiefly by using the latest scientific and technological breakthroughs) and a larger growth of output compared with the outlays of reified and live labor;

- all-embracing socialist rationalization, modernization of entire technological processes;

- maximum productive use of investments as the motive force of scientific and technological progress;

- a considerable growth of the output and range of consumer goods and a pronounced improvement of their quality;

- highly dynamic social production and national income based on qualitative factors of growth;

- extended intensive reproduction making it possible to confidently withstand the deterioration of the foreign economic situation and create favorable conditions for the GDR's foreign trade.

The congress directives on the five-year plan for 1981-1985 make the party's scientifically substantiated program comprehensible for every citizen. These comprise an optimistic and realistic program of socio-economic development conforming to the national and international requirements of the building of developed socialism.

According to the directives, the national income is to grow by 28-30 per cent (compared with 1980) and will reach more than 1,000,000 million marks. Industry's marketable output is to increase by 28-30 per cent, which means that during the five-year period its volume will amount to at least 2,200,000 million marks and

in 1985 will be equal to at least 1,900 million marks daily. In industry, labor productivity is to rise by 28-30 per cent. Agriculture's marketable output is to increase by 7-9 per cent, while the output of food for the population is to grow by 5-6 per cent. In the five-year period investments will add up to between 268,000 and 272,000 million marks. By 1985 foreign trade will grow by roughly 36 per cent.

As I have already pointed out, this economic growth is needed chiefly for the attainment of the principal aim, for ensuring harmony between economic and social policy and gradually, as far as possible, extending social measures. For example, the long-term housing program is to be continued at a faster rate. It is planned to build or modernize 930,000-950,000 housing units, which will allow improving the housing of 2,800,000 citizens. The population's net cash income will grow by 20-22 per cent, and there is to be a similar increase in the stock of goods and in sales throughout the distributive network.

The social funds, formed of money from the state, are to be enlarged by 26 per cent, i.e., by approximately 295,000 million marks. These large funds are earmarked for the maintenance of housing, and keeping rents and prices and tariffs on basic consumer goods and services at a stable low level. Moreover, these funds are used for the promotion of medical care and the satisfaction of the people's social, spiritual and cultural requirements. Per capita real incomes are to rise by 21-23 per cent.

There has been a quick and warm response from the people to this program. While the congress was in session the Free German Youth called for a review of the achievements of young people. The trade union organizations at large industrial enterprises like Carl Zeiss Jena, the Fritz Heckert plant in Karl-Marx-Stadt, the Walter Ulbricht Leuna works, and the Schwedt petrochemical plant have decided to continue the socialist emulation movement under the slogan calling for "higher rates of economic growth and labor productivity, greater efficiency, and better quality for the welfare of the people and in the name of peace." The working people have thus accepted the congress guidelines as their own and are enthusiastically putting them into effect, starting a mass movement in order to overfulfil this year's economic plan to the amount of three days' output without increasing the outlays of raw and other materials and also of energy.

The congress gave much of its attention to spiritual and cultural life, science, higher and secondary education, art and literature. Em-

phasis was placed on the communist education of young people, on the efficacy of this education, and on raising the level of the ideological work conducted by the party, the government, and all public organizations. This is dictated by the need to counter imperialism's growing hostile activities and by the imperatives of our life, the striving to enrich it spiritually and culturally and to encourage all activity promoting socialism.

The communists expressed confidence that our country would be equal to the requirements of the 1980s. This confidence is based chiefly on the fact that the GDR holds a firm place in the community of socialist states and that our fraternal alliance with the USSR is unbreakable. The congress warmly responded to the speech by Mikhail Suslov, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary of the CPSU, who underscored that the friendship between the CPSU and the SUPG and between the USSR and the GDR was growing stronger and that cooperation was developing broadly in all areas of social activity. The ever closer intertwining of the economies of our countries and the more effective unity of forces make it possible to advance more quickly and successfully and are of particularly great significance against the background of the aggravation of the international class struggle.

The SUPG expressed its desire for closer cooperation than ever within the socialist community and for a common economic strategy and economic policy. We noted with satisfaction that at their recent congresses the fraternal parties demonstrated an analogous approach to these pressing problems.

The socialist community has withstood the stern tests of the class struggle and collisions with imperialism and has successfully resolved many of the problems posed by life. In this context Erich Honecker reaffirmed at the 10th congress our fraternal solidarity with the Polish communists, with all the Polish patriots defending and strengthening socialism, against all the intrigues of the counter-revolutionary forces. He noted the significance of the statements of the Polish comrades, made at the Moscow meeting in December 1980, that the Polish People's Republic has been, is, and will remain socialist.

As the 26th congress of the CPSU and the recent congresses of the Bulgarian and Czechoslovak communists, our party's highest forum strongly emphasized that the most important thing was to preserve and consolidate peace. This was the keynote of all the speeches at the congress and all the documents adopted by it.

Imperialism's accentuated course toward confrontation was analyzed with concern. It was pointed out that imperialism was looking for a way out of its rapidly exacerbating internal crisis by means of an aggressive and expansionist foreign policy. It refuses to reconcile itself to its major setbacks of the 1970s and is therefore engaging in a mad arms race that is increasing the threat to peace, and seeking military superiority and hegemony. It plans to impose an exhausting arms race on socialism and thereby "roll back" the forces of social progress and national liberation. The USA's crude pressure on NATO's European member-states with the aim of deploying medium-range nuclear missiles on their territory lays bare its readiness to plunge Europe into a nuclear catastrophe in such a way as to let itself escape destruction.

Imperialism's most aggressive forces are determined more than ever-before to form a worldwide anti-socialist front composed of the USA, Western Europe, Japan, China, and developing nations ruled by reactionary regimes. In order to prevent socialism from demonstrating its social superiority in the 1980s, international imperialism is mobilizing its available potentialities and fears the impending changes in the world balance of strength. Relative to the socialist countries it is conducting — more openly in some cases, and in more camouflaged form in others — a differentiated policy, subversion, and boycotts; the purpose of this policy is to weaken the growing effectiveness of their interaction in the building of socialism and communism. Capitalism's agents are sparing no effort in order to shake the natural alliance of existing socialism with the national liberation movement, for our class adversary is well aware of the strength of this alliance. He is apprehensive of the fact that the national and social liberation revolutions continue to advance, while the decline in the camp of imperialism is being accelerated by objective internal contradictions.

The 10th congress of the SUPG noted that the intertwining of the general and cyclical crises has violently shaken the capitalist system and was the starting point of a new stage of its general crisis, the indications of which merit a substantive analysis. In this lie the socio-economic and political motivations of imperialism's course toward confrontation. This policy is imperilling humankind's very existence. As the recent congresses of other fraternal parties, our forum stressed the enormous danger of this policy. At the same time, it showed convincingly that this policy could be firmly rebuffed.

The peoples want peace and are more and more strongly protesting against this game with fire. In the 1980s, existing socialism is coming forward with a better balance sheet than imperialism — this is reaffirmed also by the documents of the SUPG congress. On our side there are stable rates of economic growth, social progress and confidence, and the increasingly more productive cooperation among fraternal socialist countries. On the other side there are a negative growth, the shrinking of social gains, mass unemployment, galloping inflation, monetary crises, and the steadily aggravating economic war between the leading imperialist powers. The delegates and foreign guests noted that social practice, notably the experience of the GDR, was eloquently bearing out the prevision of the founders of Marxism-Leninism that socialism is the only system that can quickly resolve the housing problem as a social issue. True, capitalism still has considerable resources, but the reckless drive for profits only intensifies the already calamitous housing situation and other social problems.

The total switch to intensification of the economy of the socialist-community states greatly strengthens that community's economic and social credibility. There is no doubt that, in turn, these successes will give a further impetus to the movement of peoples for national and social emancipation, to the joint struggle of the three main revolutionary currents of our times, to the united anti-imperialist front of the forces of peace. Our community is armed with the peace proposals of the 26th congress of the CPSU, which are a realistic program enunciating the hopes of all peoples. The SUPG wholeheartedly subscribes to this program. The forces of peace may rest assured that the GDR will always be their bulwark and militant ally. Moreover, we link a constructive attitude to peace initiatives with the need to safeguard the socialist gains and peaceful life of our citizens.

The striving for peace also determines the GDR's policy toward the FRG. We want normal, mutually beneficial relations and peaceful co-existence with the capitalist German state. As for the FRG, the words and actions of its official representatives give a contradictory impression. "In the relations between the two German states," Erich Honecker said at the congress, "it is not a matter of proclaiming battered all-Germany slogans and not of evading in political discussion the fact of the existence of two German states, which have long ago proved to each other their independence under inter-

national law. To draw in political practice the necessary conclusions from this and get the FRG to stop speaking on behalf of 'all Germans' accord with the national interests not only of the GDR but also of the FRG."⁵

The overall situation in the world affects the relations between the two German states. However, they can, in their turn, beneficially influence the international climate. Most importantly, this concerns arms limitations and disarmament.

The 10th congress of the SUPG strikingly demonstrated the unity and cohesion of our Marxist-Leninist party, formed 35 years ago as a result of the merging of the CPG and the SDPG. It showed the unshakable fidelity of the GDR communists to the ideals and principles of our scientific worldview. The SUPG's experience of militancy has confirmed that on German soil, too, the working class can fulfil its historic mission only under the leadership of the party, which clearly sees the aims of the struggle and is united and closely linked with the masses.

Through the general line elaborated by the 8th congress, our party raised the Leninist policy of broad and firm links with the masses to a new, qualitatively higher stage. An expression of this and evidence of the maturity and tempering of the communists were seen also in the speeches of the delegates at the 10th congress. These were permeated with communist commitment, revolutionary purposefulness, and a spirit of scholarliness and devotion to the people. Our party's congress became a forum of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity with peace fighters, of progress and independence. The greetings from foreign delegations at the congress and at rallies were an eloquent example of sharing the experience of the international class struggle. They showed the determination of communist and workers' parties to set an example in the movement for peace and disarmament, in the movement for a happy joint life for all peoples.

The 10th congress of the SUPG gave further convincing evidence of the exorably growing superiority of socialist society, a society of real humanism in our epoch.

1. The content of the main aim of the SUPG's policy is discussed below. — Ed.

2. Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED, Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker, Berlin, 1981, p. 47.

3. Ibid., p. 48.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 27.

ISRAEL

PAVING THE WAY TO EQUALITY AND PROGRESS

Tawfiq Toubi

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Ever since the State of Israel was founded our party has been consistently in opposition to the policy of aggression pursued by its Zionist rulers. While talking demagogically about their "desire for peace" they are preventing peace between the Israeli people and the neighboring Arab peoples, pursuing a pro-imperialist policy against the Arab national liberation movement, and trampling the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

"The Communist Party of Israel," say the theses for the 19th CPI congress (February 11-14, 1981), "reaffirms the evaluations and positions evolved by its previous congresses with regard to Zionist ideology and practices. These express capitalist interests and are in conflict with the interests of the working class, of the masses. The Zionist ruling circles are preventing the State of Israel's integration into the region's community of nations as an equal member and the attainment of a just and durable peace with the Arab countries. They are endangering Israel's future. The all-pervasive crisis is a result of this policy, whose hallmarks are chauvinism, aggression, and service to extremist imperialist circles on the international scene."

The 19th CPI congress was held at a time when it had finally become clear that the Camp David agreements and the "autonomy plan" for the occupied Palestinian territories, both of which were sponsored by U.S. imperialism, had distanced the Middle East from any immediate prospect for genuine and all-inclusive peace. As predicted by the Israeli communists, these deals have proven to be a military alliance between the reactionary pro-imperialist ruling circles of Israel and Egypt under U.S. aegis. They are a new formula for perpetuating the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip by Israel with Sadat's consent. The total failure and bankruptcy of the Camp David agreements, coupled with the extremist, adventurist policy of the Begin government, have brought the Middle East nearer to a new explosion. The "peace" of Begin and Sadat has proven to be as much of a fata morgana as that new-old formula, the "Jordan option,"¹ promoted by Peres, leader of the Labor Party, which calls the tune in the Maarah alignment.²

The struggle for peace in the Middle East was

in the focus of the congress. The report presented by General Secretary Meir Vilner, the debate, and the resolutions expressed support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people against the occupation, for self-determination and the formation of their own state. The delegates identified themselves with the population of the occupied territories in their mass actions against land expropriation and colonization and against harassment and terroristic measures.

Meir Vilner presented the CPI peace plan, which the congress unanimously approved. It coincides essentially with the peace plan put forward by the 18th congress (December 1976).³ But it emphasizes the need to renounce the Camp David accords, which disregard the Palestinian Arab people's right to self-determination and to the formation of a sovereign state and remove the settlement of the Middle East crisis from the framework of the UN and of international détente. An international conference on peace in the Middle East should be convened under the auspices of the UN and on the basis of UN resolutions, with the participation of the Soviet Union, the USA, and other interested states, of all the parties involved in the conflict, including the sole representatives of the Palestinian Arab people, the PLO.

It was therefore natural that the work of the 19th congress and its resolutions on the question of war and peace drew the attention and support of the patriotic forces of the Palestinian people and their national liberation movement. At a meeting with the CPI delegation led by Meir Vilner, the PLO delegation to the 26th congress of the CPSU led by Farouq Qaddoumi expressed support for the resolutions of the Israeli communists' highest forum. This was very important. It proved again what the CPI had always stressed, that it is possible to establish a just and lasting peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors and between the people of Israel and the Palestinian people. This possibility can be realized if the Israeli ruling circles renounce their annexationist designs against the Palestinian people and recognize the Palestinians' legitimate right to self-determination and the formation of an independent state.

In the period between the 18th and 19th congresses the economic situation in Israel deteriorated, so much so that a serious crisis developed. The Likud⁴ government, which came to power in 1977 as a direct representative of capital, added to the deformations of the Israeli economy, extended its militarization, raised military spending to a level unknown before, and made the country more dependent

than ever on the USA. That was a period of unprecedented capitalist profits while the social rights and interests of the working class and middle strata were severely damaged.

The inflation rate goes on spiralling; it climbed from 38 per cent in 1976 to 133 per cent in 1980, a world record. In the same years, prices registered a 12-fold increase. The foreign debt reached \$20 billion, an astronomical figure for a country of 3,500,000 people. At the end of 1980, the internal debt was close to \$70 billion, consumption of necessities decreased and social services were pared down. In 1980 real wages fell by 9 per cent and 75,000 were unemployed.

The CC report to the 19th congress pointed out that "the main reason for high rates of inflation, the highest in the world, is the military expenditure including expenditure for colonization in the occupied territories." Military spending, which accounts for 66 per cent of Israel's budget, amounts to nearly \$16 billion. In an effort to curb inflation, Likud and Maarah economists demagogically propose classical bourgeois remedies, such as cutting social services, abolishing more jobs, increasing unemployment, and reducing public consumption. They all avoid pointing to the real causes of the ailment.

The 19th CPI congress gave the working people a realistic plan for ending the economic and social crisis. The plan provides, first of all, for a drastic cut in the military budget that should come in the wake of a policy renouncing occupation and colonization, discontinuing intervention in Lebanon, and increasing state investments in basic industries. Further, it proposes nationalizing the banks, insurance companies and foreign trade, taxing capital profits (profits from stock-exchange deals are tax-exempt) and reducing the taxes on wages and salaries. While saying that real wages must be safeguarded and raised, it calls for larger subsidies for essential commodities and services and larger state allocations to cover the expenses for education, health care, welfare and other social services. Plan priorities include housing programs for newlyweds and large families, state-subsidized institutions for elderly people and children, and full employment. The congress called on all party organizations to bring this plan for economic and social recovery home to the working people at places of work and residence.

The congress pointed out with deep concern that the assumption of power by the rightist government had aggravated the danger of fascism. The continuing occupation of Arab territories is a standing threat to democracy from

fascist forces. This threat finds expression in anti-democratic laws affecting freedom of speech and organization as well as in the activities of various fascist alignments that have grown up within the regime. These organizations, particularly the paramilitary organization of the colonialist Gush Emunin movement operating in the occupied areas, are a grave menace to the whole of Israeli society.

The congress adopted a resolution calling on all democrats, irrespective of political and ideological persuasions, to join forces in order to bring down the Likud government⁵ and block the path to the sinister fascist forces of reaction and chauvinism.

The fascist danger and the threat to democracy are also reflected in the stepped-up anti-democratic, racist measures against the Arab population. The laws and measures aimed at wider expropriation of Arab-owned land, such as the draconic law on the confiscation of land owned by the Arab bedouin population of the Negev or the setting up of paramilitary outposts in Galilea are cases in point. The ban on the National Conference of the Arab Population that was to take place on December 6, 1980 with the participation of Jewish democratic forces, was condemned by a large section of the Israeli public as an anti-democratic, racist step. The government invoked the Colonial Defense Regulations of 1945 to impose the ban. A reminder of the need for greater vigilance was the massacre of Arab students by fascist thugs in the dormitories of the Haifa Technical Institute on the night before the congress was to be opened.

The congress strongly condemned the anti-Arab measures instituted by the Israeli authorities. It appealed to the democratic forces of Israel to protest against and resist the racist and chauvinist discrimination toward Arabs, and urged the Arab population to rally more closely around its tested leader, the CPI, and in cooperation and joint struggle with the Jewish democratic forces to safeguard Arab equality, contribute to the political struggle unfolding in Israel, and support action at the local, regional and global level for peace, equality, democracy and social progress.

The pre-congress theses, the CC report, and the debate at congress directed the party's attention to the burning issue of discrimination against the Oriental communities among the Jewish population.⁶ While poverty spreads on account of Israeli society's class character, the overwhelming majority of the poor in Israel are to be found in the Oriental communities, which in terms of numerical strength add up to more than half of the Jewish population. This in itself

reflects the seriousness of the problem of communal discrimination. The disillusionment of these people with the rule of the Maarah and then the Likud, and their growing realization of the fact that their real enemies are the capitalists and monopolies and the government representing the latter, help them get rid of nationalist and chauvinist influences. The Black Panthers organization, our ally in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, is helping to awaken the democratic and class consciousness of a section of the Oriental Jewish communities.

The 19th congress stressed that party organizations and members should pay more attention to the problems of communal discrimination and to mass work in poor neighborhoods.

The congress discussed the experience of party work in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. "Developments have shown," the CC report said, "that the 18th congress had acted very correctly in proposing the formation of the Democratic Front . . . The Front has demonstrated its significance." A resolution was passed to campaign in the elections to the Histadrut (Federation of Trade Unions)⁷ and the Knesset (June 30, 1981) within the framework of the DFPE.

In an appeal to the electorate the congress pointed out that the reactionary Likud government had dragged the country deeper into the mire of economic and social crisis, brought on the danger of new social explosions in the region and of fascism dominating the political and public life, and aggravated Israel's isolation on the international scene. As for the Maarah alignment with its dominant component the Labor Party, it had learned nothing in the 29 years of its rule, which had produced catastrophic wars and paved the road to power for the Begin government. The Maarah with its unchanged policy offers the country no real alternative ensuring peace, democracy, equality and social progress. The balance of political forces can be changed in favor of a real alternative, the congress appeal said, only by strengthening the Democratic Front.

"Our Party," say the theses, which were approved as a congress resolution, "has always been faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and will continue to act in accordance with them. In this way we ensure the character of the CPI as a patriotic party of Israel, as a party of proletarian internationalism. In this way we effectively champion the interests of the working class and people of Israel, Jews and Arabs alike, the real interests of both peoples of this country, the Israeli and the

Palestinian Arab peoples, as well as the general interests of peace and social progress in the world."

On the question of the virulent, trouble-making anti-Soviet propaganda campaign conducted by the Israeli government and international Zionism in our country and worldwide, the congress stressed that it was expressive of the hostility of the capitalist monopolies for socialism and their fear of the spread of socialist ideas. The anti-Sovietism of Israel's rulers and the Zionist leadership is intensifying as the Soviet Union pursues a policy of peace, champions the rights of peoples, opposes the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, and supports the demand for the formation of an independent Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel.

The congress reiterated that it was a task of the party membership to expose the provocative character of the anti-Soviet propaganda campaign and give the people a true picture of the socialist system in the Soviet Union and make it clear that the USSR was pursuing a policy of peace. This is not only an internationalist task but a patriotic one as well; it has to be accomplished if Israel's pro-imperialist reactionary policy is to be replaced with a policy of peace and national independence. The congress took a resolute stand against the sustained efforts of anti-Soviet reactionaries to undermine the relations of friendship and mutual solidarity between our party and the CPSU and called for the consolidation of these relations in the interests of the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, progress and socialism. The communists of Israel have always considered the attitude toward the Soviet Union and the CPSU an important criterion of loyalty to the cause of socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle.

The congress stated with concern that even after Mao Tse-tung's death the Chinese leaders were clinging to a nationalist, hegemonist, anti-Soviet policy. Peking's foreign policy has undergone a further degradation, becoming increasingly outspoken in seeking a strategic alliance with imperialism against the Soviet Union. An indication of the alignment of this policy with U.S. imperialism's strategic plans is its support for the Camp David U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian deal, whose main aim is to form an aggressive military bloc against the national liberation movement in the region and against the Soviet Union.

The 19th congress instructed the CPI Central Committee to continue developing fraternal relations with all communist and workers' parties and contributing to closer unity in the

world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It stressed that the deterioration of the international situation, the threat to détente presented by U.S. imperialism and its agents, and the escalation of the arms race by the more aggressive forces in Washington and NATO require maximum unity and vigilance on the part of the world communist movement.

The fact that the congress was attended by delegations from 20 fraternal parties as well as by a delegation from *World Marxist Review* symbolized solidarity with the CPI. This solidarity is a powerful source of strength in our party's struggle. Over 40 parties and organizations sent the congress messages of greetings. The CPI, for its part, reaffirmed its unshakable loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The 19th congress lasted four days. Its sittings were open to the public and the press. It was attended by democratic leaders, representatives of working people, mass organizations, and the Democratic Front, mayors and members of municipal and local councils. The Mayor of Haifa, where the congress was held, was present at the opening of the congress. The congress responded warmly to greetings from workplaces, poor neighborhoods, universities, schools, democratic organizations and sport societies. These messages were evidence of the party's durable links with the masses.

Strengthening these links, reinforcing the party, and increasing the circulation of its press were the main tasks in party building discussed by the congress. In the past four years the party membership has grown by 25 per cent. The task is to persevere in enlisting more members in order to strengthen the party's positions among the working class. In spite of the objective conditions prevailing in our country (the historical background of the formation of the Israeli working class, the deep-rooted influence of Zionist ideology, the negative impact of the Israeli-Arab conflict on the class struggle, and the workers' class consciousness), party organizations have ample opportunities to build up their influence among the working class. The task of reinforcing the party, the congress stressed, is closely linked with steps to make party organizations more effective in workplaces and poor neighborhoods. Ideological and political struggle is a primary condition for accomplishing that task. This also makes it necessary to raise the ideological, political and organizational level of leadership in party branches.

The inspiring internationalist unity of Jewish and Arab communists on the basis of a common program and the lofty ideals of Marxism-Lenin-

ism is living proof that it is indeed possible to end enmity, hatred and bloodshed, and to build a future of peace, mutual respect and progress. The way to this future was shown to the people of Israel by the 19th congress of the Communist Party of Israel.

1. Aimed at deciding the destiny of the occupied Palestinian territories behind the back of the population by entering into an agreement with the monarchic regime in Jordan — Ed.

2. It comprises the Israel Labor Party and the United Workers' Party. — Ed.

3. Meir Vilner, "Peace in the Middle East: A Sheet Anchor for Israel," *WMR*, April 1977. — Ed.

4. A bloc comprising the Herut and Liberal parties, the State List (Official Labor Movement), Laam (Movement for a Greater Israel), and other rightist parties and groups. — Ed.

5. A mid-term general election was scheduled in Israel for late June — Ed.

6. Jewish immigrants from Asia and Africa. — Ed.

7. In the Histadrut elections on April 7, 1981 the Democratic Front list was the only one to poll a larger vote (in terms of total and percentage) compared with the previous elections. — Ed.

PHILIPPINES

THE ANSWER TO "DIVIDE AND RULE"

Felicitimo Macapagal

General Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Philippines

For a communist party, the attainment of political and ideological maturity is a long and arduous process. It involves learning from past experience, as well as from the experience of fraternal parties. For the Communist Party of the Philippines a milestone on this road was the 8th congress held at the close of last year. The special significance of this congress was that it took place shortly after the CPP celebrated its 50th anniversary.

Despite the difficult conditions under which the party functions, it was able to involve its entire membership in the discussion of all the documents and proposals submitted to the congress, notably the political resolution and amendments to the party program and constitution. In the CC report, delivered by the General Secretary, lessons were drawn from our victories and failures and an analysis was made of the party's strengths and weaknesses in its 50 years of revolutionary struggle. It was emphasized that even under the most critical circumstances the party never wavered in its adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

For the Philippine communists the 1980s promise to be a period of difficult struggle. The 8th congress formulated the tasks confronting

the party, thereby initiating a new stage of its political and organizational work.

Unrealistic and desperate in the face of the deepening crisis of capitalism and the growing frustrations and discontent of widening sections of the population, the most reactionary imperialist circles, the political resolution states, are blind to the realities of the international situation and cling to the hope that by dramatically increasing military expenditures they can achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and other socialist-community nations, which will enable them to deal with the latter and their allies the world over from "positions of strength." U.S. imperialism has chosen to shift to direct military intervention as an instrument of national policy to guarantee access to, if not control over, strategic areas.

With capitalism held in the vice of a general crisis, the political resolution says, the transnational corporations are resorting to new methods of neocolonial exploitation. Faced with dwindling raw material reserves, an energy shortage, high labor costs and ecological problems, they are relocating their manufacturing facilities in developing nations. These nations are thereby being turned into industrial neocolonies producing machine components, spare parts and labor-intensive finished products on a sub-contracting basis, with the result that in order to build the infrastructure now needed by the transnationals, they are finding themselves saddled with a growing foreign debt.

The movement for a new international economic order is a response to the intensifying exploitation by the imperialist powers and their transnationals. However, despite many years of advocacy, this movement is very slow in coming to reality and its momentum for advancement is very weak compared to the strength of the enemy. One of the reasons for this is that many newly-free countries professing to adhere to the movement continue to be confused by imperialist and Chinese propaganda aimed at blunting its anti-imperialist thrust. Precisely this is its aim in lumping together the major imperialist powers and advanced socialist states under the same category of "developed industrial countries" and labeling the Soviet Union and the USA as "superpowers."

In characterizing China's foreign policy, the political resolution notes that the aim of the Chinese leaders is to provoke a confrontation between the NATO powers, plus Japan, and the Warsaw Pact countries, particularly between the Soviet Union and the USA. They are supporting U.S.-Japanese military collabora-

tion in Asia and the Western Pacific, pushing to turn this alliance into a semblance of an Eastern NATO. They see this as a means of achieving their own aim of expansion in Southeast Asia.

While the Indochinese peoples were still fighting U.S. aggression, the Maoist leaders of China, already motivated by hegemonistic and expansionist aims, sought to dominate their liberation movement. This objective was attained in Kampuchea, where the leadership of the national liberation movement was taken over by a group of unprincipled politicians headed by Pol Pot. However, when they failed to achieve the same results in Vietnam and Laos, the Maoists began to collude with imperialist powers, particularly with the USA and Japan, who despite their economic rivalry, are in close collaboration in the region. China encourages the USA to continue its military presence in Southeast Asia. For its part, Washington is pressuring Japan to take a more active military role. The USA is prodding the ASEAN nations to coordinate their military and security programs and actions directed against the states of Indochina and against the national liberation movements.

Changes have also taken place in the foreign policy of the Philippines under concerted pressure from the informal but actually existing U.S.-Chinese-Japanese alliance and under the impact of the revived cold war atmosphere. The Philippine government's recent course toward consolidating independence has now been reversed. This is seen most strikingly in the amendments to the agreement on U.S. military bases adopted under pressure from the USA and China. The USA has been given the opportunity to use its bases in the Philippines for intervention in Iran and Afghanistan. The Philippine government has adopted a pro-imperialist stand relative to, for example, Kampuchea, and all this with rhetoric about a "Soviet menace" and "danger from Hanoi." The USA is using the same pretext to increase its arms deliveries to Thailand which, in accordance with the imperialist theory of "falling dominoes" is to be the next "domino."

At present Thailand is the focus of U.S. and Chinese maneuvers and action. Both are using that country as a base for weapons, munitions, food and medicines for Kampuchean counter-revolutionary factions. Both are attempting to unite these groups or at least coordinate their subversive actions against the lawful government of Kampuchea. The ultimate target is Vietnam. The USA wants to destabilize the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as an outpost of existing socialism in Southeast Asia. China is pushing toward that aim even more strongly.

The USA and China are propelling Thailand to provoke war with Vietnam and involve other ASEAN countries on their side.

In its analysis of the internal situation in the Philippines, the congress noted that on one extreme there are the handful of fabulously rich foreign and local monopoly capitalists, and on the other end, the impoverished millions, consisting of workers, peasants, upland farmers, unemployed and déclassé elements. In between there is a narrow group of small and medium property owners, independent operators, intellectuals, professionals and well-paid workers.

The big domestic capitalists have extensive interlocking interests with foreign monopolists, principally through joint-venture and licensing agreements. However, as junior partners of foreign capitalists some of them come into conflict with their partners, especially in the area of technology control and foreign trade.

Small and medium industrialists, as well as big capitalists not linked to foreign monopoly capital, have objective interests in the anti-imperialist struggle or at least in a movement for the country's economic independence.

Feudal practices are vanishing in the countryside on account of the agrarian reforms and the powerful impact of capitalist growth. The biggest landlords today are engaged in agrobusiness and corporate farming. Now partners of foreign agrobusiness interests, they tend to be pro-imperialist.

The working class, the leading and most consistent force against all forms of exploitation and oppression, is now also the most numerous social group. It consists of industrial workers, service workers and the growing army of agricultural workers, made up of permanent and seasonal wage earners. All these sections have a vast revolutionary potential and the highest stakes in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The peasantry is undergoing a process of rapid class differentiation, due primarily to capitalist development in rural areas. Most have insufficient land and capital and are exploited by monopoly capital, which controls the price of their produce as well as the farm inputs they have to buy. The worst off are the lessees and tenants, who have to pay a rental or share a certain amount of their produce with the absentee landowners.

The petty bourgeoisie are increasing being drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle, as a direct consequence of the price squeeze and other economic hardship brought by the invasion of foreign capital. Quick to react to injustice, they have the potential of becoming allies

of the working class in the struggle for social emancipation. But caught in the middle, they swing from one extreme to another. Constant contact, if not direct involvement, with the organized struggle of the working masses will serve to stabilize them in their revolutionary outlook.

Finally, in both urban and rural areas there is a growing army of unemployed and *déclassé* elements. Two decades of export-oriented industrialization has aggravated rather than reduced the unemployment problem.

The political resolution declares that martial law has strengthened the imperialist hold on the Philippines. The agro-industrial program formulated by the Western-trained technocrats has become the vehicle for the infiltration of foreign monopoly capital into the Philippine economy. The deepening economic crisis that the country is experiencing is directly traceable to its increased dependence on transnational corporations and imperialist financial institutions and constitutes the biggest source of the regime's political instability.

Eight years under martial law have not improved the condition of the working people. Neither has there been an improvement politically, in the sense of meaningful participation of the people in policy-making and implementation of policies. The economic élite has taken over the *barangays* and *samahang nayons*,¹ which were supposed to be the main vehicles for popular participation in running the country. They have been reduced to mere implementing arms of policy emanating from the national government.

The regime's dependence on foreign monopoly capital prevents it from fulfilling the promises it made at its inception. The promise of equalizing or democratizing wealth has remained a rhetorical goal. The neocolonial program inspired by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the transnational monopolies has tended to magnify social inequities, as the fruits of expanded production hardly trickled down to the masses. Even the land reform, so-called "cornerstone of the New Society,"² has benefited only a limited section of the peasantry.

In the Philippines the struggle for the people's genuine interests is hindered by the low level of organization and political consciousness of the majority of the working people. Less than 10 per cent of the 8 million wage workers are effectively unionized, while only less than 5 per cent of the peasants and landless rural poor are organized. People still have an inadequate understanding of the root causes of their poverty and the role imperialism

is playing in perpetuating backwardness. There is, however, a growing number of people who are beginning to realize the need for a radical transformation of the neocolonial system, not just changing the persons at the helm of power.

In order to secure their huge economic interests, keep their military bases, and preserve their political and cultural influence in the government and on the people of the Philippines, the imperialists are continuing the large flow of economic loans and military assistance to the Marcos regime. But they pressured it to hasten the return to "political normalcy" aimed at safeguarding imperialism's hold on our country. What worried them was that under martial law,³ the rules on political succession were not clearly defined, and that should President Marcos have been deposed or become incapacitated for one reason or another there could be unforeseen developments.

However, the USA continues to keep lines of communication open to both the Marcos regime and the anti-Marcos forces. U.S. agents have established contact with known opposition organizations in the Philippines and in the USA, where anti-Marcos groups lobby in the State Department and the Congress and even raise funds and arms to topple the Marcos regime. It is obvious that the imperialists are building up alternative forces — something they failed to do in Iran and Nicaragua. Lately, however, the USA has been giving signals in the form of strident negative reportage that a "civil war" is increasingly becoming imminent in the Philippines as the economic crisis continues to deepen. This may be interpreted to mean that unless the Marcos regime makes the necessary adjustments to remove the sources of political instability the USA may intervene against that regime.

The political resolution dwells at some length on the changes in the alignment of political forces in the country. While opposition groups, motivated by narrow partisan political interests, still concentrate their hostility on the Marcos administration, there is a growing recognition on their part that dependence on imperialism is the root cause of the country's problems. In the Catholic Church growing influence is being gained by elements taking a strong stand against the imperialist stranglehold on the national economy. Increasingly, there is recognition that the problems of the Muslim Filipinos can be solved comprehensively only within the context of national liberation from imperialism, and not through a secessionist movement. Serious internal debates are going on in the Maoist ranks as to the

correctness of principles once held sacrosanct, although Maoist publications, albeit less frequently than in the early 1970s, continue to slander the CPP, its leaders and associated mass organizations. Traditional politicians are also beginning to see the link between the repressive character of the present regime and the imperialist control of the country's political affairs.

The analysis made by the congress clearly indicates that the main contradiction in the Philippines today is still between imperialism and the overwhelming majority of the Filipino people, whose interests are harmed by the continuing imperialist domination and exploitation of the country. It is on this conclusion that the CPP formulates its basic strategy of broad, patriotic anti-imperialist unity and defines its attitude to the government.

When the CPP entered into a political settlement with the government in 1974, it emphasized that it was doing this with the view to pushing economic, social and political reforms in the interests of the working masses. In its relations with the government, the CPP is guided by the following principle: "As it has consistently done since it was founded, the CPP will continue to attack, oppose, expose and condemn every policy or program of governments that, in whatever form of disguise, strengthens the strangulation of the economy by foreign monopoly capital, perpetuates the economic misery of the people, continues to serve imperialist interests, or increases the hardship, oppression and exploitation of the working people." It was added that in the interests of the Filipino people the CPP "will make or break alliance with any political group or government, or will support or oppose any government program."

The CPP has been true to its word. To the CPP the most important thing is whether the government strengthens or loosens the imperialist hold on the country, whether it is broadening or limiting popular participation in the administration of public affairs. During the first five years of martial law, when the

government was just inaugurating the reforms and making dramatic moves to steer domestic and foreign policies away from the traditional American framework, the CPP chose to support the government on the basis of these apparently progressive trends, even while it expressed strong reservations on the government's major economic policies. It offered the government its services in the implementation of such reforms, foremost among them being the agrarian reform and the land resettlement. The government, however, failed to respond to the CPP initiative as well as to its criticism of the reforms. The CPP has, since then, become increasingly outspoken with its criticisms of government policies and actuations that have led to the failure of the reforms, the country's increased dependence on foreign monopoly capital, and the growing dependence of its foreign policy on imperialist powers.

The deep crisis gripping Philippine society requires radical transformations in the direction of anti-imperialism and genuine democracy. These changes cannot be left to a narrow circle of government technocrats nor to a small group of armed revolutionaries, however deeply committed to the cause of the people. The masses must be mobilized to the cause of anti-imperialism. Along this line the CPP seeks frank and constructive dialogue with all patriotic, democratic groups and elements — workers, peasants, landless rural poor, industrialists, intellectuals, youth, women, students, Christians, Muslims, social democrats, national democrats, and patriotic elements in government service, including the armed forces, with all who sincerely seek social changes for the benefit of the masses. To the imperialist policy of "divide and rule" the people must answer with mass unity. It is of utmost importance to expose and remove all the artificial barriers of misunderstanding and hostility engineered by imperialism between and among the democratic sectors of society.

The need of the hour is mass anti-imperialist unity to counter the onslaughts of foreign monopoly capital. We see our role in promoting mass education, mass organization and mass struggle against imperialism and the old and new oligarchy, for peace, détente, genuine political and economic independence, popular democracy and social progress.

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1. Barangays — assemblies of local inhabitants — are the basic politico-administrative units of the present system of administration. Samahang nayons are rural cooperatives set up under the agrarian reform. — E.

2. The name given by President Marcos to Philippine society under martial law. — Ed.

3. It was abolished in early 1981. — Ed.

Maturity of the vanguard

Sergei Tsukasov
WMR Executive Secretary (CPSU)

The powerful strains of the *Internationale* flowed over Revolution Square, over the sea of faces filling it, and the stands by the José Martí monument. The square — over a million men and women — sang with one voice: "We shall build a new world of our own."

Fabio Grobart, a party veteran, and one of those who was elected to the Central Committee by the second congress of the CP Cuba which had then just ended, sang with the rest. After the rally he told me that as he was singing he clearly recalled a different situation, back in 1925.

An ordinary house in the suburbs of old Havana. There were 13 of them in a small room, the first delegates of the Cuban working people, who had come together to set up their own party in the underground, and who were marking its birth also with the strains of the *Internationale*. They sang in hushed voices, almost in whispers: the walls were too thin.

Thirteen — and more than one million.

Whispers — and the voice of the people roaring like the ocean.

A handful of underground workers — and the massive vanguard of the new Cuba, of whom Fidel Castro spoke at the rally so expressively and precisely: a party of communists of a people of communists.

How has so much been done in such a brief historical period? How did the shaping of the party bring out the general, law-governed features in the shaping of the revolutionary vanguard, together with that which is specific to Latin American conditions and conditioned by the peculiarity of development in Cuba? How is this vanguard force being strengthened as it fulfils the difficult role of organizing the advance of the socialist society? Over the past decades, these questions have invariably attracted the attention not only of the communists but also of other participants in democratic, anti-imperialist movements, of all those who are concerned with the problems in building a revolutionary vanguard capable of leading its people's struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, for democracy and socialism.

The best product of the revolution

The second congress of the CP Cuba heard these words: "We can declare with legitimate pride that the party has become even stronger, better organized and more experienced; it enjoys ever deeper and constant respect and affection of the working masses . . . We are the vanguard not because we regard ourselves as such, but because that is how the people regard us."¹

When going over your impressions of a visit to Cuba, that aphoristic thesis helps to understand the whole course of social life in the country. There you will find on every hand evidence of the people's sincere and organic support of the party's policy, its ideas, calls and acts. This support does not come only in words, although the Cubans' emotional nature is frequently manifested in unreserved and ardent expression of their feelings. But what is, of course, even more important is the masses' integration with the party in the active solution of the numerous everyday problems, big and small. That trust has been truly won, not established by fiat.

In the people's consciousness, the party and the revolution are an organic blend. The armed struggle against the dictatorship helped ideologically to unite the revolutionary forces, and this, for its part, prepared their organizational unification, and the establishment of a new type of party. The CP Cuba dates its existence from the battles at Playa Giron, where the counter-revolution was dealt a crushing blow 20 years ago. It is significant that April 16, 1961, when the heroic motto — *Patria o muerte!* — acquired its supreme meaning at the hour of trial, and when Fidel Castro first openly declared that the Cuban revolution was a socialist revolution, has now been proclaimed the birthday of the Communist Party of Cuba. That is when, the Cuban comrades believe, it was finally formed as the vanguard of the fighters for socialism.

The victory of the revolution was won by the armed people led by the July 26 Movement.² A contribution to the struggle was also made by the communists, members of the People's Socialist Party, whose long years of diverse effort promoted the revolutionaries' Marxist-

Leninist education. Recalling the first stage of the struggle, Castro said: "Our revolutionary thinking was then already under the strong influence of Marxism, and that is where everything began." Later, he emphasized this even more strongly: "We would not have accomplished the revolution if in our struggle we had not based ourselves on Marxist-Leninist propositions."³

Preparations for the establishment of a united mass party of the socialist revolution were begun in the spirit of creative Marxism-Leninism, in the light of the concrete conditions which took shape after the victory over the dictatorship, by the July 26 movement, the People's Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate, which formed a united leadership. Before them was the task of realizing in practice Lenin's well-known idea: of the proletariat's "ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of organization" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 7, p. 415).

Subsequent developments showed that the formation of the united vanguard multiplied the forces of the revolution. That is how the stems of the sequoia weave together to form the gigantic tree.

I was told by Cuban comrades that in their experience of shaping the party, two noteworthy features clearly stand out. First, and this is especially characteristic of conditions in Latin America, the establishment of a united revolutionary vanguard involved the drawing together of various historically rooted liberation trends. The unity of the vanguard, forged in the struggle, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology is the main prerequisite and guarantee for the success of the revolution. Second, and this is a universal feature, the united vanguard is successfully fulfilling its historical mission precisely because it has the basic features of the Leninist revolutionary organization, that is, the new type of party.

For years bourgeois propaganda has strained to prove that the revolution in Cuba was "accidental," and that it is "irrelevant" and "unnatural" for the Western hemisphere. But the shaping of its vanguard, for all the peculiar interlacing in it of the general and the specific, on the contrary testifies to the uniformity of what has taken place, and shows that the revolution and the activity of the party it has produced are an embodiment of the people's true will.

In this context, how the party was shaped is also essential. It took shape in conditions when power was already in the hands of the revolutionary, people's forces, but the winning of power, the unity of will "from above" merely

promoted the democratic development of this process, and the party grew "from below." It took shape at the factories and on the plantations, in the work collectives, and its emergence was not smooth but proceeded in a clash of views, a clash which frequently cut across families.

Manuel Sayas, a communist of the 1960s generation, tells this about himself: "I was born into a working-class family, and my father worked at an electric power plant in Havana. He belonged to the workers' élite. He had democratic views, but like many others, he was confused by the anti-communist propaganda.

"That was a period -- I remember from my childhood -- when people preferred to stay at home in the evening, because of the excesses of the police. I witnessed the police shoot a young fellow who had objected to something a policeman had said. My father was worried because I kept tagging along after demonstrations, and he placed me in a private school. But is it possible to hide a man from life?

"I received an incomplete secondary education, and in 1957 became a worker at a U.S.-owned electrical engineering works. It was located in a suburb, and I had to walk six kilometers there and six kilometers back every day, and so had a lot of time to think. Quite naturally my main thoughts were about life at the factory. The 'Workers' University' gradually opened my eyes to its realities, especially since the July 26 Movement operated there clandestinely. Incidentally, my father also joined it, for he believed that it was a national movement, its purpose was to overthrow the dictatorship.

"I welcomed the victory of the revolution as my own; the people were jubilant, and we in the family also. In order to defend our own working-class power, I enrolled in the people's militia. I fought throughout the whole battle at Playa Giron. Soon after, our plant was nationalized. The few remaining capitalists fled from Cuba, and some skilled workers also went away. Everyone had to decide: which side are you on? I faced no such dilemma. I was a member of the workers' commission for nationalization, and went on to continue my studies. I could say that the revolution itself chose my way in life for me, straightened it out and built it up.

"In short, by the mid-1960s I was no longer a greenhorn but knew where I was going. My consciousness was transformed by the working-class environment, by the people's militia, and by my studies: I had gone all the way to the university. I came to realize that my life was closely tied in with the party, and I soon won the trust to become a communist.

Later, although I already had a family and a small daughter, I volunteered with other internationalists to go to help revolutionary Angola, which was defending itself against imperialist intervention. Once again, it turns out that I joined in the fighting — without ever enrolling in the army. I was wounded, and I still carry a bullet in my leg (my doctors do not advise me to have it taken out). I went through a health improvement course, graduated from the university, and was then sent to do party work in the province, to work in the ideological field, at the party committee's revolutionary orientation department. That is all I can say about myself.

"And my father? He was unable to surmount his prejudices. He has long since realized that the truth is on the communists' side, but has not joined the party. He is now an old-age pensioner. But my mother was involved in social work and became a communist, despite her old age."

The biography of Manuel Sayas contains within it all the main social events of the past decade. It helps to understand the kind of human material that went into the making of the party. And if one is to look to the general beyond the particular, one comes to realize that the CP Cuba was shaped as a working-class party, based above all on the working class, with the most scrupulous approach to the selection of cadre.

I had a talk about this at the Havana party committee.

"From the outset," says department head Diógenes Hernández, "the slogan of 'massiveness' included the concept of 'quality.' Social, revolutionary and ideological quality of party cadre. Is that a contradiction? No, but it is a strategy, if you will, with an eye to the future, a task that was hard in those conditions, but necessary."

Hernández also had his revolutionary schooling in the July 26 Movement, and well remembers the early years after the victory:

"Three principles determined admission to the united party, when its first workers' commissions began to operate at the enterprises. Naturally, voluntary membership. Then, consultations with the masses: the commissions held meetings at which workers nominated and discussed the best, most fitting comrades. And finally, verification, scrupulous analysis of the qualities required by the future communist."

"Such a procedure, resting on the Leninist view of the norms of party life," Ángel Zúñiga, the head of another party committee department added, "was designed to set up a truly vanguard party. At the time, I went through

such a commission. It took into account the whole of one's life, especially participation in the revolution, the people's militia and voluntary work. And also ideological orientation, respect for one's comrades, and one's social make-up. When facing the work collective, all of this is fully brought out, and the discussion makes clear the main thing: whether a man has revolutionary spirit, and whether it is expressed in his deeds."

"These principles, which have been tested by historical experience, remain immutable," said Carlos Lozano, a comrade from the committee's organization department. "Take Hernández for instance. He joined the revolution as a worker with two years of schooling, but in a few days time will be defending his candidate's dissertation. The structure of the party organizations is also being flexibly developed and enriched. But these principles of selection for the party are being preserved. One could even say that they have become more stringent: the logic of socialist life requires that in terms of consciousness, sense of responsibility and revolutionary activity a communist should stand above everyone else. Even today, the party continues to grow by drawing in above all the most advanced workers. We involve them in social life, give assignments and induce them to study. But the heart of the admission procedure continues to be discussion of the candidates with the masses, including the non-party people, and verification in action. Once a person has become a candidate for party membership, each has to go through a mandatory course of candidate's training: working in the daytime and studying in the evenings. This applies even to those who join the party through the Young Communist League. This course is the first stage in the ladder along which he has to rise to an understanding of his leading role in the society. We believe that only in the crucible of ideological and political growth and socialist practice is a revolutionary character truly tempered. And what is a communist without such a character?"

The party, having absorbed the best forces of the working class, of all the working people, reached its first congress in 1975 as the recognized leader of socialist construction in Cuba. It got its strength from its organizational maturity, stemming from its definite ideological principles. The congress adopted the program platform and the party rules and asserted the Marxist-Leninist line of its development, raising the authority and the title of communist to an even higher level.

What are the motives for which people join the party today? Here are some lines from a few

applications written with a sense of the responsibility which, in a sense, concentrate the whole of one's life — past, present and future — on the tip of the pen: "The best way to help the revolution is to become a communist;" "I am a worker and cannot conceive of myself outside the party, to be in the party is the trajectory of my life;" "The greatest happiness is to serve the people as a communist, in the party our individualism disappears, and we learn to think collectively." As one reads this, one cannot help recalling that not so long ago the following saying was widespread: a cup of coffee and a cigar is more than a Cuban needs to be happy.

One's first impressions in Cuba are the remarkably bright colors with the prevailing greens and blues, the sharp, tantalizing smells of the Tropics, and the vigorous roar of the ocean. When Columbus first saw the whole splendor of this, he exclaimed: "This is the most beautiful land which man has ever set eyes on!" The Cubans will make a point of recalling this with a sense of pride, which nurtures their love for their free homeland. That is why I felt how significant were these words of a simple peasant who said that the party of communists was "the salt of our earth."

At the second congress of the party, this idea was expressed in a clear-cut political formula: "The best thing that the Revolution has created."

The facts testify:

— Over the past five years (1975-1980), the membership of the CP Cuba increased from 211,642 to 434,143, that is it doubled.

— Over the five years, the number of party members from among those working directly in production and in the services increased by over 190 per cent. The total number of communists connected with these spheres and with public education already comes to 62.8 per cent, with industrial workers making up 48.1 per cent.

— In the past three years alone, primary party organizations were set up at another 3,195 units, including 2,222 collectives engaged in material production.

The ideological crucible

In the former Presidential Palace, the cold marble of the main stairway is chipped with bullets. They are the marks of a bold attack launched two years before the victory by young Cuban patriots in the hope of putting an end to the hated dictatorship at one stroke, and they have been left there for a good reason: this is now the Museum of the Revolution.

Among the many unique exhibits my attention was attracted by a modest photograph: under the thick spread of trees stands a light wooden barn, with people seated at crudely fashioned tables, and although the photograph is slightly blurred and out of focus, one can distinguish books alongside the submachine guns and rifles.

"A political school in the mountains of Sierra Maestra," the guide explains. "That is how our ideological strength was first tempered at the very height of the fighting."

The revolution of itself always accelerates the masses' understanding of social phenomena. But the revolutionary vanguard cannot be satisfied with the ideological tempering which occurs spontaneously. The party, growing as it does from the grass roots, and being replenished above all by workers and peasants, can be a real leader of the masses only if it is more far-sighted, if it has more knowledge, and a better understanding of the ways of social progress than everyone else. This uniformity underlying the development of this type of party explains why so much importance is attached to the communists' theoretical and ideological training even while the vanguard is taking shape. In Cuba, this process had the peculiar aspect that literacy was low and most workers and peasants had no education at all. That is why from the outset the party concentrated on ideological education, on the communists' Marxist-Leninist seasoning on the basis of their general education, in which they were also to set an example to the whole people.

"You will recall that Lenin said that the party was a big school: a primary, secondary and higher school simultaneously. This applies to our work literally, one could say," said Antonio Diaz, head of the Central Committee department which guides the communists' studies. "That is precisely the kind of three-stage system we now have."

I asked for more details, and we went through the stages from top to bottom in the spiritual growth of those who, having completed their candidate's training, joined the ranks of the party.

In the primary organizations, all the communists are enrolled in circles of political education. Here, the emphasis is on an in-depth understanding of the party's policy, the concrete aspects of the socialist transformations in the country, and the practice of party construction. Diaz showed me some attractive booklets on these subjects bearing the open-volume emblem of *Educacion politica* (EP), and explains: "This is a highly popular series designed

for politico-education circles. Some are issued in printings of up to 5 million copies, so that they are read by virtually the whole nation. This is a highly effective form of party information. Through this channel is spread the knowledge which helps each Cuban to be a politician. For the members of the circles our editions are an important aid along the path leading, as Lenin said, to the durable, profound, extensive, and solid results of the elementary school."

The next stage consists of centers for raising the political and ideological level which are set up in every municipal area and are also designed for all party members. Studies are held twice a week, after working hours, and include the study of the basics of philosophy and political economy, contemporary political and ideological problems and party documents. Many such centers are located in general education schools, and parents often go on "academic shifts" after their sons and daughters.

Finally comes the highest stage, the party school in the center and in the provinces, where studies are either full time or by correspondence. Nearly two-thirds of the basic party cadre have received diplomas certifying to graduation from these schools.

"This integral and coherent system of Marxist-Leninist studies," Antonio Diaz summed up, "covers the whole party and helps every communist to develop new qualities in himself. The kind of qualities that are necessary not just to gain a reputation in one's work collective as someone who is conscious, but as someone who is able to pass on his knowledge to others and actively to develop class thinking among all the working people."

It was possible to establish this system only on the basis of a general education campaign on a scale unprecedented in history. For the communists it became an endeavor for the whole party: the second congress formulated and substantiated the requirement addressed to each of them: to obtain a nine-year education, as a minimum.

I was told that things are not all smooth, that there are various problems with education. Every two months the party organizations discuss the progress in the field of studies by way of information, analysis and control.

The communists' ideological strength is again and again verified, polished and tempered in numerous political and economic campaigns. And this is especially true of events when the vanguard has to display clarity of thinking and precision of action, when the situation needs to be correctly assessed and

explained to the masses, who then have to be convinced that the decisions are correct. Let us recall one such event: the departure in the spring of last year of a large group of emigrés from Cuba.

On 5th Avenida in Havana, someone is sure to point out the house behind a green fence where the Peruvian embassy was but recently located: that is where it began... "Indeed, that is the courtyard where a meeting was held by those who either had complaints about the socialist system or were simply duped by promises from the 'paradise of individualism' just across the water, as the United States advertises itself. The embassy has now moved elsewhere, and the building is to be a museum to preserve the memory of the events which the Cubans have concisely and clearly labelled "scum clearance." Many photographs have already been collected for the future exposition. Here are the tense faces of some fugitives peering over the top of the fence. Here are the first-aid posts mounted for the fugitives, and the milk brought for their children — evidence of the genuine humanism of the people's authorities. And here is the endless massive march along 5th Avenida and the streets of other cities — raised fists, streamers and slogans: the renegades were truly confronted by the whole people.

"Every revolution, like a turbulent torrent, carries social scum on its surface; the new society gets rid of it in one way or another," various Cubans told me. "We went through this kind of scum clearance after Playa Giron, which designated the country's socialist line, and to an even greater extent a year ago, when it became clear to everyone that this line was irreversible."

Cuba magnanimously allowed these demoralized people to leave, to go back into the past for which they yearned, and the people understood this correctly thanks to the work of all — it is no exaggeration to say — communists in the masses. This was a matter not only of rebuffing the imperialist schemes and the "dissidents" as the bourgeois press called these declassed elements. A rebuff was given to parasitism, money-grubbing, indiscipline, carelessness and other negative phenomena which now and again conflict in life with the communist morality — and in historical terms this was perhaps even more important. "Cuba's air has become cleaner, we have become more united and stronger. And we now know ourselves better!" the Cubans declare.

The communists' deep-seated convictions and their militancy, together with their ability to lead the masses in complicated political cir-

cumstances and acute ideological clashes certainly show how the revolutionary vanguard has succeeded in theoretically arming and tempering itself.

The facts testify:

— Over the past five years, 24,512 communists have graduated from party schools, and over 81,000 have completed courses for the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory at centers for raising the political and ideological level.

— In 1975, 60.3 per cent of members and candidates for party membership had only a primary education; today 80.7 per cent of the communists have an education of eight and more years; 75.5 per cent of party workers — as compared with 16 per cent five years ago — have completed their secondary education as a minimum.

— In that same period, over 970 new schools have been built for over 550,000 students, nearly 100,000 teachers and 23,500 higher school lecturers have been trained.

Not a privilege but a duty

The vanguard, like the whole of the society, develops by acquiring new features and new qualities. At the second congress of the CP Cuba many speakers emphasized that the party's maturity makes the positions of socialism in the country especially solid. What does this mean? Of course, maturity is measured not only in terms of historical period of development or experience and traditions. It is not equivalent to the number of party members: after all, even a large army can be weak, without clearcut reference points, and with a low morale. Even the fact that the party has taken power and is leading the building of a new society, a fact which is in itself more than significant, even that fact in a sense no more than sets this task before the party: to justify daily the people's hopes and trust. If the status of vanguard is not decreed but has to be won, it is not won once and for all. A closer look at the party organizations makes the concept of "maturity" quite concrete, being derived not from speculative thinking but from the facts of life, from observation and comparisons.

Some say that time tends to dampen enthusiasm. This may be so, when it comes to a period of stagnation and self-complacency, but an advancing revolution opens up new horizons and fills the masses with fresh energy. The Cuban communists — and millions of working people with them — display revolutionary enthusiasm even in the most humdrum spheres.

In the port of Havana, worker Esequiel Rodriguez, secretary of the party organization of

Sierra Maestra berth, says that their collective holds the national record for unloading ships. The will to shock work here is called the "living fire of the revolution." He himself has been working here for 30 years, and knows very well that in the old days this kind of attitude was simply inconceivable. Who lit this "fire"? Over the past five years, the number of communist workers on the berth doubled, and it is they who undertook to upset the old norms and involved the teams in emulation. The management of the berth consists of non-party people, but they too were caught up in the enthusiasm.

At the satellite tracking station — Cuba is now also in the forefront of big-league science — I spoke with Juan José Maya, an engineer and a party activist: "To say that we are proud of our cosmic work is to say very little. We are even prouder of the fact that it has become an asset of a once backward country. Look at our radio-telescope: it towers as the symbol of the new era in Cuba. It was not easy to master the highly sophisticated equipment. Everyone had to display perseverance and a sense of responsibility, and this was especially true of party members: at that time, we were only a handful in the collective, but now one in three is either a communist or a young communist. We worked and studied, mastering the new equipment, and extending our ideological horizon; I myself, to cite one example, obtained a higher education and became an engineer right here. Many cosmonauts have conveyed their thanks for the high standard of services our station has provided. Our collective regards the cosmonauts as brothers in labor and, one could say, that this feeling is even a mutual one: when the first Cuban cosmonaut Arnaldo Tamayo came to visit the station, he addressed us, as if embracing all of us at once, in these words: "Thank you, dear brothers and sisters!"

These may be the most common facts, but their strength lies in their covering diverse spheres and permeating the very body of the people's life. The party sees to it that the initiative of the masses is stimulated by every means. How is this done?

The fields of the April 19 State Farm at Quivican present a spectrum of greens of every shade: it grows more than 60 kinds of crops: vegetables, and citrus and other fruits. In the midst of this luxuriant growth, stands the central estate: rose-colored, airy, toy-like administrative buildings. Standing close to one another they remind one of a train which has rolled under the tall palms. One of these little houses is set aside for the hall of traditions, which

present both the history of the state farm and its present.

On a special board I read the minutes of a recent meeting of the communists; carefully typed out, it is posted up for everyone to know what the party members are doing. The director of the state farm, Augustin Monte de Oca, reported to the meeting on the results of work for the quarter, and his report was followed by speeches by the communists: they analyzed the state of work on the farm, discussed their reserves and potentialities in concrete terms. Quite unexpectedly, the next speaker was Fidel Castro: "I was not aware that you had a meeting today, I happened to be close by and decided to drop in, but I am very happy to be here . . . The whole province is following your work, which is very necessary to everyone, to the people. I am sure that the lands of the farm can produce even more, and I am highly satisfied that the communists have a correct understanding of their responsibility. The party has faith in you!"

This faith has a sound basis to it. When the state farm was set up, it had only 200 hectares under crop, and now — more than 3,000. Crop yields have multiplied thanks to land improvement, the use of new crop strains and modern machinery and techniques. The people's way of life in the whole district has also changed: they now have urban-type homes, schools, polyclinics and shops. Agricultural cooperatives have sprung up alongside the state farm, whose example shows the peasants the advantages of collective labor.

"The communists are the chief force behind our changes," says the farm director. "At first there were only 18 of us, and now we are close to 100. The party organization operates on all five sectors, and a party committee has been set up. This means that the party now has more eyes, hands and brains to tackle the problems of socialist development and to rouse and lead the people."

Nor is this a simple matter in a rural area, among people who were peasants only yesterday. A documentary film about the recent past contained the following episode. The folk-lore type of guajiro, the typical peasant in a straw hat, the freedom-loving, cunning and kindly toiler, replies half-seriously, half-jokingly to a question about his future: "Go on, you fellows, I have no use for collectivization. I am used to being alone. I am my own master. But a cooperative or a state farm? It's like a dump of guajiro." You will no longer hear such things today.

Monte de Oca is of working-class origin. He was a driver at a milk plant when the revolution came. He clearly remembers his first impres-

sion — it was a surprise: why had the bourgeois quarter where he always had good sales of milk, suddenly become deserted? At the same plant he later joined the party, went on to study, and now runs a big enterprise.

"It is true that I still have to go on studying, and now especially," he says. "This year a new system of economic planning and management has been introduced, all the enterprises are switching to economic calculus, they have more independence, and greater opportunities for providing material incentives for the working people. This means that things will also improve. How did Lenin put it? Not on the basis of enthusiasm, directly, but with the aid of enthusiasm, on the basis of a personal interest, on economic calculus."

The introduction of the new system of economic management and planning was envisaged by the decisions of the first congress of the CP Cuba. The party realized the necessity of taking this step, the need to blend revolutionary enthusiasm with economic interest. It clearly formulated the tasks arising from the use of commodity-money relations in socialist construction and the establishment of an economic mechanism adapted to Cuba's conditions. It is highly indicative that the economic section of the main report at the second congress began with a critical note, among other things about the slow introduction of the system of economic management and planning. Boldness of analysis of shortcomings is, of course, also a mark of maturity, of the party's confidence in itself and its confidence in the people.

However, the critical tone was determined by the growing potentialities, and did not in any sense cross out what had been done. Over the past five years, Cuba has markedly advanced in economic development. And not only because its production increased by an average of 4 per cent a year, or because capital investments were markedly increased to create a basis for further advance. The economy is acquiring new features, the economic management and planning system is being converted into an efficient instrument of management as it is translated into reality from the outlines and decisions. Incidentally, paying tribute to its importance, it is even being written here with a capital "S" — System.

What has changed in party construction in the new conditions? This was discussed in the municipal party committee of Old Havana, the most populous part of the capital, where many enterprises, offices and power stations are located, where the fishing fleet is based, where

there are over 12,000 communists, and 722 primary organizations.

Mario Fernandez, a member of the committee's bureau, took part in the underground movement and has much experience as a professional party worker. A crane-operator by occupation, he was graduated from the Havana University at the age of 48, and deserves all the authority he enjoys.

"The people have grown up, and they can now cope with a great deal," Mario says. "Only a few years ago, there were 98 payroll party workers on the present territory of our municipal council. Today, although the number of communists has doubled, only 27 are on the payroll. Many matters are settled from below, and the committee has an active group of non-payroll instructors. In other words, party democracy has acquired a new dimension of maturity."

The sources of this new quality lie in the party itself. Fernandez makes his points as he bends the fingers of his large hands:

"First, the party stratum in the work collectives generally and the working-class nucleus in the party in particular have been substantially increased. Second, its program platform and rules have clearly defined the orientation and procedures of action at various party echelons, the rights and duties of the communists. Third, the methods of leadership have become different, they are now more concrete, business-like, more solidly grounded, and the opinion of primary organizations is taken more fully into account, which means that their initiative is being developed. Finally, there is the effect of the complex system of studying, the ideological growth of the cadre, and their extensive participation in mass political work. The party has accumulated strength, ability and experience — and we all feel this."

Revolutions usually have periods of utopia, when the historical goals appear to be much closer than they are in fact. The ability to blend vision, without which no revolutionary can live, and the real potentialities, subjecting one's acts to the laws of social development in the light of experience — that is certainly a mark of maturity.

The Cuban communists, as I have already said, carry on a frank conversation with the people. And not only, of course, about the introduction of the new management system. There still remain some difficulties in the supply of the population. But every Cuban knows what is being done to overcome these, and sees that the situation is being improved and the problem solved in an atmosphere of social justice. The new five-year plan envisages an ex-

tensive program for socio-economic growth, but the party still says: we are inclined to display impatience, wishing to satisfy all requirements as soon as possible, but it is necessary to reckon with what hampers this.

Honesty, freedom of expression, purity and the spirit of criticism — those are the moral qualities of a real revolutionary vanguard. The communists regard these qualities not as a privilege but as a duty, and for this they are especially respected.

The party's mature strength is a blend of its theoretical knowledge and training of personnel, its inner organization and its internationalist character. All of these are characteristic features of the Marxist-Leninist party. And whatever the circumstances in which they take shape, the Cuban comrades say, whatever the streams of which they are shaped, if the party wants to be a true vanguard of the people capable of leading it to revolutionary victories in building the new society, it must be a Leninist type of party, however specific the conditions, however peculiar the conditions of development.

This is borne out by Cuba's experience.

The facts testify:

— The democratic discussion of the party rules before its second congress involved 312,358 communists; 2,609 concrete proposals for amending the text of various clauses were put forward, and 407 of these were adopted.

— The draft *Guidelines for Economic and Social Development for the 1981-1985 Five-Year Period*, worked out by the party, was put before the party and other social organizations and collectives of working people for their consideration. The meetings at which the draft was discussed adopted 7,515 proposals on amendments and additions; 492 of these were actually written into the document, and the rest taken into account in current work.

— The strategy of the country's development for the period until the year of 2000 is being developed with the active participation of party organizations. Its purpose is to complete the building of the material and technical basis of socialism, and to ensure the ever fuller satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual requirements and the all-round education of the new man.

In Revolution Square, in the heart of Havana, where so many things belong to history, even the stones seem to symbolize the people's hopes, joys and wrath. Everyone who comes here would surely ask himself the question: how does this small and relatively poor country

situated much closer to its enemies than to its friends, a country within easy reach of the most powerful imperialist state, which has been seeking to crush it for decades with an economic blockade, military blackmail and sabotage, how does this country continue to advance along its socialist path? It continues to advance without giving up its lofty internationalist principles, its revolutionary cohesion and responding to the threats with these words of stern warning, as they rang out at the

second congress of the party: "He who tries to conquer Cuba — unless he perishes in the battle — will find himself in possession only of the dust of its soil drenched in blood!"

Cuba is able to advance and to respond in this way only because of its party, the communist vanguard of a people on the way into the future.

1. *Granma*, December 19, 1980.

2. The movement led by Fidel Castro named to mark the date of the storming of the Moncada barracks in 1953.

3. *WMR*, January 1979, p. 4.



On behalf of the working people

TRADE UNIONS IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM

Hungary has accumulated considerable positive experience in developing the socialist trade-union movement. Among those who took part in the discussion of this experience sponsored by *WMR* were: T. Barangai, member of the HSWP Central Auditing Commission, HSWP CC department head; S. Jakab and L. Gaal, deputies of the General Secretary of the HCTU; HCTU Secretary D. Virizlay; and T. Buczu, Trade-Union Council secretary at the Csepel Metallurgical Combine.

The results and conclusions of the discussion are reported by the HSWP representative on *WMR* K. Lipkovics and member of the editorial staff M. Novikov.

Reliable mainstay of great endeavor

We attended the discussion, asked the participants questions and studied the documents. In the process, we gained a clearer understanding of the common socialist elements and the national specifics which characterize the Hungarian trade-union movement.

Its main task, it was emphasized, is to represent and safeguard the whole range of the working people's rights and interests, to promote the construction of a developed socialist society, to consolidate the working-class power, to display concern for the utmost progress of

production and, on that basis, for the steady rise of the people's living standards. Consequently, the main goals of trade-union work blend with the ideals of socialism. Hence the place the trade unions have in the political system of the new society and the substance of their relations with the ruling party.

Bourgeois propaganda is wont to claim that under socialism the trade-union movement is subjected to the "party's diktat," has no independence and, consequently, no real rights. For that reason we start our account with a description of the state of things in practice.

The relations between the trade unions and the parties depend on the concrete reality. In the capitalist state, for instance, it is natural for the trade unions to seek to be free and independent of the parties which express the interests of monopoly capital and strive to assert its influence in the masses. It is just as natural for the trade unions to cooperate with the parties of the working-class orientation, although its development is not always free of problems. Under socialism, objective conditions themselves help to consolidate close ties between the trade unions and the ruling Communist Party, the society's organizing and directing force, which determines, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, the perspectives, and makes the endeavor to build a new life and realize the ideals of the working class balanced and scientifically grounded. It would be unnatural, therefore, if the trade unions should

shun this endeavor or, as a matter of principle, keep their distance from the ruling party, the main element of whose policy is the interests of the working majority.

The Hungarian trade unions accept the HSWP's ideological and political leadership consciously and voluntarily, but there is more to their relations than that. Another and equally important aspect is the party's recognition of the autonomy of the trade-union movement as an absolutely necessary condition for its activity. First Secretary of the HSWP CC Janos Kadar told the 24th congress of the Hungarian trade unions: "We believe that the trade unions must work independently, for that is the only way in which they can be a reliable support of our great and common cause of socialism."¹

This is a highly essential accent, especially in view of the fact that along the difficult road of socialist construction the party made mistakes in the past in determining its relations with the trade unions. In the first half of the 1950s, the party leadership overestimated the ability of the political vanguard in exerting a direct influence on the administration of the state, and of economic and social life. The role of the trade unions was downgraded, and they were, in effect, deprived of a say in deciding affairs of state and safeguarding the working people's interests. That is one of the reasons which led to the weakening of the ties between the party and the masses, and subsequently produced the crisis situation in which the counter-revolutionary forces had a field day. Upon the suppression of the counter-revolution, the old mistakes — including the attitude to the trade-union movement — were corrected. The trade-union movement obtained the necessary autonomy — organizational, functional and juridical; it became, in fact, the closest and constant collaborator of the state power, as Lenin put it (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 190). The trade unions' authority has increased and been consolidated, and in implementing the party's policy they simultaneously take part in shaping it.

Let us recall that Lenin devoted exceptional attention to problems of the trade-union movement under socialism. The trade unions, he believed, "stand, if I may say so, between the party and the government . . . the trade unions are a link between the vanguard and the masses" (*ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 20). That is the context in which the HSWP regards the mission of the trade unions.

T. Barangai. Our party wants millions of working people united in the trade unions to understand and realize its policy in practice. We also seek to use the trade unions' experience in shaping our policy and verifying its

correctness. While leading and guiding the masses, the party itself learns from them. That is why the trade unions not only use their right but also do their duty by indicating the difficulties, problems and concerns arising in the realization of the party's policy, make proposals and suggest how to overcome these problems. This duty has been established by a decision of the HSWP on the trade-union movement in 1966.² From time to time, we even rebuke trade union leaders for not "worrying" us enough: for not making haste with formulating constructive proposals, and for not being off the mark quickly enough in raising the problems which are of concern to the working people.

The Hungarian trade unions have a full-blooded inner life, working on the basis of their own rules and the decisions of their elective bodies. The party's leadership of the trade-union movement is ideological and political. This means, in particular, that party decisions which are binding on the communists have no direct power with respect to the trade unions. The communists working in the trade unions realize the party's decisions on the strength of their personal authority, and of the trust they command among the working people who elected them to this or that post. It goes without saying that they have to act in strict conformity with the rules of the trade-union democracy.

L. Gaal. A specific division of labor within the system of political institutions has taken shape in Hungary's socialist society. Simply speaking, this means that the party determines the goals and principles, the government organizes the fulfillment of the tasks it has set, and the trade unions promote this activity by protecting and representing the interests of the working people.

T. Barangai. We have good business-like relations between the party and the trade unions. What does this mean? First of all, there are comradely discussions on various socio-economic problems. When considering the trade-unions' remarks, proposals and recommendations, we select the most important ones in the first place. We then discuss these at joint conferences of communists working in the trade unions and party leaders.

Such is the dialectics of the relations between the trade unions and the HSWP. The party, it is held in Hungary itself, must give the trade unions even greater attention, considering that the trade-union movement in the republic has yet to display all its potentialities, and that its role in building a developed socialist society is bound to grow. S. Gaspar, General Secretary of

the Hungarian Council of Trade Unions, said in his speech at the 26th congress of the CPSU: "The shaping of a new type of trade-union movement is a long and far from completed historical process. The trade unions take shape together with the society and influence its development." An important part in this process belongs to the relations between the trade unions and the socialist state. How are they shaped?

Equal partners

S. Jakab. Two years ago Parliament considered the question of raising retail prices. There were no fundamental differences: the public realized that the proposed measures were well-grounded in the course of nationwide discussion organized with the most active participation of the trade unions and which continued for a whole year. But different variants of the concrete decisions were proposed. A lively discussion followed, and in the course of it the trade unions' well-grounded approach won out. That was also the standpoint reflected in the Parliament's final decision.

In Hungary the trade unions not only take part in drafting the most important state acts, but also have the right to contest the decisions of the administrative bodies on all matters bearing on the interests of the working people. It is important to note that the state does not interfere in the internal life of the trade unions, and respects the fact that they are not accountable to it and have juridical independence. On the other hand, the activity of the state is under the control of the masses, in which the trade unions have an important place.

The socialist state and the trade unions being institutions of the same class nature, serve the interests of the working people but do this in different ways.

The trade unions' participation in government is graduated according to level. The top level is cooperation between the HCTU and the government and the bodies which enjoy nationwide powers. Here the main task is to determine the proportions between accumulation and consumption in the long-term, medium-term and annual state plans, to ensure employment, to provide for social and cultural requirements, to decide on the policy in the remuneration of labor and the appointment of aids, on the reduction of working time and the strategy of housing construction.

Then comes the departmental level: the presidia of the sectoral trade unions cooperate with the ministries. They deal in detail with matters relating to the distribution of the incomes of enterprises, wages, social aids, labor safety and

the health of workers, and cultural and athletic activities.

Another level of relations is the regional one; here the regional councils of trade unions coordinate plans with the executives of the regional councils, and the inter-sectoral committees with the local councils. Among the matters they discuss are territorial development and employment of the population, the supply of goods, public utilities, and social, cultural and everyday services.

Finally the most massive level is the production level at which managerial personnel at enterprises work out a common stand with trade-union committees, and this is expressed in joint agreements and labor contracts. There is much room here for the exercise of direct democracy, and for bringing out the working people's views and shaping their consciousness.

The diverse and close cooperation suggests the following question: does it not lead to a levelling down of specific interests and to the "étatization" of the trade unions?

No, the participants in the discussion said, for all the community of their socio-political purposes, the approach of the parties is different. State agencies and the management of enterprises muster the material resources and operate with the fuller knowledge of the society's economic requirements and the potentialities for their effective satisfaction. The trade unions have a better knowledge of the requirements and mood of the masses and of the concrete potentialities of production at the grass roots. From this it does not follow, of course, that the trade unions believe that their duty is to draw up some kind of "counter-plans;" they assess the outlines presented for their consideration in the light of the interests of the working people and the collectives of enterprises, judge of the reality of the fulfillment of assignments and the expected results, and table the necessary additional proposals.

In the process of such cooperation, there is frequently a divergence of views. Hungarian experience shows that this is exceptionally important, because contradictions which are hushed up do not disappear but tend to accumulate and create tension. When differences are brought out, it is easier to eliminate conflict situations. Of this, both the representatives of the government power and the leaders of the trade-union movement are well aware. That is why it is the established tradition that the same persons may not simultaneously hold leading posts in government and in the HCTU: this prevents the glossing over of responsibility. Regular participation by HCTU

representatives in government meetings and semi-annual meetings between trade-union leaders and members of the government have also justified themselves.

L. Gaal. It is quite natural that the rate of economic development, the proportions in the distribution of the national income and other important parameters in the life of the society are determined with an eye to the objective constraints. However, here the trade unions work to secure variants which ensure the consolidation of the main social gains. Taking part in shaping economic policy, they display concern not only for the primary goals, but also for the conditions for the future fulfillment of pending tasks.

The trade unions are aware of the fact that some legitimate demands are not yet backed up with resources, which is why they cannot be satisfied immediately. It also happens now and again that measures appear on the agenda which even conflict with the immediate and here-and-now interests of a section of the workers, but which are absolutely necessary and appropriate from the standpoint of long-term and deep-seated interests, and accord with social requirements in broad terms. To neglect this, to insist on the fulfillment of what cannot be fulfilled would be tantamount to flirting with the masses and engaging in unprincipled demagoguery. The trade unions, having a say in the adoption of optimal state decisions, also take an active part in their implementation.

Both parties — the state and the trade unions — follow this rule: to take economic decisions with an eye to their political effect, and conversely, to determine political decisions in the light of the economic consequences. But the goal here is a common one, and it is the construction of a developed socialist society, and the fullest satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual requirements.

Main task

"To this very day, it is the function of defending the interests of the working class that historically justifies the existence of the trade unions," S. Gaspar said in his report to the trade-union congress. "With this function the trade union is not a trade union even under socialism. The trade unions are capable of bringing out the differences of interests and views existing in the society."³

What is the nature of these differences? What are their causes, when there are no antagonistic classes and strata, no private property in the means of production and no private appropriation of the surplus product?

The insistent need to raise labor productivi-

ty, to make every state enterprise profitable, the local-interest approach and exaggerated departmental zeal, all of this, says Lenin, "is bound to create a certain conflict of interest . . . between the masses of workers and the directors and managers of the state enterprises, or the government departments in charge of them. Therefore, as regards the socialized enterprises, it is undoubtedly the duty of the trade unions to protect the interests of the working people" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 186).

This conclusion of Lenin's was drawn when the country was first faced with the need to make broad use of economic calculus and economic instruments of management, and it fully applies to contemporary conditions. The continued existence of non-antagonistic contradictions — departmental, professional, group and individual, those listed above and those which arise from possible mistakes in management, the growth of the working people's demands on working and living conditions, etc. — put the duty of the trade unions always to stand on guard of the interests of industrial and office workers.

These interests are based above all on the very possibility of working, and it is this that tends to produce the most dramatic class conflicts in the capitalist world. The guaranteed right to work and full employment are justifiably listed among the key gains of socialism. And the trade unions believe it to be their duty to preserve this right, while the approach to its defense does not remain ossified, but is flexibly changed and improved.

The process of intensification, entailing a regrouping of forces, is now under way in the Hungarian economy. Structural changes are being effected, unpromising lines of production are being folded up, enterprises and industries ensuring scientific and technological progress are being rapidly developed, and the output of goods enjoying a high level of demand at home and abroad is being boosted.

S. Jakab. Since society accepts that such enterprises should be developed even faster, it also approved the measures for regrouping the labor force. According to the view of labor protection of some 10-15 years ago, the trade unions should not approve the transfer of personnel from one place to another. But now there is a different approach to this problem. The trade union sees to it that when being transferred no one should suffer a loss in wages, while the new job should correspond with a person's training and experience, or that the necessary skill training should be provided. It is no longer blind resistance to change, but this

kind of new approach that now helps to protect the working people's interests.

Indeed, if the trade unions merely took a stand for maintaining the status quo, they would not only work against the social interests, but also against the concrete interests of many of their members. After all, the preservation of lagging enterprises which are incapable of developing would result in a limitation of their material funds, from which wages, aids and other similar things come.

It is an incontestable truth that a society cannot distribute more than it produces. That is why of primary importance — however mediated — in the defense of the interests of the working class is the line of the trade unions' constant promotion of the normal course of production, the economy's intensive development and fulfillment of state assignments.

The Hungarian trade unions are firmly convinced that strikes are not a suitable means for solving problems, because they slow down the advance of the economy, make society poorer instead of richer, and postpone the satisfaction of requirements for whose fulfillment there is a lack of material resources.

We do not want to idealize the picture: over the past few years some conflicts have occurred between management and producer collectives, so that stoppages for a few hours have occurred. But as a rule, agreement was reached through negotiations, without much difficulty. It is characteristic — and this point was also noted — that the conflicts mostly resulted from the flabbiness of local trade-union bodies, which failed to exercise their incontestable right to exert an influence on the management, and to prevent it from making mistakes that would cause dissatisfaction among the workers.

In accordance with the established norms, any steps by the management which affect the interests of the collective, can be taken only by coordination with the trade-union body. What is more, if such agreements are obviated, the trade unions have a specific instrument which is established in Hungarian practice. It is the right to veto decisions with which they do not agree. In 1979, for instance, this right was applied 281 times in situations bearing on changes in output norms, wages, etc.; 245 cases were settled in favor of the trade unions and the rest ended in a mutually acceptable compromise. The trade unions' defense of the working people's interests implies the exercise of considerable skill in averting labor or social conflicts and preventing management from taking incorrect steps.

Here is another example: together with the

state, the trade unions are engaged in protection of labor. Their representatives take part in considering projects for enterprises, machines and technical equipment from the socio-psychological standpoint. The trade unions have the right — and that is a right that has been repeatedly used — to halt production if a danger to the health of the working people arises. The working conditions and safety devices at enterprises are controlled by 120,000 trade-union activists, who are guided by the recommendations of the Labor Protection Research Institute under the HCTU.

T. Bucsu. We seek to reckon both with the economic realities and equally with the people, with their requirements and needs. When it comes to workplaces, the trade union defense is focused on every working person, especially on the question of wages, working conditions and health protection. All decisions relating to living standards and distribution are, as a rule, taken democratically and publicized. When the workers meet with understanding and readiness to discuss the problems they are concerned with, when all their questions are provided with clearcut answers, even if these are not always positive, but always well-argued and given a spirit of good will, they are bound to consider the trade unions' activity, and the trade unions themselves as their very own.

D. Virizlay. Protection of interests means not only assistance but also a definition of the priority in which the legitimate demands are to be realized. This is settled through joint discussions, in sincere and open dialogues between the management and the workers. That is the only way to create a climate of trust, of concerned and honest work.

We have an elaborate system for studying public opinion; the trade-union leadership is usually aware of the requirements of various social sections, occupational groups and work collectives. Whenever the justice of this or that demand and the possibility of its fulfillment is controversial, science is invited to act as arbiter. One of its authoritative representatives is the Theoretical Research Institute of the HCTU.

The data provided by this institute were used, for instance, in the latest increase in pensions. These were to be increased by 2 per cent a year, which was slightly slower than the growth of retail prices and led to a reduction in the real incomes of pensioners. But the Institute's calculations showed that if the percentage was increased, there would be a need either to cut the payroll fund (and this was thought to be impossible), or to see conditions emerging within 18 months or two years in

which pensions could not be increased at all, so that the pensioners' interests would be even more adversely effected. That is how the substance of the pensions decision was explained to the people.

Let us note that elective commissions on labor disputes also exist at the enterprises, and they have real powers and have an important role to play in settling internal conflicts.

None of this means, of course, that there are no difficulties in the protection of the working people's interests. What are these? S. Gaspar said in his report to the trade-union congress: "The point is that the activity of representing interests up to now fell on the governing trade-union bodies. They shaped the opinion of the trade unions in connection with the measures planned by the government and various government agencies. This practice has justified itself, but we now need to take a step forward and consistently study the potentialities held out by direct democracy."⁴

A place at the helm

What then is the level of direct democracy at the enterprises, in the management of production? Is it perhaps hemmed in by the conditions of economic planning?

T. Bucsu. At our Csepel combine, before the plans are drawn up, the trade union council and the management get together to work out the main directives. These determine the natural indicators, the rate of growth of production, the quality parameters, the methods of economic management and the norms of assets distribution. These directives are made the basis of medium-term and annual plans. For their part, they are discussed by meetings of working people, who voice their proposals and remarks, and these are then considered by the economic management and the trade union organ.

Industrial and office workers want to see the taut plans successfully fulfilled and labor productivity boosted, because on this depend the incomes of the enterprise and, consequently, the amount of earnings, bonuses and various payments and aids. The trade unions have the decisive say in the distribution of the payroll funds and the share of incomes going for social needs. Here is only one example: over the past five years, it was planned to raise wages by 30 per cent. In fact, because of the successful work, it has gone up on average by 34 per cent.

Let me add that the higher-standing economic agencies are not always satisfied with the plan of the enterprise adopted and approved by the meeting of trade-union organizers, because they may regard, for instance,

that some of the targets are understated. In the event of such differences, a jury consisting of representatives of the parties concerned is set up. The mutual coordination takes place in a business-like, comradely atmosphere.

All the industrial and office workers take part in discussing collective agreements, which regulate relations between management and the working people, and in determining the policy of regulating wages and incomes. Problems arising from current business are discussed at production and working meetings. The trade-union organs respect collective opinion and rely on it in taking their own decisions.

Incidentally, without the consent of the trade union a ministry cannot give an award to or officially approve the activity of the director of an enterprise and of some other members of the management. Just now, our democracy is being further developed so as to assert the right of the collective to express its view on the appointment and evaluation of the work of economic personnel at every level.

Life in the production collectives has been further democratized by means of the structure of the primary trade-union organizations established over the past few years. The trade-union group, the grass-roots unit, usually brings together 15-20 persons, who are led by an elected trade-union organizer. Where there are many groups, chief trade-union organizers are also elected — one for every 7-10 groups. A conference of the trade-union organizers is the leading organ of the primary organization and it elects the trade-union committee of the enterprise for day-to-day executive activity. Such a structure, the participants in the discussion said, is straightforward, sufficiently flexible and helps to consolidate direct ties between rank-and-file members of the trade union and their elected representatives.

T. Bucsu. One in five persons attending meetings of the trade-union groups at the combine usually speaks out and we regard this as a high level of activity. During the last elections of the trade-union group organizers, far from all the initially nominated candidates were supported. People said that they want to have those at their head who will be able to work and really protect their interests. Is that not an expression of faith in the potentialities of the trade-union group?

The rules of direct trade-union democracy are, we find, firmly established in the life of the factory collectives. And how is it being spread to the other, higher levels? It is thought in Hungary that the governing trade-union bodies must find out the opinion of members of the trade unions, the trade-union organizers before

they formulate their stand on this or that important matter — and that this should be established as a system.

The activity of the trade-union organizations at the enterprises is not confined to matters which are directly related to management of production. It also deals with other important problems, above all those connected with an improvement of distribution relations.

L. Gaal. The trade unions take part in creating the national income, and also in its distribution. They are doing a great deal to implement the socialist principle: equal pay for equal work. But not everyone is yet prepared for a correct view of equality in the remuneration of labor, which does not mean the same salaries but the same approach to evaluation of the work. That is why we have given much attention to working out the relevant methods. At the same time, we also have to reckon with the inertia of the 35-year practice with its egalitarian tendencies and habits, and with a somewhat over-simplified notion of justice. For instance: a man works indifferently, but he has a big family on his hands. What is to be done? If he is paid more, this would breach the principle of remuneration according to work; if he is paid without regard for his family, that cuts across justice and humanism. The correct approach approved by the trade unions is the following: wages are differentiated according to the work done, but the difference in income arising from family status is evened out by means of special aids.

Among the acute problems to which the trade unions have given their closest attention is the state of housing. Just now, an average of 109 (related, but actually separate) families live in 100 flats throughout the country. Over the sixth five-year period, we plan to build 370,000-390,000 flats, which will ease the problem, but will not solve it altogether. That is why special importance is attached to the fair establishment of priority in obtaining housing, and concern for improving the housing conditions of workers. What is being done here by the trade unions? On their initiative, government subsidies for the purchase of flats and the period for repayment of loans has been increased for workers and foremen. Enterprises which have large improvement and culture funds hold out even greater benefits. They set up their own building units, and it costs their workers less to buy homes.

Considering the matter in a broader light, from the standpoint of the main goals of the Hungarian trade unions' social policy, these were formulated by the congress as follows:

— to increase real incomes and consump-

tion, and to maintain full employment;

— to raise low pensions and aids for the care of children;

— to develop the network of creches, nursery schools and general educational schools;

— to ease the solution of the housing problem for young people;

— to increase the family increment for families with many children;

— to develop public health, improve the services, and to work to maintain and further raise the level of goods supplies.

This policy is being pursued consistently and purposefully, and has yielded noticeable results. Its success is directly connected with rising labor productivity and the quality of workmanship in every sphere of the economy. The report to the 24th congress of the trade unions said: "We in our country rightly believe that we have done everything possible to improve our life, although there is still a shortage of flats, prices have gone up and the earnings of some sections are still low. However, we are sure that just now we have the potentialities only for that kind of living standard. And we must work altogether to broaden these potentialities tomorrow."⁵

School of education

D. Virizlay. The trade-unions' educational work is a component part of social education as a whole. Its purpose is to help shape and assert the citizens' scientific world view, to raise the level of their general, occupational and political education, and to help them develop independent and realistic thinking and conscious behavior. The task of this work is to involve trade unionists in social activity, in the concern of the collective, to help them become aware of their own interests and rational requirements, to invigorate their activity and enhance their sense of responsibility. The methods used are information, persuasion and explanation.

Over the past two decades the Hungarian trade-union movement has done a great deal to seek the most effective methods of education. Here, the trade-union groups are especially competent. They have the broadest opportunities for bringing out and shaping public opinion, for determining who works better and who works worse, who deserves a greater reward and who a lesser one. It is important that it is not the foreman or the trade-union group organizer but the whole collective that should have the crucial say in this matter. When it is sufficiently mature, it does not ignore the more delicate and sensitive issues either. There is painstaking and tactful struggle in the trade-union groups against the antitheses of the

socialist morality like greed, irresponsibility, indifference, the philistine view of life and drinking.

But however great is the educational function of a trade-union group, it cannot hope to solve all the problems in raising the political, general and occupational culture of the working people. That is why accent on the work in the groups does not rule out, but, in fact, implies broad use of the extensive instruments of mass propaganda, information and education.

D. Virizlay. Mass political education has now become a system in our country: over the past few years it has involved over half a million working people. Studies within the framework of this system increasingly acquire the character of discussions in which there are no closed or forbidden questions.

The Hungarian trade unions have a long tradition of dealing with matters of culture and developing aesthetic taste among the masses. These purposes are promoted by over 100 houses of culture and cultural centers, an extensive network of clubs and several thousand trade-union libraries. They also exert a political influence on men and women, because culture and politics are inseparable from each other. No culture is apolitical. And policy — and I mean our policy — has always projected the raising of the cultural and educational standards of the builders of the new society.

Finally, a few words about the press. Trade-union periodicals are published throughout the country in printings running to millions of copies. The trade union's central newspaper *Nepszava* (People's Word) is the second largest mass newspaper in the republic. Books, journals and political booklets issued by *Tanacsics*, the trade union publishers, are a good aid in the work of our activists.

The trade unions' educational activity strengthens the foundation of socialist consciousness and helps the working people to become dedicated fighters for the cause of socialism.

The trade-union movement has a fitting place in Hungary's political system. Acting independently, in an atmosphere of genuine socialist democracy, and as an equal partner of the state, they fully back the programmatic tasks formulated by the HSWP, are guided by the party's policy and help to realize it. The trade unions enjoy complete confidence and support among the working people, whose interests they authoritatively represent and skilfully protect.

1. *Nepszabadsag*, 1980, December 14.

2. See *A Magyar Szocialista Munkaspárt határozatai és dokumentumai 1963-1966*, Budapest, 1968, pp. 292-300.

3. *Nepszabadsag*, 1980, December 13.

4. *Nepszabadsag*, 1980, December 13.

5. *Nepszabadsag*, 1980, December 13.

Anatomy of monetary contradictions

THE WORLD OF CAPITAL: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE CRISIS

Analyzing the peculiarities of the present stage of the crisis of capitalism and the attendant tasks in the anti-monopoly struggle, *WMR* has dealt with unemployment (No. 6, 1980) and the energy crisis (No. 12, 1980). Pursuing this line, the *WMR* Commission on the Class Struggle in industrialized capitalist countries has set up a study group to analyze the present crisis state of the monetary system and its impact on socio-economic processes in the class confrontation. Below are the main conclusions drawn by the group, in whose work the following fraternal party representatives took part: Robert Francis (CP Belgium), Peter Boychuck (CP Canada), Hugo Fazio (CP Chile), Manuel Delgado (People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica), Bert Ramelson (CP Great Britain), Clement Rohee (PPP Guyana), Tommy O'Flaherty (CP Ireland), V. Seme (CP

South Africa), Raja Collure (CP Sri Lanka), Kemal Kervan (CP Turkey), James West (CP USA), J. Carrera (CP Venezuela), and also V. Kazakevich, head of department, Institute of Scientific Information for the Social Sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences.

The participants in the discussion started from the assumption that the interest of the communist and working-class movement in the processes under way in the monetary sphere depended on the impact which the latter had on national economies and the world capitalist economy as a whole. It is especially important for the working people that monetary relations largely determine the structure and level of consumption, which means the living standards of the various classes and strata of the population, and also the governments' socio-economic policies, so exerting an influence on the communist parties.

Bourgeois economics is inclined to blame the monetary upheavals on the "imperfections of technical organization" of the international financial mechanism. In contrast to this approach, the study group made a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the deep roots and consequences of the current monetary crisis, so as to show its place in the general crisis of capitalism. This should help the communists to specify their tactical and strategic tasks so as first to limit and then to eliminate the power of the monopolies and to restructure socio-economic life on socialist lines.

Causes and effects

The capitalist monetary system is in a state of chronic crisis. Its external manifestations are the constant disequilibrium in the balances of payments; the growing instability of the leading capitalist currencies, notably the U.S. dollar, and the sharp fluctuations of exchange rates; the accelerating pace of inflation; the worsening monetary and financial condition of the developing countries and the growth of their external indebtedness; the mounting monetary and financial contradictions between the main centers of imperialism, and also between the industrialized capitalist and developing countries.

The peculiarities of the present stage of the monetary crisis stem from the fact that it has developed since the entry into force in April 1978 of the Jamaica Accord between the members of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which juridically formalized the abandonment of the Bretton Woods monetary system, set up in 1944. The participants in the discussion emphasized that the structure worked out in Jamaica actually exacerbated the crisis situation. The exchange-rate fluctuations became sharper and the balance of payments in greater disarray than they had been in the Bretton Woods period. There was a sharp leap in the price of gold.¹

From the standpoint of the theory of revolutionary struggle it is important that all the main ills and contradictions of capitalism as a system are focused in monetary relations of the capitalist countries. As these relations transcend the national framework, they lead to the "export" of the individual countries' economic disorder into the international arena, sharply aggravate inter-imperialist contradictions.

The instability of capitalist economy and cyclical fluctuations in the economic outlook are an important factor generating monetary upheavals. Inflation, unemployment and militarization result in sharp changes in the volume of exports and imports and the balance between

them, and lead to marked shifts in the directions and volumes of capital exports. The ultimate result of all this is a leap-like and haphazard disruption of the equilibrium of the balances of payments.² Economically strong countries increase their exports. The weaker ones have difficulties in exporting their goods and have to suffer from growing imports. The speculative movements of temporarily uncommitted (so-called short-term) money capitals, which tend to flow into the country where conditions hold promise of higher profits, have a devastating effect on the monetary sphere.

Monetary disorders spring from and are sharpened by the Eurocurrencies (Eurodollars above all).³ The emergence of a huge Eurocurrency market, which is under the control of the major transnational monopolies, and the expanding mass of credits in Eurocurrencies undermine the economic outlook, sharpen inflation, and create impediments for the credit and monetary policies of individual states. Operations involving Eurocurrencies cause large-scale and virtually uncontrolled flows of capital from one country to another, undermining government economic policy, and plunging the exchange-rate system into chaos, against which even the most economically developed countries are unable to protect themselves.

In order to elaborate and specify their anti-monopoly policy, the participants in the discussion said, the communist parties of individual countries concentrated attention on the socio-economic aspects of the monetary crisis. In particular, the study group considered the effect on the condition of the working people in the capitalist countries exerted by the traditional attempts to right the balance of payments through a curb in demand (when the balance is in deficit), or its stimulation (when the balance is in surplus).

The exchange of opinion showed that, whatever the variant, the bourgeois governments' policy has a patent class character and is carried out at the expense of the working strata of the population. Thus, a containment of demand does limit imports, it also slows down the overall economic growth, and this is fraught with a growth of unemployment. The policy of stimulating demand, notably by expanding money supply and credits in the country tends to increase imports and accelerate inflation.

The attempts by bourgeois governments to re-establish the balance-of-payments equilibrium by manipulating the monetary sphere have produced similar results. In order to eliminate a balance-of-payments deficit, a

government may lower the exchange rate of its currency, and in order to eliminate an excessive surplus, it may raise the exchange rate.⁴ But in the former instance, the prices of import goods expressed in the national currency go up, and this pushes up the overall growth of prices in the country, and inflation. Conversely, when the exchange rate goes up, the prices of import goods expressed in the national currency are reduced, so that exporters (provided the price of the goods in foreign currency remains unaltered) obtain a smaller amount in their national currency for every commodity unit, so that the profit per commodity unit is reduced. Consequently, the raising of the exchange rate, while promoting imports and containing exports, has a negative effect on employment at the enterprises turning out goods earmarked for export or competing with imported goods, that is, it holds the threat of growing unemployment in some industries.

Assessing the importance of the socioeconomic consequences of the monetary crisis as a whole, the study group says that it has a substantial role to play in undermining the official policy of the capitalist governments allegedly seeking to create some "affluent society." The much vaunted "magic square," as bourgeois economists call the combination of high employment, rapid economic growth, relative price stability, and balanced external settlements, is going to pieces.

The discussion showed the heavy burden laid on the shoulders of the working people in the industrialized capitalist countries by the consequences of the monetary crisis, notably by the measures being taken to consolidate the position of the dollar.

For U.S. imperialism, for instance, James West said, the main thing is to help the U.S. monopolies to become more competitive and to re-establish their dominant positions in the world market and in the monetary sphere. The CPUSA has repeatedly emphasized that in their efforts to re-establish confidence in their currency, U.S. ruling circles seek to intensify the exploitation of the working people. The result of this policy has been a sharp increase in unemployment, a lag behind the other countries in the growth of wages, and as a result, the slipping of the United States to sixth place in the capitalist world in terms of national product per head.

The monetary crisis, the participants in the discussion said, has an effect on the whole structure of inter-imperialist relations. It is indicative that at the periodical summit conferences held by the leading capitalist powers, the functioning of the monetary system is invari-

ably a central problem which has a substantial effect of their decision-making.⁵

The sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialist powers is frequently connected with the differences and disparities of interests in the monetary sphere. This is especially characteristic of relations between Washington and its imperialist partners — Japan, FRG and France. The latter have repeatedly accused the United States of abusing the privileged status of the dollar. The claim in Washington is that Tokyo, Bonn and Paris undermine the stability of the dollar and of the international monetary structure.

Peter Boychuck said that in the conditions of the monetary crisis inter-imperialist contradictions stem, in particular, from the fact that the national economy, even of a large country, is incapable of overcoming its strong dependence on decisions taken abroad. Thus, the development of Canada's economy is largely determined by the government and transnational corporations of the United States.

The establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS) in March 1979 reflects the contradictions between the main centers of imperialism: the United States, Japan and capitalist Europe.⁶ It testifies above all to the urge on the part of the West European countries to enhance their role within the IMF, the chief monetary and financial organization of the capitalist world.

However, Robert Francis declared, Belgian experience shows that the contradictions between the EMS countries and the differences in their economic condition (notably, the gap in the levels of inflation) have caused considerable difficulties in shaping the EMS itself.

The contradictions between the capitalist industrialized and the less developed countries, which ever more resolutely demand fuller consideration of their vital interests, are most pronounced in the monetary sphere.

In this context, Hugo Fazio emphasized that the monetary and financial sphere is the main channel through which imperialist domination of the developing countries is effected. The growing external indebtedness of the Latin American countries caused by their deficits on current accounts has become a key factor determining the economic life in the region.⁷ Their main expenditures ultimately consist of payments of interest on earlier loans, and of new loans to cover the deficits on current accounts and to repay earlier debts. The result is that the national economies of the Latin American region are included in the international capitalist division of labor in a form which

meets the interests of the transnational corporations in the first place.

Fazio said that so long as countries receiving credits remain under imperialist domination, it is impossible to stop the growth of their external debt. The main reason is that the monopoly finance capital of the big powers uses these debts to increase its profits.

The extreme need of the less developed countries in financial resources is also used by imperialist capital as a powerful instrument of political pressure.

J. Carrera, Clement Rohee, Manuel Delgado, Kemal Kervan, Raja Collure and V. Seme said that one of the main reasons for the growing external indebtedness of the less developed countries are the unequal terms of trade, when the prices of most of their exports are markedly depressed as compared with the prices of the goods exported by the industrialized capitalist countries.

Raja Collure illustrated this with the following data: in 1979, the prices of goods imported by Sri Lanka (mainly equipment, oil and consumer durables) were 52 per cent up on 1978, while export prices (Sri Lanka exports mainly tea and rubber) went up by only 9 per cent. From 1976 to 1980, the country's balance-of-payments deficit increased from 531 million to 5 billion Sri Lanka rupees, and its external debt from 4.3 billion to 22.8 billion rupees. This means a ruthless drive against the living standards of masses of people, above all in the form of a sharp increase in prices and also a reduction in the number of jobs.

These facts, participants in the discussion said, show that the problems of improving the state of the monetary sphere should be considered in the context of a global restructuring of the whole system of international economic relations on the principles of equality. The main purpose at the present, first stage is to combat the egoistical policy of monopoly capital, to curb its opportunities for exploitation of the working people and the pursuit of its neo-colonialist policy.

Unreliable compromises

Bourgeois political economy is now and again inclined to regard the disruption of the monetary sphere as posing a threat to the very existence of world capitalism. But, as it was pointed out, it claims that the main source of the difficulties does not lie in the contradictions of the capitalist socio-economic formation but in the organizational imperfections of the international monetary mechanism.

Of course, the importance of technical imperfections in this or that structure cannot be ig-

nored. The Bretton Woods system also had serious internal contradictions. One of these was the vicious circle in which the gold-standard-based shaping of the international monetary resources used for settlements and the accumulation of reserves tended to run.

The point is that monetary gold (that is, gold used as world money) proved to be totally inadequate to cover the growing requirements of commerce. There arose the need to supplement gold with other types of instruments. Because there was no international bank of issue,⁸ one or more national currencies had to operate as such an instrument.

The dollar became the chief reserve currency of the Bretton Woods system, with Washington ever more vigorously exporting it for the benefit of national and transnational corporations, while its balance-of-payments deficit continued steadily to grow. The flooding of the world with dollars could not go on indefinitely, and was bound, sooner or later, to cause a loss of confidence in the dollar, so inevitably sharpening the crisis of the whole system of settlements.

The accumulation of dollars outside the United States and their haphazard movement repeatedly detonated speculative explosions on the money markets. The unlimited accumulation of U.S. liabilities by other countries and the growth of the latter with respect to the value of the U.S. gold stock produced a critical situation for the dollar, so that in August 1971 its convertibility into gold was ended. A serious role in the crisis of the dollar was played by Washington's huge military outlays on the war in Indochina and the arms drive, while the relative weakening of the positions of U.S. imperialism in the world became an important destabilizing factor.

Nor was the stability of the international monetary system enhanced by the devaluations of the dollar that followed. In 1973, the capitalist world was forced to abandon the fixed-parity system, the second fundamental principle of Bretton Woods.⁹ The result was a "floating" exchange rate system under which the exchange rates take shape mainly on the market as a result of the free play of forces.

That does not mean, of course, Bert Ramelson said, that the capitalist states have abandoned monetary intervention for the purposes of exerting an influence on exchange rates. But they now resort to it at their own discretion, whereas under the Bretton Woods agreement, they were obliged to prevent any departures of the exchange rate from parity outside the established margins.

Consequently, the functioning and the col-

lapse of the Bretton Woods system have confirmed that the institutional structure, international agreements and traditions do have an influence on the monetary sphere and may either ease or, conversely, exacerbate its crisis. But, the study group said, it is the deep-seated contradictions of the capitalist socio-economic formation that are the determining factor behind the monetary upheavals.

Being unable to go beyond their class conceptions, bourgeois economists and the ruling circles of capitalist countries now continue to seek a way out through organizational reforms. They now pin their hopes on the Jamaica monetary system. What then is this system and what are the strategic propositions of its architects?

The agreement which was signed by the IMF countries in Jamaica in 1976 and which entered into force two years later, did not go beyond the assertion of the actual state of affairs in the monetary sphere, that is, the actual break with gold and the abandonment of fixed parities. It formalized the system of floating exchange rates.

The Jamaica accord does envisage a return to stable parities in the future, but that is no more than a pious hope. The conferees ignored the impact of such important factors as the different level of inflation in the various countries, the devastating effects of the movement of capital, and the exceptional sensitivity of credit policy to the sudden influx of monetary resources from abroad. The state of the monetary sphere hampers the implementation of another goal proclaimed in Jamaica, namely the idea of basing the monetary system on an artificial international monetary instrument, the so-called "special drawing rights" (SDRs).¹⁰

The Jamaica accord should be seen as an unreliable compromise between the leading capitalist powers, like the Bretton Woods agreement. It is an eclectic mix of neo-Keynesian ideas (the withdrawal of gold from the international monetary system and the use of SDRs) and the neo-classical approach (legalization of floating exchange rates).

Dangerous regulation

At the same time, the incompleteness of the Jamaica accord clearly reveals — as did the Bretton Woods accords — the strategic proposition of further intensifying the state-monopoly regulation of international monetary relations. In order to develop this line it is intended, first, to activate international specialized institutions, the IMF in the first place, and second, to use the new set of instruments in the monetary and financial sphere, in particular, the SDRs.

The powers which set the tune in the IMF intend to enhance its role in regulating the balances of payments and covering their deficits. In other words, this organization, catering for the interests of the United States and other major imperialist powers, is designed to intensify control over the economic policies of weaker countries.

Thus, when extending credits to this or that country for the purpose of covering its deficit, the IMF also dictates the measures aimed to set the balance of payments right. This usually means a slowdown of economic development, a freeze or a slowdown in the growth of wages, higher taxes, cuts in budget appropriations for social needs, restrictions on credit (including consumer credit), the lifting of control over imports, devaluation of currency, etc. This leads to a growth of unemployment and of prices of the prime necessities in the debtor countries, so putting a heavy burden on broad masses of working people.

The devastating effects of the IMF's "aid" were illustrated by Kemal Kervan with the example of Turkey. In the recent period, in accordance with IMF recommendations the Turkish lira was devalued on average every three weeks. The result was runaway inflation. In the mid-1970s, it came to at least 10 per cent a year, but in 1980 it was already higher than 100 per cent. From 1976 to 1979, real earnings fell by 41 per cent. Just now, despite the heavy inflation, wages have been frozen at the insistence of the IMF. Just how dangerous IMF recommendations may be for national economic interests will be seen from the 1979 IMF demand that Turkey should fold up its bilateral business ties with the socialist and developing countries.

The ruling circles of the imperialist powers which determine the IMF line, claim that in setting the terms of the credits, the IMF management maintains "political neutrality" and starts from the "objective economic indicators." But that is a far cry from the truth. The IMF willingly extends generous support to reactionary, anti-popular regimes, while hampering the extension of credits to countries following a progressive line and seeking to conduct an independent policy. This bears out the communist parties' view of the IMF as an instrument of the class policy of the monopoly circles, a weapon of imperialism.

In order to enhance its role in the world capitalist economy, the IMF seeks to increase the absolute volume of its credits and also the share of international credits it controls. For this purpose, it has these three instruments:

— increase its own capital, consisting of contributions from member-countries;

— establish diverse special credit funds under its sponsorship;

— cooperate with private banking monopolies on the extension of credits.

However, along all these lines, the IMF has met with intractable contradictions. For instance, the increase of its own capital through a periodical review of the members' quotas takes years because of the acute disagreements over the increase in aggregate capital and the allocation of the additional contributions among the members. The less developed countries want the capital to be markedly increased because there is a growing need for resources to cover the balance of payments deficit. But the industrialized countries, referring to the dangerous inflationary effects, seek to prevent any "excessive" expansion of the IMF's aggregate capital.

The size of the IMF members' quotas in the capital is highly important because it determines the volume of credits to which a country can lay claim. Here again, there is a clash of interests between the big capitalist and the newly liberated countries. The latter want freer access to IMF credits and as far as possible to change the terms in their favor. The imperialist powers, for their part, have assigned to them small quotas, and consequently, limited access to IMF credits.

A similar situation is also taking shape in the establishment, under IMF auspices, of special credit funds, usually with the resources of the richest capitalist countries. Making use of their positions, the latter seek to attach political strings to any future credits.

Finally, bourgeois economists recommend that the IMF should cooperate with private capitalist banks, but at the present stage propose no more than "informal" cooperation under which the banks would extend "parallel" credits to supplement IMF credits. But these bank credits are to depend on the observance by the recipient country of the terms laid down by the IMF. For all practical purposes, this means extending and increasing cooperation between bourgeois states and private financial monopolies on the scale of the whole capitalist world.

The main purpose of this form of financing, Fazio emphasized, is not merely to clip coupons, but to create economic conditions in some countries favoring the penetration and entrenchment of imperialist capital. This is well illustrated by Chile.

A knot of contradictions also tends to develop over the idea of switching to the SDR standard, that is, a monetary system in which SDRs would be the main international reserve instrument, and the standard for monetary

parities and exchange rates. With the further deepening of the crisis of the monetary system generally, and the crisis of the dollar in particular, the idea of a "managed" international currency nominally independent both of the policy of the individual states (in contrast with the reserve currencies) and of the production potential and the market forces (in contrast with gold) appeared to be highly attractive to some imperialist quarters.

The U.S. transnational monopolies regard gold as a rival to their currency and for that reason work hard to get it out of the international commerce, which is why they saw SDRs as a key instrument for bolstering the positions of the dollar, reserving its old privileges and actually prolonging the era of the dollar standard. After all, the U.S. assumption is that it has a special role to play in forming and using the SDR fund because it is allotted the largest amounts of SDRs, while the valuation of the new unit largely depends on the dollar.

But the introduction of SDRs into the international monetary system is hampered by the simultaneous functioning of such strong rivals as gold and the dollar. In the presence of several reserve instruments, the monetary system tends to lose its stability whenever there is a loss of confidence in one of these instruments, resulting in a massive conversion of funds from one reserve instrument into another. That is why SDRs cannot be set up as the main reserve instrument without the ouster of their rivals, something that cannot be done in face of the mounting inter-imperialist contradictions.

Still, something is being done in this respect. A number of measures have already been taken within the framework of the capitalist monetary system so as to reduce the role of gold as international money and to turn it into a common commodity handled on international markets. The IMF has markedly reduced its gold stock, having partially returned it to the member-countries or sold it off on the free markets. The central banks have been allowed to buy and sell gold at market prices.

But these and other similar measures have not ousted gold from the reserves of the international monetary resources. Having lost its erstwhile role of standard, gold continues to be an important reserve. The stocks of this precious metal held by the central banks of the major capitalist countries are very much larger, at market prices, than the sum-total of all the other international monetary reserves. That is why even when the governments of most countries are faced with difficulties arising from large balance-of-payments deficits, they refrain

from selling gold and prefer to resort to monetary loans.

The reformers of the existing monetary system of capitalism find themselves in a vicious circle. They have to admit that the elimination of gold from the international sphere is feasible only under monetary stability. But they believe that such stability can be achieved through the introduction of SDRs, something that cannot be done without the ouster of gold.

Among the main problems in switching to the new standard is that of tying in the issues of SDRs with financial aid to less developed countries, which have ever more insistently demanded a fairer distribution of SDRs. While this may appear to favor the industrialized countries as well, since it would allow them to expand their exports to the developing countries, bourgeois economists frequently take a dim view of it. The financial monopolies fear that the additional resources obtained as a result of such aid could to some extent substitute for the credits made available under bilateral agreements, thereby limiting the possibility for exerting direct pressure on the newly liberated states.

The study group believes that the idea of introducing the SDR standard or any other artificial monetary unit holds no prospect of a solution for acute problems like purposefully regulating the balance of payments, combating inflation and doing away with the inequality between countries in the monetary sphere. Nor is this because bourgeois economists lack "inventiveness." All their theoretical constructs inevitably remain on paper because the crucial factor which has engendered and directly keeps reproducing the monetary difficulties is not rooted in "technical imperfections," but in the organic defects of the capitalist mode of production. And that is something neither the theorists nor the practitioners of state-monopoly capitalism can eliminate.

Real alternative

The attention on the part of the communist parties of the capitalist countries to various aspects of the monetary crisis is determined by the impact of monetary problems on the overall economic and social policies of the capitalist governments. On the strength of the conclusions drawn by Marxist economists, the participants in the discussion summed up some of the peculiarities of the processes now under way in the international monetary sphere. The main ones are:

— the capitalist monetary system has entered the 1980s in a state of chronic crisis, which is a direct effect and a specific manifesta-

tion of the general crisis of capitalism;

— at the present stage, the international monetary system is one of those spheres of the world capitalist economy which are most deeply disordered; in it are most acutely manifested the basic contradictions of the capitalist socio-economic formation;

— in virtue of the contradictions which are organic to the capitalist economy, the floating exchange rate system has done nothing to eliminate the grave disruption in the balance of payments equilibrium, the sharp fluctuations of exchange rates, and the upheavals on the monetary markets;

— inflation is having a strong negative effect on the state of the monetary system, and it is, for its part, being fuelled by manifestations of the monetary crisis like the growth of the internal money supply and credit, which is due to an excessive accumulation of reserve currencies and the functioning of the Euromoney market;

— the state of the monetary sphere largely determines the picture of international relations and has an effect on international politics, further sharpening the inter-imperialist contradictions, while the stepped-up competition tends to unhinge the monetary system and deepen its crisis.

The group stressed that the main causes of the crisis of the monetary system and the difficulties arising from its restructuring will not be found above all in specific spheres like the energy and raw material disorders, the short-term weakening or strengthening of the various currencies, the imperfections of international agreements, etc. The monetary crisis is rooted in the growing instability of the capitalist economy, which is being undermined by the general crisis of this socio-economic formation.¹¹ That is why, the experience of several decades shows, monetary difficulties cannot be eliminated through a "modernization" of the regulation mechanism. The measures proposed by bourgeois theorists and practitioners can at best provide a palliative capable merely of easing the painful phenomena, but at the working people's expense. Moreover, these "drugs" will merely drive the malaise deeper into the system, so building up even more dangerous relapses.

Since the unemployment and inflation being generated by the monetary crisis fall as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people, the communist parties propose their own measures for stabilizing the international monetary system by curbing the power of the monopolies. Of course, economic policy (including monetary policy) can be qualitatively changed only under socialism, but the com-

munist parties are convinced that this does not reduce the importance of alternative anti-monopoly programs, because these can ease the burdens of the crisis for the working people. The exchange of views showed that the communists base their approach to the problems of the monetary crisis on a number of common propositions (these are naturally modified depending on the concrete conditions in the countries and regions and the specifics of the economic outlook).

The communist and workers' parties whose representatives worked in the group oppose the imperialist strategy of intensifying the supranational state-monopoly regulation of the monetary sphere and, through it, socio-economic life in the capitalist countries. This strategy, which goes to benefit the transnational monopolies, is an attempt to exit from the crisis by intensifying the exploitation of the bulk of the working people, and harms the interests of the weaker, above all the less developed states.

The fraternal parties condemn the adaptation of the socio-economic policies of their countries' governments to the demands of the IMF and the transnational banks. Far from helping to right the monetary and general economic situation, such policies merely go to compound the existing problems, to plunge the national economy into even greater financial dependence on the more powerful capitalist powers and transnationals, causing unemployment and lowering living standards.

The communist and workers' parties have alternative programs to the policies pursued by state-monopoly capitalism on the national and supranational levels. The main propositions of these programs are:

- to restructure the whole system of international economic relations on democratic and equitable principles so as to eliminate all discrimination and inequality in world trade and credit;

- to develop business ties between states with different social systems;

- to enhance the role of the less developed countries in formulating international monetary and financial policy;

- to organize all-round worldwide economic cooperation in the light of the interests of all the members of the international community.

Only through such a restructuring is it possible to improve relations in the monetary and financial sphere, with a substantial role belonging to the policy of international détente and a reduction of the excessive military spending, which the communist and workers' parties support.

The Communists say: it is not manipulation of exchange rates for the purpose of boosting monopoly profits, it is not resort to enslaving external loans, but an independent socio-economic policy and abandonment of attempts to improve the monetary and general economic condition of the country by lowering the working people's living standards — such is the communists' call. Such a policy can be conducted only on the basis of a democratization of every sphere of life, and a curb on the monopolies' profits and power.

1. Since the lifting of the fixed price of gold (\$42.22 per ounce, which is equal to 31.1035 gr.), its market price has frequently topped \$800 per ounce. — All footnotes by Ed.

2. The balance of payments is the relation between a country's external expenditures (cost of import, services, etc.) and receipts from abroad. A surplus of expenditures over receipts produces a balance-of-payments deficit, and a surplus of receipts, a balance-of-payments surplus.

3. Eurocurrencies are funds in this or that currency (dollars, marks, francs, etc.) deposited in West European banks outside the country issuing the given currency and used mainly also beyond the borders of that country.

4. Exchange rates (the price of the monetary unit of one country expressed in the monetary units of another) are based on the relation of their purchasing power on domestic markets. In practice, this relation is constantly upset, because the exchange rate takes shape under the impact of the balance of payments, in which a great part belongs to factors that are not directly connected with the purchasing power of currencies (for instance, the movement of capital).

Under a system of fixed exchange rates, the rate is altered by means of a devaluation (a lowering) or revaluation (a raising) of the currency. Under a system of "floating" rates, the government exerts an influence on the latter by resorting to so-called monetary intervention, that is, by buying up or selling foreign currency.

5. Annual meetings of the leaders of the United States, Japan, FRG, France, Britain, Italy and Canada, held since 1975.

6. The EMS includes the Common Market countries (with the exception of Britain and Greece). The idea is to set up a common monetary fund and a common currency, the "European Currency Unit" (ECU).

7. In 1980 alone, these countries' deficit on current account reached \$25 billion, and from 1975 to 1980 came to some \$100 billion.

8. A bank of issue is a bank authorized to issue monetary tokens.

9. Parity is the equivalence in the value of currencies; here, the value of the national currency expressed in terms of gold or dollars.

10. SDRs are allotted by the IMF and used for settlement between the central banks of the signatory countries. The value of the SDR unit is calculated on the principle of a "basket" of currencies, that is, the sum-total of a number of currency components. Until January 1, 1981, the SDR "basket" consisted of 16 currencies, and now consists only of five: the U.S. dollar (42 per cent of the value of the SDR unit), the FRG mark (19 per cent), the Japanese yen, the French franc, and the British pound (13 per cent each).

11. For details see survey of international symposium proceedings in WMR, September 1980.



Namibia on the threshold of freedom

With a flaming torch against the background of the African continent as its emblem, the South West Africa People's Organization has been fighting for more than 20 years for the liberation of its homeland, Namibia, from colonial oppression by the South African racists. Worldwide the forces of peace and democracy are demanding an end to the unlawful occupation of Namibia and the granting of unconditional independence to it.

SWAPO President Sam Nujoma tells a WMR correspondent of the approach taken by the patriotic forces to the solution of the Namibian problem. The interview is followed by an article in which Moses Garoeb, Political Bureau member and Secretary, SWAPO Central Committee, assesses the alignment of forces in his country and writes of some of SWAPO's key areas of activity.

THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY

Sam Nujoma
President of SWAPO

Q. Top officials of the new U.S. administration, including President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig, have made statements in which they equated the national liberation movement to "international terrorism." Would you comment on this?

A. That the U.S. imperialists are hostile to the national liberation struggle is not new to us because all along they have sided with colonialists, racists and fascists, including those in South Africa. Although Washington sometimes tries to conceal the fact that it supports South Africa's racist regime, the truth comes out one way or the other. South Africa is a base of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place. It is a source of numerous strategic raw materials for the imperialist powers. As for occupied Namibia they are robbing it of its natural wealth. The USA, Britain and other capitalist states, on their part, supply the Pretoria racist regime with armaments, which are used to mute the demand of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia for genuine freedom and independence.

The only new element in U.S. policy is that now they have tagged the label of "terrorism" to the struggle against colonialist oppression and exploitation, have shed their camouflage, and are openly showing their hostility for freedom fighters. But labels of this kind will help neither the imperialists nor the semi-fascist racists in South Africa, which is the last bastion of colonialism in Africa. The oppressed peoples are giving them a resolute rebuff.

Threats will not intimidate the people of Namibia. There is no doubt that we will sweep out imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism, and put an end to exploitation of man by man in our country. We will continue intensifying military and political actions against the colonial authorities until we drive out the forces of darkness and death represented by South Africa's racists. We are quite confident that with the support of the international community, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in particular, our struggle will in the near future be crowned with victory much as victory was won in the persevering armed struggle of the subjugated peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe and other countries in Africa.

Since the whole people has risen, victory is sure to come, no matter how tortuous the way to that victory may be.

Q. The bourgeois press has written in connection with the Geneva Conference on Namibia¹ that having agreed to participate in the conference and having raised no objections to the presence of DTA² delegates, SWAPO made some concessions. Is there any truth in this?

A. It would be absolutely wrong to say that SWAPO's participation in the Geneva Conference was a concession or that our organization made any concessions at the conference itself. We remain firmly committed to the independence of Namibia. As we fight for the freedom and political independence of our country we are convinced that in the present situation our goal can be achieved either by armed struggle or by negotiations. If the colonial racist regime agrees to transfer power to the Namibian

people, there will be no need for armed action. Therefore, the efforts to achieve a political settlement are one of our two basic orientations.

Our organization participated in drawing up Resolution 435, which was passed by the UN Security Council in 1978, and agreed with the provision that the UN would assist in decolonizing Namibia. The resolution says that to end the unlawful occupation of Namibia, a UN peace-keeping force will be stationed in Namibia immediately after a cease-fire agreement comes into effect. The purpose of this force is to act as a buffer between the SWAPO guerrilla forces fighting the racist regime and the occupation forces, which are to be concentrated at one or several bases.

When hostilities end and a peaceful situation is established with the assistance of UN forces, a civilian UN group will come to Namibia to help implement measures of a political character in the interim period. Its immediate tasks will be to invalidate the repressive laws imposed on the Namibian people by the South African racists and secure the release of political prisoners — Namibian patriots held on Robben Island and in other prisons and concentration camps. The group will then register voters. The elections should take place under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

We went to Geneva after contacts were established through a third party with the South African authorities, who agreed to negotiate on ways and means of implementing the Security Council resolutions. SWAPO made no concessions concerning the demand of the Namibian people for an end to colonial enslavement and the unlawful occupation. On these issues our stand is immutable.

As before, we are determined to fight until we achieve complete liberation from imperialism, colonialism, racism and foreign exploitation. In this SWAPO is supported by the entire people, and we will not fail them.

Q. The Geneva Conference ended in a stalemate. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for a settlement in these conditions? What is SWAPO planning to do?

A. The fact that at the Geneva Conference the South African racist regime rejected the Security Council's resolution 435 is clear evidence that what the enemy wants is not negotiations but the retention of his rule in Namibia and the continued oppression of our people. But history has shown that each time a colonial state refused to turn power over to an oppressed people, that people stepped up the liberation struggle. It is unquestionable that the Namibian people, represented by SWAPO militarily and

politically, will stiffen their resistance to the occupation colonial authorities.

If the South African racists refuse to negotiate, we shall have to talk to them in the language of guns. We are convinced that this is the only effective way to compel the enemy either to surrender power to the Namibian people or to face defeat on the battlefield. The war in Namibia is continuing because no understanding has been reached in Geneva. But if the South African authorities agree to genuine negotiations and to end their colonial rule in Namibia, we will be prepared to negotiate with their representatives.

SWAPO has demanded compulsory comprehensive economic sanctions against the Pretoria racist regime. The UN member states, notably the permanent members of the Security Council, have the responsibility of implementing the many resolutions on Namibia's decolonization. Among these are Resolution 2145, passed by the UN General Assembly on October 27, 1966, which terminated South Africa's mandate over South-West Africa and declared the UN to be directly responsible for the administration of that territory; General Assembly Resolution 2248 of May 1967, on the strength of which a UN Council for Namibia was set up as a provisional body to administer Namibia until it was granted independence; and a number of other equally important resolutions, including the plan for Namibia adopted on the initiative of the UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

To secure the implementation of these decisions SWAPO called on the United Nations to impose comprehensive economic sanctions on South Africa. The imperialist powers on the Security Council as permanent members will most probably use their veto³ to protect their self-seeking interests with the help of the racist white minority regime in South Africa. But this will not prevent the people of Namibia from fighting for liberation. The main burden of the struggle is borne by the Namibians themselves. The international community's support can only be a complementary factor.

Q. But if elections had taken place in Namibia according to the UN plan, how many votes would the DTA have gotten?

A. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance is a creature of South African racists. It does not represent the oppressed masses of Namibia. True, about 10 per cent of our country's population are white settlers, who came from South Africa. They would certainly have voted a white minority racist authority. But the indigenous population of Namibia would have voted against it. That is why the South African

ruling circles refuse to decolonize Namibia in accordance with the Security Council resolution and fear free, democratic elections: the puppets they brought to Geneva to show there were Namibians opposed to SWAPO would definitely not have won a single seat. The true purpose of the South African stooges is well known to our people.

Q. It is said that South Africa might agree to elections in a year or two, after the DTA had built up a reputation and won the confidence of voters.

A. The South African racists are repeating the typical mistake of the colonialists — they underestimate the consciousness of the oppressed people. It is absurd to delay our country's independence with the hope that the puppets will win popularity. As the armed liberation struggle goes on, the DTA will be increasingly unpopular.

We are in a position to strike crippling blows on the enemy. SWAPO is now in control of large areas and I am convinced that in the near future the People's Liberation Army of Namibia will free a considerable part of our territory, if not the entire country.

Q. Does this mean we can count on meeting you soon in liberated Namibia?

A. Unquestionably. We are fighting a just struggle and we are certain that we will win.

DECISIVE PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE

Moses Garoeb

Political Bureau Member and Secretary,
SWAPO Central Committee

The situation in Namibia continues to be characterized by a bitter confrontation between the occupation forces of the South African racist regime and the SWAPO-led fighters for Namibia's liberation. It must be emphasized that the Pretoria authorities and SWAPO are the only sides of the conflict at all levels: military, political and diplomatic. If the question of a cease-fire agreement comes up, it will be decided only between them.

As for so-called "internal parties," increasingly promoted by reactionaries as a "counter-balance" to SWAPO, they are stooges of the South African racists or opportunists with no political weight but seeking every loophole to attract attention. But neither the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, nor groups like the Namibian National Front, nor the so-called SWAPO-Democrats, a party formed by the traitor Andreas Shipanga, has a real program to offer to the oppressed people of Namibia. They take no part in the struggle, least of all in combat actions. Although some of these puppets

claim to be more militant than our organization, their only hope is to win a few votes at the elections which could take place if the UN plan for Namibia is fulfilled.

The Pretoria authorities need these puppet groups and their strident self-promotion to back up the allegation that in Namibia they have some political organizations that should be getting "equal attention" from the international community. They want to show that the United Nations has been "partial" toward SWAPO, which is recognized as the sole lawful representative of the Namibian people.

While highhandedly demanding the renunciation of UN support for SWAPO, the South African racists are hastily putting together a neo-colonialist administration composed of puppets and trying to get a one-sided "internal settlement" of the Namibian problem. In December 1978 the occupation authorities conducted "general elections" and used their results to form a puppet "national assembly." In July 1980 they set up a "council of ministers of South West Africa;" in August they announced the formation of a "national army;" and in November they organized elections to "local assemblies" of the white zone and four tribal reservations. This in fact completed the process of shaping the neocolonialist regime in Namibia.

The South African authorities are, essentially speaking, following the example of their Rhodesian forerunners, who set up an obedient government headed by Bishop Muzorewa in an effort to retain white minority rule. What happened to Muzorewa is well known. The same will most certainly overtake the "cabinet" of the DTA leader Dirk Mudge.

At the same time, having little reliance on its puppets, South Africa is increasing its military presence in Namibia. Reinforcements are arriving in the country almost every day. According to our estimates, the strength of the occupation forces now exceeds 80,000. Numerous mercenaries, with a record of atrocities in Zimbabwe, have been transferred to Namibia to take part in police operations. The invaders are building and fortifying military bases and installations in our country. With the introduction of universal military service Namibians are being drafted into the South-West Africa army and the security forces. As a result, a growing number of people who refuse to fight on the side of the oppressors are joining SWAPO.

In order to suppress the rising tide of popular resistance, the occupation authorities are resorting to barbarous repressions and terror. SWAPO supporters, members and leaders are

arrested, sent to prisons or concentration camps, tortured and killed. To justify the outrages committed by his commandos, who have killed thousands of Namibians, Prime Minister Botha has cynically declared that for him stability, that is, the preservation of colonial rule, is more important than any proclamation of independence.

Discouraged by the total failure of its attempts to destroy SWAPO and crush the Namibian revolution, the fascist junta in Pretoria is now desperately trying to cut our organization off from its support bases. It is undertaking actions of terrorist aggression against Namibia's peace-loving independent neighbors, notably Angola and Zambia.

However, the racists' attempts to seize the initiative and strangle the Namibian national liberation movement are not bringing them what they want. The futility of these attempts has been strikingly demonstrated by the outcome of operation Smoke-Shell. South African army units with armored vehicles and artillery and supported by aircraft intruded into Angola on the pretext of pursuing PLAN detachments. According to official sources, this was the largest operation by South African armed forces since World War II. The aggressor boasted that he had broken the "backbone" of SWAPO. But civilians were the only people shot down by the invaders. A few days later PLAN fighters attacked the city of Ruacana in the north of Namibia and routed the enemy. South Africa's Prime Minister Botha went so far as to send a message to the UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim complaining of unceasing attacks by the "decimated" SWAPO forces. General Geldenhuys, commander of the South African troops in Namibia, finally had to concede that operation Smoke-Shell had not, as he put it, even scratched the PLAN.

While on August 26, 1966, nearly 15 years ago, a handful of courageous men rose in arms against the invaders, today we have an army of tested, experienced and dedicated fighters. The People's Liberation Army of Namibia is conducting increasingly successful operations, its tactics have improved, and it is gaining control of a steadily larger territory. The population in the large areas controlled by us does not take orders from the racists and acts on its own initiative. In these areas the SWAPO leadership's instructions on agricultural development aimed at achieving self-sufficiency in foodstuffs are being fulfilled and schools and hospitals are under construction.

Fighting has now moved deep into the center of Namibia, to the regions of Tsumeb, Grootfontein, Otavi, Ohahandja, Otjiwarongo and

Outjo, and even the suburbs of the Windhoek administrative center. More than half of the country's territory (where as many as four-fifths of the population live) has been declared a "security zone," in which war-time laws are in operation. In the battles against the PLAN the invaders are suffering heavy losses in manpower and material. South African soldiers are isolated at their bases; most of the roads to these bases have been cut. All this demoralizes the occupation forces and more and more of them are defecting. Having no superiority on the ground, the enemy increasingly resorts to massive air raids. But even that is not saving him. The PLAN is building up its anti-aircraft defense system and many South African planes and helicopters will never return to their airfields.

The PLAN units are hitting not only troops and installations of the colonial regime but also economic objectives — factories, power stations, railroads and bridges. Operations are conducted also against white settlers' farms that are used as outposts to keep the enemy informed of our troop movements. But now the situation is becoming so intolerable for the white farmers that the former "general administrator" of Namibia, Gerrit Viljoen, has had to offer a monthly remuneration of up to 2,000 rands⁴ to anyone remaining on the farms.

The growth of the liberation army's numerical strength and of the scale of its operations have placed on the agenda the task of reorganizing it (it was formed back in 1971). In addition to methods of guerrilla warfare, training is now increasingly based on the principles and tactics of a regular army, an army that will guard free Namibia's independence and sovereignty.

The SWAPO leadership's decision to channel 80 to 85 per cent of all the organization's material and financial resources for the armed struggle will likewise help to enhance the liberation army's combat capability.

Moreover, one of our organization's basic guidelines is to maintain a firm link between the armed struggle and the political work it is conducting among the masses. This work creates the base for intensifying the armed struggle and ensures support from the people without which the confrontation with the occupation forces cannot be won. A SWAPO soldier is, at the same time, a political propagandist, educator and organizer combining participation in military operations with active work among the population.

Our cadre in the localities are now more skilled in establishing and maintaining contacts with the population. They have learned

how to conduct house-to-house organizational and propaganda work and talk to the people. Personal persuasion is one of the most effective methods, especially where whole families are concerned. The following example gives an idea of how successful this work can be. The colonial authorities did not expect that the 14th anniversary of the start of SWAPO's armed struggle would be marked widely in Namibia and were greatly surprised when an impressive rally attended by hundreds of people took place on August 26, 1980.

The perfection of SWAPO's organizational structure has led to a substantial improvement of its work among the population. SWAPO's charter provides for the formation of mass organizations. One of the first was the Youth League, which was set up in 1977. The first congress of SWAPO's Women's Council was held in early 1980, and in the autumn of that year the Young Pioneer movement was officially instituted and is now in the process of formation. The Elders' Council and the National Union of Namibian Workers are yet to take final shape.

SWAPO's numerical strength has greatly increased. It has nearly 40,000 members outside Namibia. We cannot allow these people to languish in refugee camps. We have therefore started general education, vocational training and health protection programs. For instance, we began building up the education system

several years ago. Where our people are concentrated in Angola and Zambia we have set up primary and secondary schools. Clinics, hospitals and other medical centers are being opened. In addition to giving medical aid, they train the medical personnel — nurses and orderlies — who, upon completing their training, are assigned to PLAN units. Preschool establishments for children aged from 2 to 6-8 years have sprung up on the borderline, so to speak, between the education and medical programs. The largest of these caters for almost 450 children. Concern for children means concern for the nation's future, when Namibia is free and independent.

Many people are getting vocational training. Much of this is being done in Angola. We attach special attention to the educational establishments set up in cooperation with the UN. One of these is the UN Institute for Namibia in Lusaka. We see it as a prototype of a future national university. Many Namibians are getting an education outside Africa, mostly in socialist countries. Our aim is to have reliable, tested and knowledgeable people to fill key posts when Namibia is free.

In this way our organization combines resistance to the South African racists, the mobilization of the oppressed masses for the struggle against the occupation colonial regime, and the solution of problems that will face the nation when it becomes independent. This reflects our confidence in the imminent and inevitable triumph of the just cause of the Namibian people. The liberation struggle has reached a decisive phase. It is perhaps the first time that we really feel that victory is very near. The question now is how long the racists, who are desperately trying to break the people's will for freedom, will be able to go on committing their crimes, and how many more sacrifices will have to be made before Namibia is independent. To do everything possible to hasten victory is the duty of all who cherish the ideals of peace and freedom.

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1. Held on January 7-14, 1981 under the aegis of the United Nations. — Ed.

2. Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a coalition organization named after the venue of a "constituent conference" — Turnhalle Hall in Windhoek — convened by the South African authorities. It commands the majority of seats in the puppet "national assembly," the elections to which have been declared invalid by the UN General Assembly. — Ed.

3. On April 30 the representatives of the USA, Britain and France in the Security Council vetoed draft resolutions, submitted by a group of African states, on mandatory, all-embracing sanctions against the Pretoria regime. — Ed.

4. About U.S. \$2,500.

"Modern feminism" and women's organization

Mary Davis

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International Women's Day 1981 probably, for the vast majority of women in Great Britain, has passed virtually unnoticed as usual. It is realism, not defeatism, which prompts such an observation. But why should this be the case?

The answer involves an assessment of the current state of the women's movement in this country — an assessment which, as it turns out, is very timely, coming as it does when one component of the movement — the women's liberation movement (WLM), celebrated roughly 10 years of existence. The imprecision is deliberate since we are not here referring to a formal organization established by a founding conference, but rather a very loose movement or "current" which emerged in a relatively spontaneous manner in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Indeed it is this very spontaneity and rejection of formal structures which has characterized the women's liberation movement not only in Britain but in many other capitalist countries during approximately the same period. Without a doubt it is this movement which has captured the headlines, albeit that the media have sought to trivialize rather than popularize some of its more serious objectives.

So, to concentrate on the WLM is thus to concentrate on the dominant phenomena of women's politics in the 1970s — but it is certainly not to imply that other women's organizations do not exist or that the WLM characterizes all women's movements in the capitalist world. In the USA, Australia, France, West Germany (and many more), there are large women's organizations which were formed prior to the growth of the WLM and have maintained an active existence throughout.

In Britain there are other women's organizations still active (e.g., the National Assembly of Women), which have a much longer history than the WLM. Nevertheless, the latter, with its distinctive mode of operation, is a force which merits analysis.

Such analysis, however, must take account of certain objective factors relating to the concrete situation in which British women find themselves. The period since the 1950s has witnes-

sed an overall intensification in both the exploitation and the oppression of women which is particularly marked now with the advent of the present Conservative government. This is despite the fact that important legislative advances for women were won in the 1970s, like the Sex Discrimination Act, the Employment Protection Act and the Equal Pay Act. Some of this legislation is now inoperative, having been superseded by the provisions of the new Employment Act — an act which, among other things, seriously undermines the already frail rights of women workers. The Equal Pay Act has been largely ignored since its inception and the gap between men's and women's earnings is as wide as it was in 1975. Legislation apart, the possibility of any real and consistent advance for women in the workplace has been totally undermined by the abject failure of all post-war governments to acknowledge, let alone make provision for child care facilities for working mothers. The present round of savage public sector spending cuts raises little hope of any advance in this area in the near future.

The question is thus raised: what type of women's organization is required to enable women to resist such an onslaught and to translate the still fashionable slogans for equality into living reality?

The WLM, judging from its track record to date, does not and cannot fit the bill — its ideology and mode of organization militate against such a development. Such an assertion, in order that it not be construed as a brash indictment, must be explained.

Over its ten-year history, the WLM has evolved a distinctive (although not totally unified) ideology. This ideology is described as "feminism." In some ways this is a misleading description, since historically the adjective "feminist" has been used to describe every active campaigner for the rights of women. Nowadays such a definition would be unacceptable to WLM activists who have expanded the use of the term "feminism" to describe a total world outlook which attempts to perform three functions. Firstly, this outlook attempts to provide a

theory which explains women's oppression. Secondly, it acts as an analytical tool in dissecting the various ways in which women have experienced oppression. Lastly, it provides a set of organizational precepts for the involvement of women in the fight to "confront" their oppression.

Naturally all these three areas are interconnected and there is much debate and discussion within all of them. Nonetheless, there is enough of a consensus around a common core to enable its identification as an ideology. This ideology will be referred to hereafter as "modern feminism" in order to avoid the confusion previously mentioned over the term feminism.

Historically the area of modern feminist enquiry which developed first was the one which sought to describe how women are oppressed. This was hardly surprising considering the origins of the movement and its connection with the educational expansion of the 1960s. For the women whose aspirations were awakened by this expansion in higher education, of which they were beneficiaries, there was to be a rude awakening. They were brought face to face with a deep contradiction. The very society which had appeared to encourage women's aspirations was not prepared to allow those aspirations to be fulfilled. Society, it seemed, was deeply prejudiced against women. The prejudice was centuries old — it had prevented women from achieving their true potential and has succeeded in reducing them to second-class citizens, with no rights, only duties. What was new, however, was that now an educated and articulate group of women who had been trained to think critically, began to question the society which had promised them so much and offered them so little.

Their starting point was to investigate the various ways in which the prevalent "anti-woman" ideology manifested itself at all levels of society and even among men who were "progressive" and "enlightened" on most other issues. Degrading images of women as sex objects or as skivvies, so taken for granted in popular culture and reinforced by advertising and the mass media, were relentlessly exposed. The term "sexism" was coined to describe the overt and covert discriminatory attitudes women experienced. Sexism and sexist attitudes were recognized to exist in all aspects of life; in the legal system, the fiscal system, the education system, in children's books, in our very language; but above all in the attitudes of men. Men, it was argued, have always dominated society and therefore have fashioned its

institutions and ideology in order to perpetuate their own dominance.

Some valuable insights were gained by this type of enquiry. It challenged many reactionary assumptions about women's place in society and in addition it gave collective expression to the deep injustices women had experienced as individuals.

But nevertheless the over-concentration on the struggle to expose and change male attitudes reveals a subjective idealist approach to politics, and as such has great limitations. While it may be possible to change some individual's attitudes and even make some inroads into official thinking by a process of ideological confrontation; it is, nonetheless, quite impossible to overturn the entire ideology without challenging the material base by which it is supported. Without an appreciation of this basic materialist proposition, the movement is led into a dangerous corner. The alternative to this is to suggest that all ideas are the product of conscious reasoning abstracted from material reality, serving only as a conscious rationalization of such reality rather than as a reflection of it. Implicitly the WLM accepts this idealist starting point. Thus, for them the whole anti-woman ideology is the product of a consciously plotted strategy by man to perpetuate his age-old supremacy. Within the terms of this logic the target for attack must therefore be men. Class differentiation between men is deemed irrelevant. Male employers, male workers, male serfs, male lords are all tarred with the same brush — they all share one thing in common — "sexist" attitudes. Thus it's no use blaming "the system" or "society" for the subjugation of women because, so the argument runs, men are the system. They dominate all aspects of life, from the highest levels of the state right down to the smallest units — the family.

It will be at once appreciated that a number of practical consequences follow from this line of reasoning. At first though, the practical logic of the emphasis on discovering forms of oppression was not apparent since in its early years the WLM appeared to be a campaigning organization. However, later on, the already existing preoccupation with male domination began to reach almost obsessive heights. The various fractions within the WLM began to adopt or develop their own theories in an attempt to explain women's oppression — none of which represents an official view of the WLM. But despite the variety and the many American imports (there was from the start a flourishing link between the British and American movements), all the theories have

certain common features. Firstly, they all start from the same premise which modern feminism had already arrived at: the ubiquitous existence of male domination. Secondly, and consequentially, the theories developed from the same philosophically idealist base described earlier, and hence, finally, they all implicitly or explicitly reject a class analysis of the origins of women's oppression.

This latter statement would be certainly challenged by some within the WLM, since many of the feminist theoreticians are socialists and many declare themselves to be Marxists. Further, there is a socialist feminist grouping within the WLM which consciously seeks to blend aspects of Marxism with more recent feminist insights. They claim to be breaking entirely new ground here since they argue that "orthodox Marxism" has contributed little to a thoroughgoing analysis of the "woman question" save for one or two noteworthy texts from Engels and Bebel. And even these works, so the argument runs, pose as many questions as they solve. The socialist movement in general is castigated for its failure to take women seriously, and so they argue, it has been left to the women themselves to "creatively develop" Marxism so that it fully comprehends female oppression.

In reply to such charges it would be erroneous to argue that Marx, Engels or Lenin said the last word on the "woman question" — far from it — but it is quite another matter to assert that we have to start from scratch as though scientific socialist propositions about human development in general do not apply to women (i.e., to half the human race). Some socialist feminist writers act as though this were the case and while they might not explicitly reject a scientific socialist framework, they nonetheless often dodge the issue by theorizing about specific aspects of women's oppression rather than the overall causes. Thus much interesting work has been done, for example, on the family and on the "political economy" of housework in which attempts have been made to utilize Marxist concepts, but rarely have such analyses been fitted into a wider framework, so by default one is left with the impression, by those writers who chose the subject, that it is the family which is the cause of women's oppression.

By abstracting the family and refusing to confront the entire question from a materialist perspective, the idealist trap willy-nilly presents itself. Thus for example the starting point from which the family is analyzed is as an institution which has always had the function of oppressing women. This is a teleological view which assumes the constant existence of

the idea of women's oppression and which must end up by linking the origins of such oppression not to class society but to sexual divisions.

I have here only chosen an example to illustrate a general point; I do not pretend to have done justice to the vast literature which is appearing on this and other issues. But the tendency is to specialize more and more, and my earlier point on the failure of modern feminism to provide an overall materialist explanation still holds good. Given this failure, more credence within the WLM is thus given to those theories which reject Marxism altogether.

There are many such theories, but all of them state quite explicitly that the root of all oppression is, and always has been, men. This is either due to men possessing an essentially dominating nature or because women's biological make-up has rendered her unable to do the dominating, and once the initiative has been allowed to pass to men, they then draw up the rules. The rules are, of course, framed to either exclude women or make it very difficult for them to compete on equal terms. Such feminist views are put forward by some women to explain not just women's oppression but the development of human society as a whole, seeing it in terms of the development of male ideas and institutions. By some, therefore, the Marxist premise that the development of society is the history of class struggle is rejected in favor of the view that history is the history of the struggle between the sexes.

It will be at once apparent that the shortcomings of modern feminism's attempt to analyze and explain reality must have serious repercussions on the practical and organizational work of the WLM. There are two questions to be considered here. Firstly, we must look at the practical campaigning demands of the WLM. The glaring inequalities faced by all women prompted the first set of four demands which welded the WLM into a movement. These original four demands were adopted at the first conference held in Oxford in 1970. They relate to the most pressing issues faced by most women — equal pay, rights to abortion and contraception, child care provision and equal educational and job opportunity. Laudable though such demands are, with the exception of abortion, little practical activity was organized by the WLM to campaign for them. Such campaigning that did exist on these issues took place despite rather than because of the WLM.

This surprising state of affairs is explained by the fact that by its very structure (or lack of it) the WLM cannot be a campaigning organi-

zation; and, furthermore, greater emphasis was placed on "consciousness raising" as an activity rather than public campaigning. This latter activity was given even greater credibility and emphasis as the WLM developed its idealist theory and analysis as described earlier. It meant that if any campaigning was to be done at all it would be around those issues which most sharply confronted "sexist" or "patriarchal" attitudes. This in turn was reflected in new demands of a qualitatively different nature which were added to the original four. The most recently added demand particularly insists on banishing all laws, assumptions and institutions that perpetuate "male dominance and men's aggression."

Secondly, the mode of organization of the WLM must be considered. Since organization reflects aims, then it's no surprise that a very loose structure emerged which gives as much freedom for individual expression as possible. Nevertheless certain more conscious "formal" decisions were taken early on. Men were to be excluded from all meetings, there were to be no leaders or committees, in fact there was to be no formal organizational structure whatsoever since this would simply mirror male dominated organizations and would therefore discourage female participation.

The WLM thus consists of a collection of local groups all of which are entirely autonomous and act on their own initiative rather than carry out policy decisions made elsewhere "on high." A National Conference is held annually,

but this is more of a gathering of groups and individuals for the purpose of exchanging experiences and ideas. It certainly isn't a sovereign decision-making body, although sometimes decisions are made, e.g., the seven demands of the movement. It is claimed that the "tyranny of structures" would destroy that which is most precious and unique to the WLM — the warm and sisterly attitudes that the women have for each other. It is for this reason that some feminist writers have, of late, commended socialist organizations to reproduce such feminist practices, thereby encouraging a greater participation by women in such organizations. This would lead to, they say, a regeneration of left structures.

It is not here possible to consider the argument in full other than to note that it is by no means self-evident that feminist politics have generated universal sisterhood within the WLM. Some would argue that the lack of structure leaves the way open for cliques and factions to dominate from time to time, and, furthermore, there is nothing specifically new or feminist about this type of politics anyway; it owes more to the anarchist tradition than to anything else.

Having said all this though, the acid test of any movement must be the extent to which it is able to mobilize and influence large numbers of people. It is in this connection therefore that we must look finally at the class composition of the WLM. It will be recalled that the movement originated among women of the intelligentsia. It has, over its ten-year history, continued to attract such women as well as professional women — in short women who could be loosely described in the sociological sense as middle class. This in itself is not a criticism — it would be narrow and mechanical to condemn a movement solely on the basis of its class composition. After all, it was middle class women who were the dominant force behind the 19th century struggle for women's rights in this country and elsewhere, and yet no one would deny its many positive achievements.

Nevertheless we are now in a totally different situation: one in which the mass mobilization of women is not just a theoretical nicety, but a necessity. For all the reasons earlier discussed, the theoretical and practical orientation of the WLM militates against the involvement of the most oppressed and exploited section of society — working class women. An organization must be built which gives concrete expression to concerns of such women. Then real advances on the road to liberation for women can at last be recorded.

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"Pace-makers of history" or assassins pure and simple

A SURVEY OF LITERATURE AND THE PRESS ON TERRORISM

A wave of political terrorism is sweeping across the capitalist world. It would be hard to estimate the number of people dying at the hands of extremists. In Italy there were 2,150 registered acts of terrorism in 1979; last year 115 people lost their lives. Neofascist and Maoist ultra-right hit squads took the lives of more than 5,000 people in Turkey in the course of two years. Recently there have been attempts on the lives of Ronald Reagan, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and Pope John-Paul II, and there has been a plan to assassinate Indira Gandhi.

The many arrests and the crack-downs by the police and the courts have been unable to uproot terrorism. The fight against it is evolving into a protracted war that is drawing the entire repressive apparatus of the bourgeois nations into its orbit. Analysts believe that far from diminishing, the number of victims of the extremists will rise because of the increasingly advanced technology used in these crimes. Warnings are being sounded that even nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of terrorists.¹ What we are observing is yet another chronic disease of the capitalist system, which accentuates all its other vices and its deep crisis.

Although it lags behind developments the literature about present-day political terrorism runs into scores of books.² Countless articles are appearing in the periodic press, especially in countries where terrorism has become a daily occurrence. Bourgeois science now even has a discipline, violencology, which researches the use of violence in relations between people and in international relations.

Reading books and articles on this subject written by bourgeois authors, one asks whether the ideologues of capitalist society are indeed unable to pinpoint the causes of the violence permeating that society, whether their fear of placing this incurable ulcer of capitalism on display prevents them from getting to the root causes, or whether they are deliberately using the complexity and many-sidedness of political terrorism to manipulate public opinion. Or perhaps it is all these elements taken together.

It is noteworthy that bourgeois theorists and statesmen usually sound the alarm only over leftist terrorism. There is a reason for this. "International terrorism," writes Y. Lyakhov, "is elaborately camouflaged by the apologists of the bourgeoisie. One of the most widespread methods of disguising the substance and purpose of terrorism is to portray it as a weapon of the revolutionary-progressive and liberation forces and movements. They thereby aim to shift the responsibility for it to these forces and movements, prove they are an aberration, vilify them in the eyes of world opinion, bring them to a halt, or even eradicate them altogether."³

Let it be noted that the book from which this quotation was taken was published long before Washington launched its smear campaign charging the Soviet Union with supporting international terrorism.⁴ It is growing increasingly obvious that this campaign has boomeranged against its sponsors. It is hardly likely that there are people who do not know that the USA, called the "Shooting States" after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, makes wide use of terrorist tactics against other countries and peoples. Suffice it to recall the activities of the CIA, the murder of the Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and of the President of Chile Salvador Allende, the repeated attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro, the undisguised support and aid for the fascist military dictatorships in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, South Korea, South Africa and other countries where rivers of human blood flow.

"Behind the myth of the 'Soviet menace,' assassination, counter-revolutions, torture, mass murder and terrorism are the hallmarks of U.S. imperialism," the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA Gus Hall wrote, commenting on the attempt to assassinate Ronald Reagan.⁵ He bluntly stated the reasons, namely, that violence is steadily becoming more predominant in capitalist society precisely because of that society's degeneration and disintegration, because capitalism is more and more often having recourse to violence to

save its own skin, for it has lost all semblance of a human society.⁶

The problems of terrorism are vast, complicated, and specific in different countries. Our review is therefore deliberately limited to thematic and geographical boundaries (mainly Western Europe). Its purpose is to use the prism of various sources to show what the terrorists are trying to achieve. Another reservation is that we shall give more attention to ultra-left terrorists, because bourgeois propaganda deliberately associates their crimes with the actions of genuine left, democratic forces, alleging that the ultra-lefts are communists.

From the start let us note that in Western Europe today the main threat is from rightist, neofascist terrorism, which by its magnitude eclipses leftist terrorism. Take the fact that nearly 100 people died and almost 400 were wounded in the railway explosion in Bologna, Italy, last August and a similar outrage during a festival in Munich, the FRG, a month later.

The neofascist parties and groups united in the so-called Black International are out to establish military dictatorships in Western Europe. The former nazi officer Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, founder of the notorious Wehrsport-gruppe (the Munich explosion was the work of his young pupil Gundolf Kohler) has publicly stated that his aim is to "dissolve the republic and form an authoritarian state headed by a feuhrer."

Last September, under public pressure, France's Council of Ministers finally decided to dissolve the fascist Federation of National European Action (FANE), which operated openly for 25 years. Shortly before this, its leader Marc Fredriksen mockingly warned the government (in his journal *Notre Europe*) to hit the bull's eye when it aimed at fascists for otherwise within a few years the fascists would not miss their mark when they fired at the government. However, for the record, let us note that the banned FANE has officially resumed operations under a slightly altered name — FNE. Only a month later the neofascists committed another crime, exploding a bomb near the synagogue on Rue Copernicus in Paris.

There is no bourgeois government which the ultra-right reactionaries do not regard as much too "left." Rabid anti-communists, they see a "Red danger" everywhere and assume the mission of fighting it. "We know from history that the only way to control the left is to destroy them. We will tear out the communist weeds wherever they grow back, however many times."⁷ This boast was made by one of the chiefs of the Avenging Angels, a fascist terrorist

organization in El Salvador that operates hand in glove with the junta.

The ultra-rights are determined to put humankind back. They run their own publications⁸ and have broad access to bourgeois mass media (which is not surprising, because many neofascist organizations operate constitutionally on a basis of equality with political parties).

The scale on which ultra-left terrorists act is incomparably smaller and they function mainly underground. Leaflets printed on a hectograph are the most they can do in the way of stating their case. But they want more. Small wonder that after the abduction of d'Urso, a high-ranking member of Italy's judiciary, one of the demands of the Italian Red Brigades was for space in leading newspapers to draw notice to themselves as "fighters for lofty aims" and "motors of the revolution." These terrorists want recognition as a political reality or even a party that the government should reckon with. Their "revelations" have appeared in some publications, and we should like to look into them in some detail.

The left extremists sincerely see themselves as dedicated revolutionaries. A person unskilled in politics may believe he is listening to communists when he hears words such as the following: "We say that today the objective and subjective conditions exist for a resolute transition to civil war for communism . . . Our policy should be pursued in precisely that direction and resolve all the problems that the establishment of an armed proletarian power places on the agenda,"⁹ a Red Brigades spokesman told the Italian public in an interview to an *Espresso* correspondent.¹⁰

The following is an extract from a long interview given to the French journal *Le Nouvel Observateur* in a hideout by two former members of Prima Linea, which is the second most significant organization in Italy after the Red Brigades. In the journal they are called Marcello and Alessandro.

Marcello. Prima Linea claimed to be an underground network serving the struggle of the workers.

Interviewer. In what way?

Alessandro. It conducted its first action in November 1976 at the Fiat factory in Turin. This was a search, or, in our jargon, a raid. Our men, masked and armed, broke into the Fiat management offices. They searched the place and seized all the documents.

Interviewer. Was anybody hurt?

Alessandro. At gunpoint the personnel remained at their places and were then locked in toilets and ancillary premises.

Interviewer. You were averse to physical violence against individuals?

Marcello. No. For many years shop superintendents at the Fiat works and elsewhere had been manhandled . . . by workers, whose cup of patience had brimmed over by the nagging of minor officials. You must remember that we revolutionaries did not invent violence.

Alessandro. Long before Prima Linea was formed, we had been regularly raiding factories to prevent overtime. We organized processions of sorts through the workshops and urged those who continued working to join us. Of course, this did not always go off painlessly for shop superintendents, minor officials, and some trade unions . . . One of Prima Linea's most imaginative actions took place at the Simens plant in Milan in July 1977. The plant's warehouses were filled to capacity with goods and the management was threatening dismissals on the grounds that production had been stopped. Prima Linea members drove up to the plant in a police car and police uniforms. The guards were taken out of town and released and the warehouses were set on fire. The damage amounted to 10 billion liras."

One may get the impression that the workers eagerly supported these attacks by the ultra-leftists and were at one with them. But let us not draw hasty conclusions.

Even when terrorist activity reached its peak in Italy (with the murder of Aldo Moro as the high point) there were, according to Marcello and Alessandro, not more than 10,000 terrorists: members of underground groups and "lone wolves." It is true that the left extremists tried to enlist the support of workers (particularly of young workers), joining in their actions at factories and beating up and "shooting at the legs" of members of the management. However, this brutality had the opposite effect: most of the workers condemned it.

At factories infiltrated by terrorists, "wishing to help" the workers and win their support, they acted as provocateurs. Last spring the Fiat management dismissed 61 workers from its Turin plant on a charge of "complicity in terrorism." The management produced no proof but it is significant that all the discharged workers were trade union militants.

Time was when it was mandatory for the Red Brigades' members to join the Communist Party. But these were futile efforts to influence the advanced section of the proletariat. Conscious workers associate themselves with the communists, who emphatically condemn terrorism, seeing it as a totally unacceptable way of resolving social problems. In 1977 Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Com-

munist Party, said that the ultra-leftists were "new fascists," while *Rinacita*, the ICP's newspaper, branded them as a "gang of butchers."¹¹ This stand of the communists is making the pseudo-revolutionaries fume with anger. They vilify the Communist Party, alleging that it has been bureaucratized, that it is acting in the interests of the bourgeoisie, which, according to a Red Brigades spokesman, has given it the "role of a state in the working class," asserting that the party is willingly discharging this counter-revolutionary function.¹² More, the Red Brigades have gone over to undisguised threats. Early this year the authorities intercepted a circular of the Red Brigades leadership to the rank and file, ordering "military actions" against the ICP.

What is most striking in the confessions of left extremists? First the conspicuous absence of a positive program, of a coherent theory. Terrorists, an analyst has noted, live in a world of fantasy created out of vulgar "neo-Marxist" slogans and the absurd and dangerous ideals articulated by Jean-Paul Sartre and Herbert Marcuse.¹³

To the question by the *Le Nouvel Observateur* correspondent why these two young men, his interlocutors, joined Prima Linea, the reply was: "To speed up the course of history, to switch to a higher speed. It seemed to us that the further development of the mass struggle would at some moment require more intricate, improved means of struggle."¹⁴

Many analysts quite rightly note that the most essential feature of terrorism is its isolation from the masses and contempt for the class on whose behalf armed underground groups claim to be acting.

"For the so-called Autonomists in France and Italy,"¹⁵ writes Dr. Norbert Madloch in the weekly *Horizont* (GDR), "an elitist attitude to the working class is typical. They see the proletariat of capitalist countries mostly as a passive mass entirely integrated into the capitalist system and from which nothing more can be expected and for which one can only be sorry."¹⁶ Proceeding from this attitude to the working class, the theorists of left extremism say that the lumpen-proletariat and disenchanted scions of the bourgeoisie are now the main revolutionary force. Most of the extremists belong to these two groups.¹⁷

Instead of fighting neofascism, the leftists in fact help the latter. More, they make no secret of their wish to see fascism come to power. Here the "rationale" is that the sooner fascism is established the quicker will a socialist revolution take place, the argument being that the

entire people will most certainly rise against fascism.

The actions of the ultra-left terrorists play into the hands not only of the fascists. There is reason to believe that a thread runs from the Red Brigades and similar groups across the ocean, to the CIA. When the journal *Europeo* asked William Colby, then the CIA director, what his department was spending tens of millions of dollars on in Italy, he replied that where a communist organization existed his department set up and funded an anti-communist organization.¹⁸ Soon after the Aldo Moro tragedy, the Italian press stated the view that this crime was most probably masterminded by the CIA. With the reinvigoration of the leftists at the close of last year and the beginning of this year, when the Red Brigades kidnapped D'Urso, the Italian mass media brought this lead up again. Attention was drawn to the fact that Moro, who was the CDP leader, was strongly in favor of a dialogue with the ICP and was therefore regarded in Washington as an extremely dangerous and undesirable political personality.

The left extremists are courted by the Maoists. Having turned away from the international working-class movement, they see these extremists as their direct allies. Little wonder that the Red Brigades member interviewed by *Espresso* said that along with his organization the Italian pro-Maoist group was the "underlying factor of the armed proletarian power."¹⁹ While his declaration that the Red Brigades are oriented on Marxism-Leninism raises eyebrows, to put it mildly, his reference to the Chinese cultural revolution as an "ideal" has all the trappings of plausibility.

Needless to say, some decent people are caught in the net spread by the left extremists. Most of them are brought to terrorism by a hypertrophied sense of protest against capitalist order. They are usually between 18 and 25 years. Some have lost all hope of finding a place for themselves in bourgeois society, are confused in their minds, and do not realize what they are doing. In the 19th century the well-known Russian revolutionary, philosopher and author Alexander Herzen wrote sadly about these "revolutionaries," noting that they lived "more in a world of friends and books than in the world of harsh reality; more in the algebra of an idea with its easy and all-embracing formulas and deductions than in a workshop, where friction, temperature, poor tempering, and the water sink change the simplicity of the mechanical law and inhibit its rapid course."²⁰ These young people are sincerely prepared to sacrifice themselves. But

they do not decide the policies of terrorist organizations. They are used only as hitmen.

However, let us not lay it on too thick. In no country, much less on an international scale, is there a coherent movement. They are fragmented into a series of organizations. Their views and pronouncements are largely contradictory and eclectic, consisting of a fantastic palette ranging from anarchism to Maoism. "Not a single 'theorist' of right or 'left' opportunism, revisionism, Trotskyism or Maoism has developed or been able to develop a coherent system of views," the Soviet researchers V. Bogorad and R. Matveyev write. "Some theses constantly circulate among the ideologues of these schools and are modified according to place, time and the character of the audience."²¹ Nowhere has terrorism brought about revolutionary changes, writes the British author Hugh Purcell.²² In *Terrorism: Theory and Practice* the view is offered that terrorism has been and remains the tactic of the politically weak.²³

History cannot be accelerated by acts of voluntaristic violence. The communists, who are guided by scientific revolutionary theory, are aware of this. The impatience, the "revolutionary itch" of extremists was condemned by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The resolution "Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International," passed by the second congress of the Comintern on a motion by Lenin, declares that a revolution cannot be started artificially, without preparing the masses adequately.²⁴ This holds true to this day.

It is vital that the communist should show the true face of terrorism, which is stabbing the revolutionary movement in the back. This, too, is the purpose of this review.

Ernst Henry

1. Louis Rene Beres, *Terrorism and Global Security: the Nuclear Threat*, USA, Westview Press, 1979.

2. We would recommend reading the analysis of this subject by Italian and West German communists in the books: Bruno Frei, *Die anarchistische Utopie* and Hans Adamo, *Über Terrorismus*, Frankfurt on Main, 1978; A. Minucci *Terrorismo e crisi italiana*, Rome, 1978.

Some aspects of international terrorism are minutely researched by the Soviet scholar Y. Lyakhov in *Problemy sotrudnichestva gosudarstv v borbe s mezhdunarodnym terrorizmom* (The Problems of Cooperation among States in the Struggle against International Terrorism), Moscow, 1979. This book has a substantial bibliography on the subject.

Compelling facts are given by bourgeois authors, for instance: Julian Becker, *Hitler's Children. The Story of the Baader-Meinhof Terrorist Gang*, London, 1977; *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*, Ed. by Y. Alexander et al. USA, Westview Press, 1979; C. Dobson, R. Payne, *The Weapons of Terror at Work*, London-Basingstoke, 1979.

3. Y. Lyakhov, op. cit., p. 155.

4. The backstage workings of this campaign are discus-

sed in "International Terrorism: Facts and Inventions," WMR, April 1981.

5. *Daily World*, April 16, 1981.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Newsweek*, January 5, 1981.

8. For instance, the monthly journal *Nation Europa*, ideological mouthpiece of the West German fascists, is published in Coburg, the FRG. Its editor-in-chief, Peter Degoust, is a member of the neo-nazi NDP. The neofascists of Britain, Italy, Spain and some other West European countries likewise have a legal press.

9. *Espresso*, January 11, 1981.

10. It is still not known who spoke to the journalist at the time d'Urso was kidnapped, but there is reason to believe he was Giovanni Senzani, a teacher at Florence University regarded as one of the thinktanks of the Red Brigades.

11. *Rinascita*, January 23, 1981.

12. *Espresso*, January 11, 1981.

13. *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*, p. 107.

14. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, October 13-19, 1980.

15. The Autonomists or "Workers' Autonomy" are a left extremist group close to the anarchists. Its ideologue is former professor at state law at Padua University Antonio Negri, who has written several books in which he preaches violence, adventurist tactics of the anarchist and Maoist type.

16. *Horizont*, No. 28, 1980.

17. The recruitment of lumpen-proletarians by both right and left extremists is discussed by Ernst Henry in "The Modern Lumpen-Proletariat and Extremism," WMR September 1979. — Ed.

18. *Europeo*, February 2, 1978.

19. *Espresso*, January 11, 1981.

20. A.I. Herzen, "On Socialism," *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1974, pp. 535-36 (in Russian).

21. *Against Bourgeois Falsifiers of the History and Policies of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1980. p. 112.

22. *Morning Star*, June 19, 1980.

23. *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*, p. 11.

24. *Second Congress of the Communist International*, Moscow, 1934, p. 471.

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