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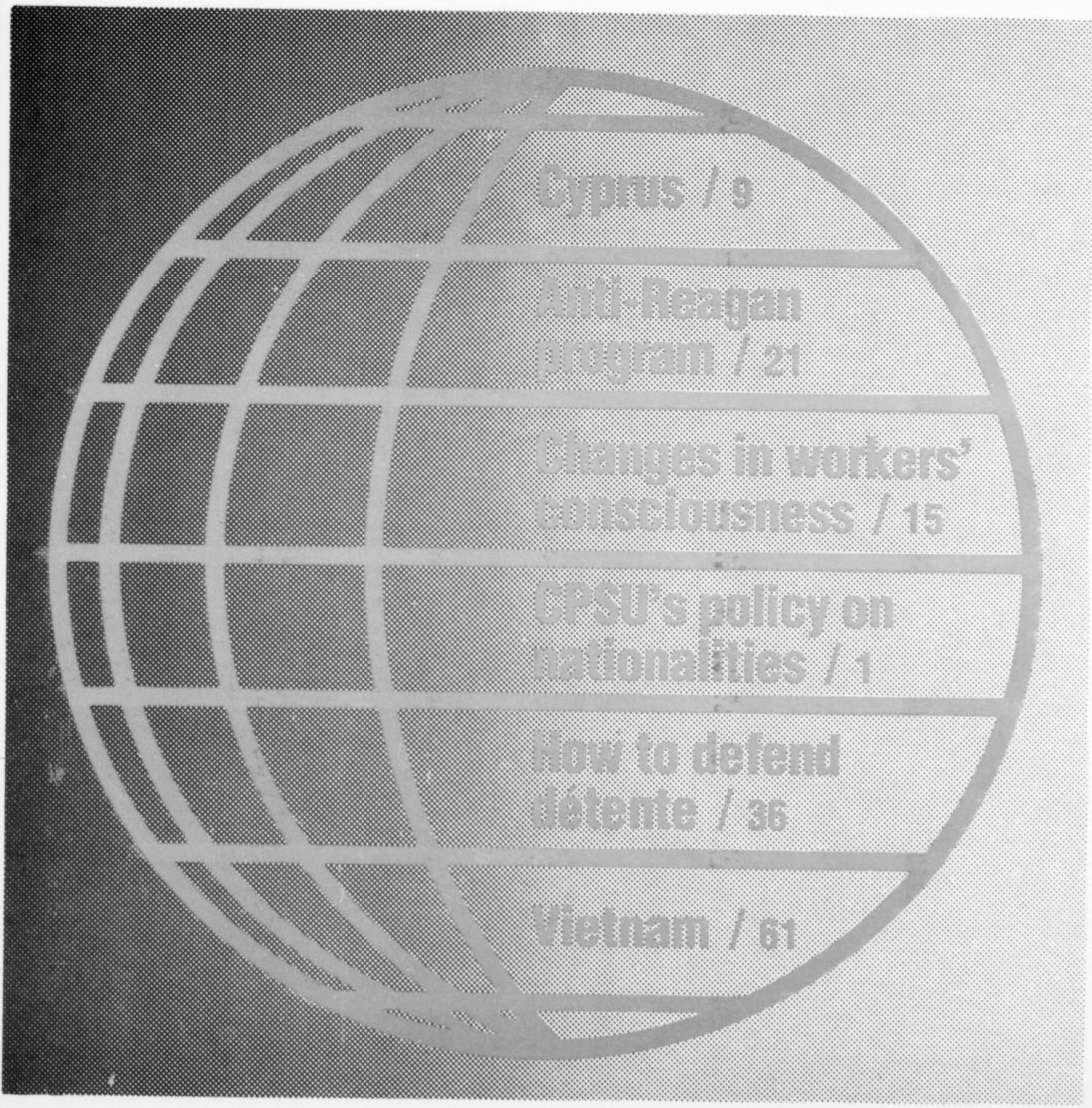
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

September 1982, Volume 25, Number 9 \$1.00



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Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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The CPSU's Leninist policy on the nationalities question and its international significance

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Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Among the cardinal problems of our epoch, that of nationalities holds a special place. The experience of existing socialism has shown the only possible way of achieving a just and complete solution of that question.

The unprecedented achievements in the economic, socio-political and cultural development of the peoples of the Soviet Union are compelling proof of socialism's advantages, the accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist theory of nations, and the correctness of the CPSU's policy on the nationalities question. The unbreakable fraternal alliance of the peoples of the USSR is the great motive force of Soviet society and the tireless generator of its creative energies.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution on the 60th anniversary of the USSR notes that on this glorious anniversary the Soviet Union is seen by the whole world as a close-knit family of equal republics jointly building communism. The Soviet people are unshakably united around their Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Leonid Brezhnev, devoted continuer of the great cause of Lenin.

The appeal of the Soviet Union's example has become a powerful stimulus of the struggle of peoples for national and social emancipation. Imperialism's colonial system collapsed and many peoples won state independence under the influence of this struggle and the impact of the changed world balance of strength. The formation of the world socialist system, in which the relations between countries rest on a qualitatively new foundation — full equality, mutual assistance, and friendship — is an immense achievement of humankind. The promotion of mutual understanding and cooperation between peoples is a major component of the struggle of the CPSU and the Soviet state against the threat of war and the arms race, for a lasting peace.

The steadfast, onward development of the multinational Soviet Union constantly poses the Communist Party and the entire Soviet people with new tasks. The party addresses

them in keeping with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its historical experience, creatively enriching the practice-tested Leninist principles of building socialism and communism. The Leninist policy on the nationalities question at the stage of developed socialism is formulated and substantiated all-sidedly in the materials and resolutions of the 24th-26th party congresses and in the works of Leonid Brezhnev.

I

The sources of a just solution of the nationalities question in our country have their origin in the first years of our party's activities, in prerevolutionary times. Lenin's theory on the nationalities question in the epoch of imperialism and transition from capitalism to socialism is one of his most outstanding contributions to the world revolutionary movement. In his coherent theory of the laws governing the development of nations and their transformation from capitalist into socialist nations, Lenin incontrovertibly demonstrated that a genuine solution of the nationalities question is linked to a socialist revolution, to the triumph of socialism, and showed that it was vital to merge the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the national liberation movement in a common stream.

A central place is held in Lenin's heritage by the principle of *proletarian internationalism*. Lenin, the Bolsheviks, showed both in theory and in practice that in the matter of social and national emancipation an exceptional role is played by the implementation of this principle in party building and in the working-class movement. The party, Lenin said, has to be a single and centralized militant organization relying on the whole of the proletariat, without distinction of language or nationality, and held together by unremitting joint work on theoretical, practical, tactical and organizational questions (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 335). The formation of the party with democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism as its guide-

line principles became the decisive condition of success in ensuring the militant unity of workers of all the nations inhabiting the country.

Lenin saw the full equality of nations, the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession, and the internationalist unity of the proletarian class struggle for socialism as the essence of the solution to the nationalities question. The thesis of the right of nations to self-determination, which the RSDLP was the first of the parties of the working class to include in its program, adopted at the second congress, was one of the central theses of that program. In retrospect, in the light of historical experience it is obvious how immensely important this program provision was, politically and ideologically, for the development of the revolutionary movement. It was a powerful instrument for the internationalist education of the workers and for uniting the working masses of oppressed nationalities around the proletariat, and helped to draw the finest elements of all the nations of our country to the side of the party, to win them to Marxism, to Bolshevism.

win them to Marxism, to Bolshevism.

In upholding the principled provisions of the program on the nationalities question in the struggle against right opportunists and "left" dogmatists, Lenin showed the danger of nationalistic attempts to obscure or misrepresent the class content of nationalities problems, and of national nihilism. In his approach to this question he on no occasion ignored national specifics or underestimated the significance and role of the history, culture and traditions of each nation. He stressed that the striving to develop everything advanced, democratic and finest on which national pride rests does not contradict but, on the contrary, is fully consonant with the interests of socialism, of the working class.

That the Bolsheviks united the workers and working people of all the nations and nationalities inhabiting Russia around the Russian proletariat as the core and principal motive force of the revolutionary movement was one of the key conditions that led to the victory of the October Revolution.

The revolution marked the beginning of a steep turn in the destinies of all the peoples of the country. In its very first legislative acts the Soviet government made significant steps toward the full emancipation of the formerly oppressed nations and ensuring their juridical and, ultimately, actual equality.

The Bolsheviks had to work out the principles of national-state construction conforming

to the task of society's socialist transformation and conduct this construction in continuous struggle against the many nationalistic parties and organizations functioning in the country at the time. The indomitable will of Russia's multinational working class for unity and the extensive political and organizational work of the Bolshevik Party made it possible to surmount all difficulties. The working people of all nationalities declared their resolute determination to unite their strength and resources for the attainment of the common goal of building a new, just society.

Lenin wrote that it would be wrong to confuse the proclamation of the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession with the question of the expediency of secession. Given other equal conditions, for the proletariat it is preferable to unite nations in a big and strong state voluntarily, on a genuinely democratic, internationalist foundation.

The first congress of Soviets of the USSR, held on December 30, 1922, was the logical outcome of the unitary movement of the fraternal peoples. Representatives of four Soviet republics — the RSFSR, the Ukraine, the Transcaucasian Federation (consisting of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia), and Byelorussia — approved the Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In the closing speech at this congress, the head of state Michail Kalinin said: "For millenia on end, humankind's finest minds have been pondering the theoretical problem of the forms that would give the peoples the possibility, without the greatest suffering and strife, to live in friendship and brotherhood. In fact, it is only now, today, that the first step is being taken in that direction."*

The task of ending the inequality of nations in economic and cultural development became central to the nationalities policy because this alone could ensure their actual equality. This, the party said, could only be achieved by effective and prolonged assistance from the Russian proletariat. The Russian people, who knew ruin and famine, expended enormous material resources to develop the non-Russian regions and sent thousands of party functionaries, workers and specialists, who unstintingly shared their knowledge and experience. Thanks to this internationalist assistance, these regions carried out tasks within a few years that under other conditions would have required a whole epoch.

In the Soviet Union the nationalities question

*Michail Kalinin. *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1960, p. 359 (in Russian).

was resolved in the course of socialist construction. Actually, these were two aspects of one and the same process. The socialist restructuring of social relations and the abolition of exploiting classes changed the life of all the peoples inhabiting the country, while the pooling of resources, labor and will multiplied their strength and laid a solid material and cultural basis for socialist transformations.

Deep-going progressive changes took place in the life of all the nations and nationalities, embracing the economy, social relations and culture. Modern industries and large-scale agriculture were built up everywhere. Some nationalities went over to socialism without passing through capitalism. A development of the utmost importance was that in the Union republics the proportion of persons of the indigenous nationality increased in the ranks of the working class, which is the principal motive force drawing together the nations and nationalities inhabiting the country. Flexible and varied forms of Soviet national statehood, forms that are in essence common and conform to the interests of each nation and of society as a whole, have taken shape. A cultural revolution cleared the way for momentous changes in the economic and socio-political life of the Soviet peoples. Illiteracy became a thing of the past. More than 50 peoples who had no written language, acquired it. Nations and nationalities of the new, socialist type were thus formed. The inviolability of the alliance of the Soviet nations has been proved in an acid test — the fire of the Great Patriotic War. In that war the USSR defended and upheld not only its independence but also the right of all peoples to national freedom. The victory over fascism saved entire peoples from annihilation.

The Soviet Union gave the world what amounted to a unique example of resolving the nationalities question. For instance, people of more than 30 nationalities live in the small Caucasian republic of Daghestan. Where prior to the revolution there was unending hostility between nationalities and bloody feuds, there is now friendship and joint work in alliance with all the other peoples of the USSR.

In the process of profound changes in all spheres of life in our country there arose in the course of decades of socialist construction a new historic entity of people, the Soviet people, uniting all classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities on the basis of the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

The leading and guiding role of the CPSU is the foundation of the formation and further consolidation of this social and international entity. The party cherishes and strengthens the

friendship among the peoples of the USSR and their great fraternal alliance that was forged in the crucible of revolutionary battles and socialist construction.

These days, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the USSR, one sees, to put it figuratively, an impressive demonstration of economic, social and cultural achievements of all the republics of the Soviet Union. This is a veritable victory parade of the CPSU's Leninist policy on the nationalities question.

II

The most important result of the sustained creative effort of all the nations and nationalities united in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the *building of a developed socialist society under the leadership of the party of Lenin*. The country entered a new stage in its history. This affected, of course, the development of the relations between nations, relations that are today characterized by the following main features:

— first, in the shape it was inherited from the past the nationalities question has been resolved fully, once and for all. Relations of equality and fraternity, of Leninist friendship among peoples, have been firmly established countrywide; all the Union republics have attained a high and relatively equal level of social, economic and cultural progress;

— second, the advantages of developed socialism combined with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution are expediting the internationalization of all aspects of the life of the Soviet nations, with the interests of each met more and more fully on the basis of a coherent countrywide economic complex;

— third, in the course of socialist construction, similar social structures of the population of Union and Autonomous republics are gradually evolving into classless structures with the working class acting everywhere as the leading force of this process;

— fourth, steadfastly perfecting socialist democracy in a state of the whole people is giving ever greater scope for the harmonious combination of the interests of the individual republics and the Union as a whole, for the direct and equal participation of each person in the administration of public affairs regardless of social status or nationality;

— fifth, firmly asserted in the social consciousness, the Marxist-Leninist world view and socialist ideals and moral values play the decisive part in the flourishing and drawing together of national cultures and in the further

development of the integral culture of the Soviet people;

— sixth, the socialist way of life with its inherent collective spirit, sense of comradeship, unity, friendship among peoples, and enlightened association between nations today determines the internationalist foundations of the way of life of all the Soviet nations;

— seventh, the relations between nations and nationalities are now developing with the existence of the new social and international entity — the Soviet people — and in close connection with that entity's further progress.

All these basic changes in the life of the socialist nations and nationalities of our country are mirrored and enshrined in the new constitution of the USSR, the constitution of a developed socialist society.

Note must also be made of the fact that socialist international relations have ranged beyond the boundaries of a single country: a socialist community now exists and is gathering strength.

In our country the main trend of the development of relations between nations and nationalities at the present stage is the further all-sided drawing together of these nations and nationalities, and this is leading to the further consolidation of the USSR. Needless to say, even at the stage of developed socialism unity and harmony between the international and the national do not come of themselves. They are achieved only through the consistent implementation of the scientific, realistic policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government on the nationalities question. That is why, while taking legitimate pride in the historic advances that have been made in the solution of the nationalities question, our party does not relax its attention to problems linked to the development of socialist nations.

Take economic development. The situation today is as follows: the country's integral economic complex, which is the material basis of fraternal relations and friendship among peoples, is developing successfully; having reached approximately the same level of economic development, the Soviet republics are jointly resolving the key problem of further progress, namely, the problem of intensifying production. The party's present course is to build up the material and cultural potential of each republic and, at the same time, make the maximum use of this potential for the harmonious development of the entire country.

The USSR is moving confidently toward its 60th anniversary. But it has always been the party's tradition to concentrate on problems that still await a solution. In this context the

immediate task is to make the maximum use of the material and labor resources of each republic; this stems directly from the party's proclaimed course toward the intensification of production.

The efficient functioning of the country's economic complex and, consequently, economic progress and the raising of the living standard of the people of each republic now depend to a decisive degree on the fulfillment of such programs as the development of the energy and raw material resources of Siberia, the Soviet Far East, the North, and the zone of the Baikal-Amur Railway, the development of the non-chernozem belt, and the development of territorial-production complexes.

The central task of party organizations and of the people of all republics in the current and next five-year plan period is to carry out the food program, approved by the CPSU Central Committee at its plenary meeting in May 1982, and thereby to ensure the country's population with a dependable supply of food. There is no doubt that the internationalist unity and friendship among the peoples of the USSR will be a major factor in achieving the great targets spelled out in the program. At the same time this work will be a factor in the further drawing together of our peoples and in strengthening friendship among them.

At the present stage a growing role is played by social policy in the development of relations among nations and nationalities, notably in the fulfillment of tasks such as shaping the optimal social structure in each republic, promoting the living standard and cultural level of the people, and managing migration in and between republics. A substantial drawing together of classes and social groups is a feature common to all the republics.

The conclusion drawn by the 26th congress of the CPSU on the emergence of a classless structure in what is basic and most important already within the historical framework of developed socialism, clearly points to the prospect of a further strengthening of the social and internationalist unity of the Soviet people. It is in the light of this conclusion that we consider, among other things, the question of the future of nations. A historically new stage of their development will evidently be the formation of classless socialist nations. This new social quality will unquestionably be a still broader and more solid basis of their unity and progress within the framework of the Soviet people as a social and international entity.

The entire road traversed by our country provides ample evidence of the great viability and profound democratic character of the basic

principles along which the Soviet multinational state is organized. Experience shows that the more democratic the political system, the broader is the use that the people make of the fruits of democracy and the greater becomes the force of mutual attraction of all nations and nationalities. This regularity underlies the international character of the national statehood of the peoples of the USSR.

In every Soviet republic state power serves the interests of all the people inhabiting it, regardless of whether they belong to the indigenous nationality or not. All of our republics are multinational and, as Leonid Brezhnev pointed out, the party wants all the peoples of each republic to be duly represented in party and government bodies with, of course, strict account of the qualifications and ideological and moral attributes of each person.*

The historic changes in the country's socio-economic and political life have given a powerful impetus to the further cultural progress of the Soviet nations and nationalities under conditions of developed socialism. A natural expression of these processes has become the enrichment and greater diversity and brilliance of society's cultural life. The integral international culture of the Soviet people absorbs all that is valuable and significant in the achievements and original traditions of all socialist national cultures. At the same time, it is broader and more many-sided than any of them taken separately, and is open to all that is humane and advanced in world culture.

The growth of the culture of all the peoples of our country is ensured by the inclusion of the achievements of other nations in the national fund and by the further development of own culture, the extirpation of obsolete, backward elements, and the rejuvenation of the finest traditions. A culture that seeks only to conserve the traditions of the past instead of enriching them with the spirit of contemporaneity, with the achievements of other cultures, inevitably spends itself, dooms itself to provincialism and stagnation. In short, the golden age of all-sided development of the peoples of our country lies, as Leonid Brezhnev said with inspiration, not in the past but in the present and future.

Questions related to language, to lingual life, are of great significance to the further strengthening of the socio-political and ideological unity of the Soviet people. It will be borne in mind that more than 130 languages are spoken in our country.

The truly free and equal use by the nations

and nationalities, by all Soviet people, of their own native languages or the languages of other peoples of the USSR reflects, as a mirror, the democratic and humane character of our system. We observe the rapid spread of the Russian language as a language of inter-nation and world association. At the same time, the languages of all the peoples of our country continue to develop and enrich each other.

In the context of relations between nations and nationalities, it was noted at the 26th congress of the CPSU, the development of such a large multinational state as ours generates many problems requiring the tactful attention of the party. The party studies them in detail, constantly takes them into account in its day-to-day work, conducts extensive internationalist and patriotic educational work among the people, creatively develops the Marxist-Leninist theoretical heritage, and repulses bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers of the Leninist policy on the nationalities question.

A lesson of experience is that the disappearance of antagonistic classes and the formation of socialist social relations are not in themselves a guarantee that the corresponding changes will take place in social psychology and in the relations between people of different nationality, that this does not automatically ensure the eradication of nationalistic prejudices and manifestations.

Survivals of nationalism are extremely tenacious in everyday, person-to-person relations, and often intertwine with survivals of a religious character. The CPSU therefore does not relax its efforts to make proletarian internationalism a norm of behavior, an inalienable feature of the Soviet citizen's active stand in life.

It is no secret that in its attacks on existing socialism hostile Western propaganda makes a particularly big effort to drive a wedge into the friendship among the peoples of our country, to animate nationalistic feeling.

Hence the party's continued attention to ideological education and to strengthening friendship between working people of all nationalities.

People are not born internationalists but brought up as such. The party sees constant perfection of the forms and methods of internationalist and patriotic upbringing as one of the principal ways of strengthening Leninist friendship among peoples, as a key condition for expediting our society's development along the road of communist construction.

The living practice of promoting relations between nations and nationalities in the USSR and the effective and highly humane solution

*Leonid Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow 1981, Vol. 8, p. 699 (in Russian).

of the most intricate problems, which are a stumbling block for any bourgeois democracy, constitute the treasure-store of tested practice that is always open to all fighters for socialism, for the happiness of people on our planet.

III

The struggle for liberation from foreign, national oppression has a history of thousands of years. In our day, too, the nationalities question is a cornerstone of the development of human society.

For that reason the theory and practice of remaking the relations between nations and nationalities in the USSR have acquired epoch-making significance. They are powerfully influencing the struggle of peoples for national independence, freedom and equality. Wide use is made of many aspects of the CPSU's experience by progressive states, parties and public movements throughout the world.

The Marxist-Leninist parties come forward as the most determined and thoroughly consistent champions of complete equality between nations. The following main reasons may be pinpointed to explain why in the course of many decades the communist movement has been paying such great and unflagging attention to the nationalities question.

The first of these is that the struggle for national freedom and independence is part and parcel of the world's true social renewal in our epoch and, consequently, of the struggle the communists are waging for a better future for humankind. The second is that the struggle for the equality of nations, for just relations between nations is an important factor in effectively countering imperialism's policy of aggravating the international situation, a factor of struggle against the threat of war and the arms race. "Our experience," Lenin noted, "has left us with the firm conviction that only exclusive attention to the interests of various nations can remove grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual mistrust, can remove the fear of any intrigues and create that confidence, especially on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which there absolutely cannot be relations between peoples or anything like a successful development of everything that is of value in present-day civilization" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386).

The kindling of national discord and chauvinism has usually been the prologue to aggression, to wars of aggrandizement. On the eve of World War I the imperialist powers filled the atmosphere of Europe with the poison of nationalism and chauvinism. In preparing for

World War II, Hitlerite fascism carried chauvinism and racism to their extremes. This was expressed in the policy of physically annihilating some nationalities and dooming others to slavery and extinction. Under the banner of nationalism and chauvinism, imperialism fought predatory colonial wars.

In our day, too, chauvinism is a weapon of imperialism, of U.S. imperialism in the first place, which is conducting an unbridled arms race, heating up tension in international relations, peremptorily interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, and exacerbating the crisis situation in various parts of the globe. Chauvinistic ideology underlies the policies of Israel's ruling circles, who started a bloody aggression in Lebanon and embarked on genocide relative to the Palestinians and on the ruthless extermination of the inhabitants of Lebanon.

U.S. imperialism's aggressive strategy is not only aimed against peoples fighting for independence, but also leads to a whittling down of the sovereignty of the USA's allies, to the subordination of their policies to the interests of the U.S. ruling circles. It is growing ever more obvious that this policy conflicts with the vital interests of big and small nations, including the national interests of the Americans themselves.

This line is opposed by the policies of the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties. The Marxist-Leninist approach to the nationalities question and the steadfast championing of the right of nations to self-determination are one of the underlying principles, enshrined in the constitution of the USSR and defining the Soviet Union's relations with foreign countries.

The Soviet experience in national construction is most fully reflected in the policies of the communist and workers' parties of the *socialist-community countries*, in the social life of these countries, and in their practice of inter-state relations.

The nationalities policy of the Marxist-Leninist party in each socialist country is implemented by concrete ways and means in accordance with that country's internal specifics and its history. At the same time, despite all distinctions in resolving the nationalities question, as in the building of socialism as a whole, there are common principles and regularities. It is important that the socialist community countries are correctly combining their national interests with common interests, cooperating, and removing all obstacles to common progress.

Socialist internationalism, which is prole-

tarian internationalism under conditions of socialist and communist construction, has established itself in the community of fraternal countries. It determines the principles and norms of the interaction of nations and nationalities in each socialist country. In fact embracing all areas of inter-state and inter-party relations, it regulates relations of sovereign socialist countries.

Socialist internationalism embodies respect for the national and historical features of each country, and the determination to extend mutual support and disinterested mutual assistance, and jointly safeguard socialism's achievements. The further consolidation and development of the principles of socialist internationalism and their day-to-day implementation are a growing imperative, especially in a situation in which world reaction is expanding its subversion against countries of the socialist community.

Considerable attention is given to the Soviet experience of resolving the nationalities question by public opinion, statesmen, political leaders, and parties of the Asian, African, and Latin American countries that have won liberation.

To this day the nationalities question is an extremely acute issue here. Its essence lies in, above all, the struggle of peoples against imperialism, for complete national liberation, deliverance from exploitation by the transnationals, and the realization of the right to independent development. Imperialism does not want to reconcile itself with the loss of the political domination over dozens of once colonial and semi-colonial countries. Many of the newly-free countries have become the scene of dramatic events nourished by the fact that long-standing ethnic, tribal, religious and lingual problems remain unresolved. The fanning of ethnic strife is an essential factor of imperialism's neocolonialist strategy.

Today it is clearer than ever that there is a relationship between the solution of the nationalities question in the newly-free countries and the choice by them of a way of socio-political development. For these countries the problem is: either to "repeat what has been traversed," i.e., the road of capitalist development with its ethnic discord and inequality, exploitation, and torments of poverty and hunger, or take the new road blazed by the Great October Revolution, the road leading to socialism where there is no soil for national conflicts, where friendship and equality between nations have become a law of social development, where exploitation of man by man is non-existent.

The criterion of whether this or that national movement is progressive or reactionary, Lenin wrote, is in each concrete case whether it facilitates the consolidation or division of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces, whether it serves the aim of the social emancipation of the working people, the interests of social progress, or is used by imperialism and internal reaction to undermine it in the interests of the exploiting classes. As Lenin defined it, the duty of the communists is to render their "determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation" (Coll. Works, Vol. 22, p. 151).

One of the hallmarks of present-day world development is unquestionably the aggravation of ethnic relations in the industrialized capitalist countries. In these countries the aggravation of the nationalities question is an inalienable element of the further exacerbation of the capitalist system's general crisis. For that reason the struggle to preserve and consolidate national sovereignty, against imperialist dictation, and for the equality of ethnic minorities and groups is fusing ever more closely with the task of resolving the entire spectrum of acute social problems in the capitalist countries and, in the long run, with the task of restructuring social relations along socialist lines.

The protests of nationalities burdened by inequality are, as a rule, either ignored by the bourgeois governments or, when they grow militant, ruthlessly suppressed. Such was the case in some southern cities of the USA, such is the case in Ulster where the Thatcher government, denying elementary rights to imprisoned Ulster patriots, doomed 10 of them to death by hunger.

The requirements of nationalities are an important element of the political programs and entire work of the fraternal parties in many developed capitalist countries. Whether the issue is the settlement of the sore Northern Ireland question, the struggle against racial and national oppression of Blacks, Indians, and other ethnic minorities in the USA, the status of immigrant workers in the FRG, France, and other countries, the problem of French-speaking Quebec in Canada, the settlement of disputes between Walloons and Flemings in Belgium, or the national autonomy of some Spanish provinces or of Scotland and Wales in Britain, the communists define their stand in keeping with Lenin's idea of combining the struggle for the solution of the nationalities question with the struggle for basic anti-monopoly, democratic changes, for the class

interests of the working people, for social progress.

Given all the specifics of the nationalities question in different countries, the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries is the orientation and guide in the quest for ways of resolving it. By and large, in its international dimension this experience consists mainly of the following:

First, on the example of the largest country in the world with a huge national diversity, where for centuries on end the ruling classes had been planting national discord and oppression, it has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that it is possible to shape a qualitatively new type of relations between nations and nationalities based on the principles of equality, justice and friendship. It has been convincingly demonstrated that these relations are a powerful factor of social progress.

Second, it has been substantiated in theory and proved in practice that since any national oppression and inequality are the product of the system of exploitation of man by man, the struggle to resolve the nationalities question is indivisibly linked to the struggle for the social emancipation of the working people. Capitalism is unable to resolve the nationalities question with any consistency to speak of.

Third, true equality of nations means enjoyment of the right to self-determination, to form an independent state, to decide the socio-economic system, and to maintain independent relations with other countries and peoples. In a multinational country the only sound political foundation is a voluntary alliance of the nations and nationalities inhabiting it.

Fourth, the political liberation of a nation cannot be total and lasting if it is not combined with a restructuring of economic and social relations, with a struggle for economic equality.

Today with tens of countries working on the complex tasks of ending age-old backwardness and achieving economic equality with developed capitalist states, the experience of the Soviet republics is a valuable and inspiring example for them. That there is a real and proven possibility for peoples who had not gone through the capitalist stage of development to achieve socialism without passing through that stage or by substantially shortening it is of particularly great significance.

Fifth, the establishment of national equality is closely linked to the character of a country's political system. The closer it is to true people's power and the larger the opportunities it offers to the working masses for active participation in the affairs of society and state, the greater the scope that it opens for carrying out the tasks of national rejuvenation confronting countries that have taken the road of independent development.

Sixth, for a just settlement of the national problems there must be a conscious, organized and purposeful political vanguard capable of correctly understanding and articulating national interests and building up the people's energy in such a way as to fuse their efforts with those of other peoples in the general international channel of struggle against imperialism, for national freedom and social progress. In other words, there must be a party that articulates the interests of the working class and all other working people and is guided by scientific socialism.

Seventh and last, long practice has shown the importance of meaningful work by the party in educating working people of all nationalities in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of friendship and brotherhood between peoples.

Of course, the above is not an exhaustive exposition of the Soviet experience, which is extraordinarily multifaceted and embraces different phases of historical development.

The CPSU is far from expecting other peoples to copy Soviet patterns without taking the specific historical situation, place and time into account. Every people and every country has the right to draw from our experience what it feels is vital and useful to it.

The path traversed by the Soviet Union since the Great October Revolution, its historic achievements and the developed socialist society built in our country are a dependable foundation for strengthening friendship among peoples and using its great creative potential for the building of communism. On this road, too, the Soviet Union is opening new vistas for all humankind.

Books by Boris Ponomarev

Lenin and the World Revolutionary Process

Progress Publishers, Moscow
cloth 515 pages \$6.95

Marxism-Leninism; A Flourishing Science

International Publishers, New York
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The future we want

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For nearly 60 years, our party has been active as a defender of the interests of the working class and the other working people of Cyprus. In the course of its struggles, it has repeatedly come up against situations in which the fulfillment of current tasks depended largely on a correct understanding of their connection with the overall perspective of the revolutionary process. Such is also the present situation.

First, a few words about the specific features of this situation.

It was recently eight years from the day of the coup d'état by the fascist junta in Greece that flung open the doors to invading alien forces. For eight years now, 36.4 per cent of the territory of Cyprus has been occupied by Turkish troops, which are also NATO troops. The imperialist conspiracy that started with the subversive activities of EOKA-2, and led to the traitorous fascist coup and the Turkish invasion is designed to perpetuate the partition of Cyprus and to turn it into NATO's biggest military base in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Imperialism has exploited the mistakes and chauvinism of both the Greek and the Turkish sides to create the tragic situation that exists today in Cyprus and to promote its sinister partitionist plans.

The party is working for the removal of all that prevents the creation of an independent, sovereign, federal, non-aligned and demilitarized Cyprus. The 15th congress of AKEL (May 1982) pointed out that the interference by external forces, instigated by aggressive U.S. and NATO quarters, raises obstacles to an early and fair solution of a problem that is most important to us at this stage. It was only natural that the congress devoted special attention to working out concrete measures for the defense of the Cypriot people's fundamental rights and oriented the party's efforts toward achieving the goals set.

But we do not want to fight separately from other democratic, patriotic forces in Cyprus, and an important step in this context was taken on April 20, 1982: an announcement was made concerning democratic cooperation between AKEL and DEKO (Democratic Party). DEKO expresses and represents the interests of that

part of the national bourgeoisie which wants Cyprus to be a truly independent state, free from any imperialist presence and foreign occupation, democratic and non-aligned. Representing the working class and expressing its interests, AKEL also wants such a settlement of the Cyprus problem, because this meets the aspirations of the working class and of the working people as a whole. That is an important basis for democratic cooperation between AKEL and DEKO.

AKEL-DEKO democratic cooperation is based on a mutually concerted minimum program and on measures for its materialization. The goal is the struggle for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of UN resolutions and top-level agreements and for a continuation and development of the policy of non-alignment. We shall press for the opening of the File on Cyprus¹ to inform the people about the backstage activities of those who are responsible for the traitorous coup. This will help the courts to mete out due punishment to those who are to blame for the misfortunes of the Cypriots. We want the adoption and realization of a new socio-economic policy to promote a fairer distribution of the national income in favor of the economically vulnerable strata of the population. Among our demands are freedom of education, a substantial improvement of social security, the establishment of a national system of public health, the institution of a university, the raising of the working people's living and cultural standards and the solution of the main material problems facing the refugees.

We believe that in order to do all of this there is a need to rid the government apparatus and the security forces of the Republic of all those who took an active part in the coup and are involved in corruption and sabotage. The agreement envisages the formation of an effective government acceptable to both parties and relying on the people's confidence, and capable of shouldering the responsibility for realizing the minimum program.

Our party is not represented in the new government. It is the President of the Republic and Chairman of the Democratic Party Spyros

Kyprianou himself who selected the ministers of the government, and, as he himself stressed, the minimum program will constitute the government's policy, which means that every minister undertakes the obligation to implement the section of the program relevant to his ministry.

With the democratic cooperation between AKEL and DEKO based on the minimum program, the two parties fully retain their independence and ideological orientations. Each of the two parties belongs to a different ideological sphere, but this does not prevent them from cooperation on the basis of the Cypriot people's vital national interests. Nor is there any compromise here of ideological principles.

The form of cooperation agreed upon by AKEL and DEKO, which is open to other democratic parties, is closely connected with the present stage of our struggle, which is an anti-occupation, anti-imperialist, liberation struggle. We have entered into a program of cooperation with DEKO not to effect a change in the socio-economic system, but in order to promote our aims for a genuinely independent, federated non-aligned and demilitarized Cyprus. As the 15th congress of AKEL stressed, at this stage the broadest possible cooperation of all patriotic forces is altogether indispensable.

The declaration on democratic cooperation between AKEL and DEKO, the minimum program and the condition for its materialization — the nomination of Spyros Kyprianou as joint candidate for the next presidential elections and the establishment of the new government — were all hailed with enthusiasm and relief by the majority of the Cypriot people. They rightly saw the announced democratic cooperation as an instrument of political stability and a guarantee for the democratic evolution of Cyprus. Concerted action by the two parties, many believe, could be a barrier to the ultra-right putschist reaction, which is grouped round the Democratic Rally Party,² with a view to seize power and transform Cyprus into an imperialist protectorate and a paradise for foreign and local exploitive capital.

Unfortunately, the AKEL-DEKO democratic cooperation was not welcomed by those who try to represent themselves as socialist leaders, like the leadership of EDEK³ and others. In private these circles slander the new government as an "organ of AKEL and Moscow," while publicly charging that AKEL has been "subjugated to the bourgeois class" by accepting the minimum program agreed with DEKO. The EDEK leadership are in a hurry to establish "socialism" in Cyprus and even in cooperation

with the "Rally" leadership, totally ignoring the specifics of the present stage in the Cypriot people's struggle.

We also seek in principle a socialist transformation of the society. But is it possible immediately under present conditions? That is the question. And it is not a specifically "Cypriot" question. There are many instances in the international working-class movement when revolutionary forces in some countries attempted to fight for a new society while ignoring the actual internal and external situation. As a rule, such attempts did serious harm to the revolutionary movement.

Generally speaking, this is a question concerning the social ideal and its relation to the social reality. To answer this question in explicit and precise terms is to show the masses the actual connection between the struggle for current objectives and the future, thus making them conscious participants in the progressive transformation of life.

This is all the more important since the question of roads to socialism, of our social ideal and its relation to the social reality has become central to socio-political discussions, including those within the communist movement. We feel that we must set forth our stand on this issue.

When speaking of the future, our party proceeds from the real context of development and not from arbitrary, speculative notions of the future. We do not engage in constructing an ideal in the form of some abstract, extra-temporal perfection. The idealistic approach runs counter to the scientific perception of reality and hampers understanding of the laws of social development, so ultimately leading to utopia.

Our social ideal is scientific and takes the form of a theoretical generalization of the results of our analysis of social development and the class struggle going on in society. It expresses the real social requirements which have matured in the society and accords with the objective uniformities of social progress. After all, this historical progress, this succession of social formations, in particular the transition from capitalism to socialism, does not come about fortuitously but is governed by tendencies working "with iron necessity," as Marx put it.⁴ To ascertain, discern and comprehend these uniformities and their concrete manifestation in one's country is to clarify one's own concept of its future.

What makes the Marxist social ideal fundamentally different from all previous ideals is precisely its close connection with the realities of social development. Lenin wrote with good

reason that "there is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a 'new' society. No, he studied the birth of the new society out of the old . . . as a natural-historical process" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 425). Consequently, the task is to detect the prerequisites of the new in the old and discover likely roads to radical changes by analyzing real processes. With such an approach, the ideal is the image of the necessary future, which grows out of the resolution of the contradictions of the given society.

This image, of course, takes shape as a result of revolutionary activity, both theoretical and practical, by the party and the masses, and not of itself, not as a result of the gradual evolution of the society. At the same time, the ideal is not a blueprint or social project which can be prepared and realized as one pleases. A few years before the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin showed up, in a controversy with opportunists over the country's way of development, the flimsiness of the subjectivist approach in evaluating social phenomena and the outlook for social change. "If I say: a new Russia has to be built in such-and-such a way from the standpoint of, say, truth, justice, equalized labor, and so on, it will be a subjectivist approach that will land me in the sphere of chimeras. In practice, it is the class struggle, and not my very best wishes, that will determine the building of a new Russia. My ideals of building a new Russia will not be chimerical only if they express the interests of an actually existing class, whose living conditions compel it to act in a particular sense" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 330). By taking this stand, Lenin pointed out, we are not justifying reality in any way but are, on the contrary, indicating in this reality itself the deepest sources and forces of transformation (even though they are invisible at first sight).

The experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties in the countries of victorious socialism is evidence, we believe, that the communists who have assumed the mission of leading the working people's struggle for social transformations are not so very free to choose the ways of implementing their programs for advance to socialism. The founders of scientific socialism foresaw that "to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies," the working class "will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming completely circumstances and men."⁵ We should all like to see these processes developing smoothly, without hazards, and the

restructuring of the society proceeding painlessly, leading — this is the important thing — to the instant formation of the ideal society we had dreamed of, the ideal human relations that are bound to take shape in accordance with our scientific concepts (the question is, when?). But that does not happen. It would be odd for us to expect man himself, formed as a totality of definite social relations, to change overnight, coming to correspond to our idea of people of the communist future.

It is not, of course, that history has denied us freedom of choice, nor is history itself, as the founders of Marxism stressed, a particular person using man as an instrument to achieve his goals; history is the activity of man pursuing his aims.⁶ But our options are limited. We would cease to be materialists if we decided to disregard objective social tendencies, which operate "with iron necessity", without conforming to the actual conditions of the struggle. That is why we believe that all artificial "models" of socialism are as barren as any road to it charted arbitrarily, regardless of reality.

But this invites the question: what is social reality, the soil on which grows the scientifically sound, and so realistic, ideal (I hope the reader will bear with me for this paradoxical phrase)?

Marxist-Leninist parties are characterized by concrete analysis of concrete situations, by a desire to know exactly what and by what means they can accomplish in a particular situation. This approach enables them to bring out the contradictions of the given society and to decide on the ways and means of dealing with them. It enables them to set well-founded tasks meeting the objective requirements of social progress and the vital interests of the masses. Thus, progress toward socialism runs through the revolutionary removal of concrete barriers on the way to a better future for the people.

Consider Cyprus. As foreign interference in our affairs, chiefly by NATO, is continuing, the communists see the primary aim in ending the encroachments of our national sovereignty and independence. For as long as there are Turkish occupation forces and British military bases on the territory of Cyprus, social progress will be blocked. And for as long as the Greek and Turkish communities are disunited, it will be virtually impossible to make headway without trying to settle the basic problems in their mutual relations.

Thus, our struggle, therefore, continues to be an anti-occupation, anti-imperialist, liberation struggle. A struggle for the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation forces and all the other foreign troops from the territory of Cyprus, for

the return of the refugees to their homes and of their properties under conditions of security, as provided for by the relevant UN resolutions, for the discovery of the fate of the missing persons, for the freedom of all those living in the occupied area, the liquidation of the "British sovereign bases" and the U.S. monitoring stations and for the demilitarization of Cyprus. It is a struggle for a Cyprus, where Greeks and Turks, Armenians, Maronites or Latins, will live harmoniously and build a happy life for all Cypriots. And it is an inseparable part of the global struggle of peoples for international détente, peace, democracy, independence and social progress. But we are not inclined to skip objectively necessary stages of social development so as to tackle prematurely problems that are not yet ripe for solution. With us, the advance to socialism begins with overcoming the imperialist domination in our country.

Other fraternal parties fighting for socialism are operating in a different set of conditions and have to solve social problems far from similar to ours. This is quite natural. But does this mean that the result in each country will be a socialist society whose distinctive features will prevail over common ones? This is not really an absurd question to ask when, in wide-ranging socio-political discussions, emphasis is put on the specific as against the common characteristics of the very essence of the new social system, and when there is a tendency to regard existing socialism as the antithesis of some other socialism whose emphatic advantage is said to consist precisely in its being "different."

A great deal has been written in Marxist literature about each country having to begin building the new society from its own level. To put it more plainly, socialism in a more developed country is bound to be "richer" from the outset, at the very first stage in the formation of the new society. Much has also been written to the effect that the new society will absorb and add to all the earlier achievements of the people concerned, and will use and carry forward their finest traditions. There is no need to demonstrate that which only few will now seriously question. But speaking of the interconnection of reality and ideal, I should like to stress the following:

The socialist (communist) ideal sketched out by the founders of Marxism in general terms reflected the contradictions and tendencies in the development of the contemporary capitalist society, the advanced society of the 19th century. Today's social reality determining the content of the socialist ideal has a considerably more complex structure.

It certainly includes present-day capitalism,

a system beset by contradictions whose revolutionary resolution is the basis for the formation of the new social system. The revolutionary forces operating in the capitalist society help to deepen the concept of their future socialist and communist society by their theoretical and practical transformative activity, with due regard to the circumstances. But present-day social reality also includes existing socialism. Furthermore, it is the socialist countries that are the definitive force in social development in our epoch, and the foundation and motor of social progress. The international communist movement has come to realize that now that a step has been taken from the simplicity of utopia to the complexity of historical reality, one cannot — provided one takes a broad approach, the only approach making it possible to elaborate the socialist ideal still further, to carry it deeper and specify it — but proceed from an analysis of the historical experience and achievements of existing socialism, the achievements of countries where the social ideal asserted by the founders of Marxism first took visible shape, where people were rewarded with the early joys of a dream come true and went through the early failures and mistakes, and where experience has been gained in overcoming such mistakes, complications and problems. The fact remains that so far history has offered us this sole opportunity of testing the possibility of attaining our ideal and drawing conclusions from the practice of materializing it.

Certain political forces in Cyprus and in some other countries try to contrast our social ideal and existing socialism. Our opponents want us, in fact, to ignore the whole of the available experience and the conclusions drawn from it by Marxist-Leninist theory and to begin from the beginning, from scratch. But even if we took such an approach, what would be the outcome? One of two things. If, having started from the beginning, we still based our theoretical and practical activity on analyzing the objective tendencies of social development and were guided by the scientific approach, we would inevitably end by recognizing the law-governed processes and principles foreseen by Marxist-Leninist theory and confirmed by many socialist revolutions, that is, we would inevitably return to what we had rejected. But if we decided to ignore these objective tendencies and the experience of existing socialism and to carry on our struggle from the positions of an arbitrarily conceived idealized society of the future, we would return to utopia, we would take a step back from scientific socialism.

It would be suicidal for us, communists, to

fight for the support of the masses on an ideological platform meeting the interests of our class adversary. The contrasting of our social ideal and existing socialism objectively tends to discredit the mighty force which confronts world capitalism. For all that, our adversaries do not delude themselves into imagining that they can undermine the positions of existing socialism by criticizing its imperfections. Theirs is a different stake, and it is to separate and disunite the natural allies fighting against imperialism, that is, the peoples who have built socialism and those who are striving for it. Now that mass discontent with the existing order, which tends to increase insecurity, is growing in all the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie's criticism of socialism is aimed at the vacillating, at those who would like to break with the present system but cannot as yet, for various reasons, bring themselves to do so openly. Those are the same people to whom we, communists, also address our appeals.

Our party has not the slightest desire to play into the hands of the class enemy, who is fighting against existing socialism (and ourselves) by criticizing its difference from the ideal. This has nothing to do with the fact that in explaining our position to the masses, we wish even now to avoid harmful disappointments among those who see socialism as a society perfect in every respect, a society which must emerge almost immediately after the working class and its revolutionary vanguard have won political power. Only a scientific conception of the relation between ideals and realities can safeguard communists from mistakes and enable them to use the whole of past revolutionary experience for their own good and not to waste it.

It stands to reason that, because of dissimilarities in the conditions of the struggle and experience, some differences of opinion regarding one and the same subject may develop among communists operating in capitalist and socialist countries. Opponents of capitalist rule who are pondering on the socialist future of their country cannot help looking in existing socialism for the features of one's own ideal, and this may give rise to a peculiar maximalism. The immediate perspective begins to merge with the main goal of the movement and they lose their sense of distance between existing socialism and what has yet to be done in advancing to communism.

One returns to reality and to a correct view of one's own goals and the common goals of the communist movement when visiting friends and fellow-communists in the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist

countries. In acquainting oneself with the actual process of socialist construction, one sees clearly the different forms, ways and means of solving social problems, and gains a more precise idea of how very much had to be done to advance from the society's earlier condition to its new condition, and how much more still has to be done in the course of further advance toward communism. As it happens, in no socialist country which I have visited have I ever heard communists say that they regarded what they had accomplished as something that could be elevated to the rank of a fully materialized ideal and held up as an absolute standard.

Their opinions and estimations of the distance covered suggest that they are proud of their performance and this is natural, for the road was not an easy one. But we have always felt that our fellow-communists were dissatisfied with their achievements, and have seen that *their very ideal is continuously developing, becoming more perfect, richer in content and more specific as progress is made in realizing it.*

For our party, existing socialism is that which the communists and other working people of the socialist countries have by now done in translating the Marxist-Leninist ideal into practice. This is why we regard the socialist reality as the material basis for our social ideal. What exactly makes us say so?

Let me list only the more important points:

- the establishment of the political power of the working class has given the masses access to the management of social affairs, to real means for transforming their destiny;

- the abolition of private property in the means of production and its transformation into social property has made it possible to end man's exploitation of man, to eliminate the economic foundations of social inequality;

- new principles of managing the economy have become established; they are not geared to deriving profit as the principal object of production but to creating the material prerequisites for solving major social problems, and for ensuring steady improvement of the people's living and cultural standards;

- the educational and cultural standards of the masses have risen appreciably, which also helps them exercise their right of participation in the management of society;

- the nationalities question has been settled on the principle of fraternal relations and a fraternal alliance of socialist nations and nationalities;

- a state has been founded whose chief development trend is extension of the citizens'

real rights and freedoms and advance to communist social self-administration.

As a result, socialism has brought all working people social security, provided conditions for everyone to develop his capacity for labor and cultural activity, done away with inequality on account of nationality or sex, raised the masses to the stature of masters of their country and their own lives, and given fresh scope for further social transformations on communist lines. The outlines of the humanist ideals and principles of communism are beginning to appear even at this stage of society's development. Only at this stage — and not under capitalism — does one of the main tasks of society as a whole consist in perfecting social relations.

We see the meaning of social revolution above all in the rebirth of the oppressed working man, in his "straightening his back" and "awakening to a new life" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 270), and not merely in winning political power. Existing socialism is there and is developing and going from strength to strength precisely because the communists have succeeded in bringing this about.

AKEL wants to stress its unshakable allegiance to Marxism-Leninism as the only true revolutionary doctrine, which not only explains the world but shows the right road to transforming it in the interests of the working class and other working people. So, when elaborating our strategy and tactics in the struggle for the new society, we are not inclined to exaggerate the national specifics or underestimate the influence of the uniformities governing the development of the world revolutionary process which have been discovered by science.

How do we visualize, in very rough outline, the future development of Cyprus? First of all, we must free Cyprus and turn it into a truly independent state before we can proceed to the stage of socialist transformation of society. AKEL wants to liberate our country together with the broadest possible strata of the Cypriot population, both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, patriotic national bourgeoisie and working people. Thus the 15th congress of AKEL unanimously approved the cooperation between our party and DEKO, their common minimum program and measures for its materialization. We are sure that during this struggle for the main national interests of the Cypriot people the necessary political, eco-

nomic and ideological conditions will be created for the further advance along the road of social progress toward a better life, toward socialism. It is natural that we shall use for our own practical work all the available experience of the fraternal communist parties, especially of those which have built a socialist society and which are advancing toward communism, our common ideal.

We live in a turbulent but exceptionally important time in which revolutionary social-political changes are taking place. All that is old, rotten and anachronistic is giving way to what is new, healthy and viable. These changes, which started with the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia, a revolution which shook the world and inaugurated a new epoch in the life of humanity, have spread to many other countries of the world. On them is now focused the attention of the peoples. Today, three revolutionary trends — existing socialism, the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement — face imperialism and reaction as their common enemy, and constitute one revolutionary stream. These three revolutionary trends together personify the good, the hopeful and the viable that humanity has at its disposal today. They represent and express the present and the future of the world.

AKEL is an inseparable part of this progressive movement. As a working-class party, tempered in the long years of struggle, it will work hard to fulfil the tasks set by its 15th congress. AKEL is not afraid of hard work, because since its emergence it has been aware that the struggle for the people's interests demands effort and sacrifice. It is the most consistent and the most revolutionary party in Cyprus, one not only capable of fulfilling important and urgent tasks; it is the only party which by its very nature can respond to the Cypriot people's long-cherished expectations.

1. A reference to the archives on the events relating to the coup in Cyprus in July 1974. — Ed.

2. A right-wing party set up in 1976 and consisting of nationalistic reactionary forces opposed to the President, including anti-governmental elements from the EOKA terrorist outfit. — Ed.

3. A left-of-center social-democratic type of party founded in 1969. — Ed.

4. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 8-9.

5. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 224.

6. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 92-93.

What is happening to the working class

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NOTES ON SOME CHANGES IN THE WORKERS' CONSCIOUSNESS IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND ON THE PROBLEMS IN PARTY ACTIVITY

Something is happening to the working class, say analysts of diverse trends as they study the changes that have occurred in the workers' demands compared with the past, watch their perseverance in upholding their demands and ponder on what is behind all these new phenomena in the working-class movement in the capitalist world. We communists cannot indulge in guess-work on this score, for a party of the working class must have a precise, scientific knowledge of the processes under way among the workers. This is why the substantial changes that are really taking place — in the workers' consciousness, the pattern of their requirements or the correlation of interests — claim our closest attention and induce us to draw conclusions of moment for the party's policy. I will now deal with some of them.

I

The essence of relations between wage-worker and owner of the means of production under the capitalist system has always manifested itself primarily in relations over the cost of labor power. The point at issue is the division of newly created value into the share appropriated by the capitalist and the worker's share. Originally these relations boiled down to bargaining, sometimes anything but peaceful, over the terms of sale of labor. At a certain stage of capitalist development this order reflected itself in the working people's consciousness as natural and unshakable.

What has changed?

Analyzing trade union demands, we see that the traditional problems of wages and working time are still of primary importance.¹ It is not hard to notice, however, that they no longer exist by themselves but link up with the overall conditions of production and distribution.

When, for instance, the trade unions seek a rise in wage rates by a definite percentage, they compare it with the rate of inflation and the

retail prices of goods and services. Until recently, wages and salaries in Luxembourg were raised largely with due regard for the rising cost of living, but in the spring of 1982 the automatic indexation virtually ceased to work. The result was the biggest demonstrations and strikes of the post-war period. The capital city saw a demonstration of 40,000 on March 27 and a 24-hour warning strike on April 5, which involved 80,000 wage and salaried workers, or half of the employed population.

The unions' attitude to the issue of reducing the working week or lowering the pension age is prompted primarily by a desire to increase employment and not merely by a desire to lighten labor. At the same time, demands directed against decreased production in some industries, against capitalist rationalization, which destroys jobs, and for the economic revival of areas in decline, are acquiring primary importance. With growing resolve, the working-class movement defends the right to work, seeing the chief danger to the standard of living in the disastrous growth of chronic unemployment. The spearhead of the struggle is turning more and more obviously against the government, whose subservience to capitalist interests makes it pursue a more aggressive policy of austerity than before, without hesitating to encroach on what would seem to be indisputable gains of the working class, such as pay adjustment to a mounting price index.

The nature of the workers' demands and actions suggests that the economic struggle is going farther and farther beyond traditional notions of it. More and more often, material demands are an expression of protest against the totality of economic and social conditions of labor.

The working-class movement seeks an extension of the range of issues covered by collective agreements. It wants agreements to include provisions concerning investments, the use of new techniques and technologies, vocational training, and so on. The workers realize in growing measure that it is no longer enough to fight for traditional demands, for the terms on

which they are to sell their labor, and that there is a need for control over capital itself, over its movement and functioning.

As they realize this necessity and try to win such control, the workers are becoming more keenly aware of being barred from authority in the production sphere, from decision-making and management. Today the struggle for democratic control over production and for real participation in management, a struggle that the working class has been carrying on for a long time, tends to acquire noteworthy peculiarities.

I believe the experience gained by the trade unions of Luxembourg within the framework of the so-called Luxembourg model of social partnership is interesting from this point of view. The fact is that in the mid-70s they allowed themselves to be involved in an institutional tripartite system (government — trade unions — employers) established by law. To serve the "public good," social democratic and Christian trade union leaders accepted without reservations the state-proposed main economic indicators and the main lines of economic development projected by the monopolies. Encouraged by the participation in the government (till the middle of 1979) of the social reformist Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party they performed an integrating function in the working class, providing the "social peace" which the monopolies need for implementing the early phase of capitalist rationalization. As the crisis worsened, however, the government and employers lost interest in the device of socio-political concessions and went over to a tough austerity policy. Faced with the evident miscarriage of the "Luxembourg model," the masses went into action early this year.

The problem became particularly acute due to the crisis in the steel industry, which affects the condition of one-third of the population directly or indirectly. It is now evident that contrary to the expectations of the trade unions, the "Luxembourg model" cannot provide either a decent livelihood or jobs, and that the steel industry is likely to lose its significance — a problem which may be described as markedly social or even bearing on the nation's very existence. This makes it necessary for the trade union movement to fight for real control and real participation in management.

Hence the working-class movement is at a turning point in this sphere as well. Already there is a demand even among social democrats that the ARBED concern (which owns the entire steel industry) be put under control and that the state be made a partner of it. As for the communist proposal to nationalize the concern and pursue a new policy in the industry, it

meets with growing response in the trade unions.

Our party's demand for nationalizing the concern should not be regarded as directly socialist, for its purpose is only to provide economic conditions for national survival. Nevertheless, increasing working-class support for it is evidence of considerable progress in the workers' thinking, of their coming closer to the principal issue, that of ownership of the means of production, economic power, the role and socio-economic position of the working class and all the other direct producers in the system of economic relations and production management.

More and more workers realize that unemployment and inflation are not a product of the activity or ill will of the individual capitalist. This helps them grasp the fact that the struggle as a whole (except this or that part of it, such as action for better working conditions) cannot be confined to this or that enterprise. To effectively defend the interests of the masses, trade union policy documents stress, it is necessary to alter the social policy of the authorities, set up public control at the state level over the activities of international and national capital, the distribution of budget appropriations and economic development. More and more often, trade union federations counter plans of the authorities and big capital with their own programs of measures against inflation and unemployment.

Thus the workers have come to realize to a notable extent their position in the system of economic relations, and the goals of their struggle. However, it would be dangerous to overestimate this, for numerous workers still cherish illusions that they can bring about a change in their socio-economic condition under capitalism. Many of them still have a vague idea of the fact that inflation and unemployment, which daily imperil people's economic condition, are inseparable from the capitalist economy. These phenomena are not brakes, as is often believed, but levers helping capital achieve the aim of its existence — continuous self-aggrandizement. Indeed, the reserve army of unemployed is, among other things, a means of powerful pressure on the workers, a means of disciplining them and curbing their struggles for better wages. Not every worker knows — far from it — that there is no capitalism without inflation and unemployment, just as there is no winter without frost, and that it is impossible to destroy these components of the system without renouncing the system itself, without replacing it by new economic relations based on entirely different principles.

Where the trade unions do declare for socialism their demands are still very vague; they do not call for a radical restructuring of economic relations, nor do they specify just what has to be changed.

The communists' tasks can, in our view, be deduced from a realistic appraisal of changes in the consciousness of the working class, a correct understanding of the ratio of purely material demands to demands affecting the prerogatives of the economic as well as the political authority, and a sober consideration of the growth and limitations of mass consciousness.

To begin with, we think of the following: the party must and does defend the workers' gains and the living standard they have won; this is very important in view of the intensifying crisis of capitalism. Since the abolition of price indexation is bound to depress real wages by nearly 10 per cent by the end of the year, the CPL urged stepped-up struggle for higher wages. The party's policy and activity reflect the workers' most pressing needs. But while our activity is correct, don't we occasionally run the risk of underestimating the changes taking place in the workers' consciousness, of underestimating or not quite seeing what is also behind their economic struggles? In supporting trade union demands — as we should — don't we occasionally duplicate these demands instead of rising above them and going further? Is there no element of economism here due to an inadequate analysis of the workers' real consciousness and the real changes that have occurred in it?

Reflecting on all this, we realize the importance of carrying on explanatory work with due regard to the level of consciousness already achieved, and with reference to everyday life, to convincing facts furnished by present-day production practice, and of bringing it home to the masses that the working class can never win and will never be able to win a decisive change in its social and economic condition within the framework of the capitalist system.

The CPL calls on the workers to fight for a trend toward democratic and social progress paving the way for socialism. This slogan, adopted by the 23rd CPL congress, mirrors the present level of consciousness of the working class and the masses and orients the communists toward being one step ahead of the masses, showing them the right way and explaining what has to be done and how.

Why do we consider this very important?

II

The consciousness of today's person, including the worker, is such that it is not enough to tell

him that everything is bad. Strictly speaking, people believe in this readily because every working-class family is hit by the capitalist crisis and is in constant dread of the future. However, they will only follow those who prove that they know where to go from here and why. In other words, the significance of a constructive alternative, of a positive program, has increased and so has that of its scientific soundness, its clarity to the masses and its ability to convince them.

Luxembourg's communists have carefully worked out their program for anti-monopoly struggle and democratic change. The party realistically takes account of the following facts:

- most workers are not mature enough as yet to fight immediately for something greater;

- the workers are mature enough to fight against the omnipotence of monopoly and seek democratic transformations;

- in the course of this struggle their consciousness will attain full maturity, will develop to the point of seeing the necessity and inevitability of far-reaching socialist changes.

It follows that we communists are not inclined to rush events. Any other position would hardly be reasonable and could lead to sectarianism and isolation. On the other hand, our position would be un-Marxist unless we realized that today as in the past, "it is impossible to advance without advancing toward socialism" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll Works*, Vol. 25, p. 358).

And this raises a new question, that of the party taking account of changes in the consciousness of the masses when putting forward a long-range program, publicizing the socialist ideal and spelling out the substance and meaning of socialism to the masses.

It would be wrong in painting the future of socialist society to focus attention solely on benefits, to pretend that these would shower on the workers as from heaven almost immediately after the "proclamation" of socialism. This would be wrong not only in the sense that it would mean disregarding very complicated economic and political conditions of the transition from one social formation to another. The main thing is that advanced workers already know their socio-economic role to be more important than the sum total of material benefits. Even in today's struggles, purely material demands appear to be the principal demands only on the face of it, for behind them is the issue of people's rights and condition in the system of economic relations. To be sure, it would be strange to advocate a poorer society than the existing one. Under socialism, our

country would certainly take a stride forward from its present level. Nevertheless, the *decisive factor*, and, indeed, the fundamental goal justifying the dedicated struggle of the working class, will be its entirely different socio-economic role under socialism. Communists who fail to rise above the promise of material benefits as they publicize the socialist ideal can hardly expect to succeed.

It would also be wrong to dismiss the circumstance that an incorrect orientation in this respect may lead, and has occasionally led in the past, to a dangerous trend in the working people's activity after the assumption of power by the progressive forces of the people. This was the case in Chile (as its communists have pointed out) and at various periods in other countries, where a considerable part of the working class, rather than helping consolidate the new, popular authority, organize production, introduce new economic and social relations and set other population groups an example of concern for both consumption and production accumulation, that is, demonstrate and vindicate the leading social role of the working class in the economic sense as well, made excessive material demands, undermining by their struggle a popular state that had yet to consolidate itself.² We think communists should not imitate in any way bourgeois or other leaders who so lavishly promise material benefits in their electoral programs and yet cut social expenditures on coming to power. Still less permissible is this when they are spelling out social ideals and speaking of the people's future.

Past history has shown that communists win:

- where they open the eyes of the masses to the essence of the new society, to its main characteristics, which express themselves in a fundamental change in man's place in the system of economic relations stemming from a far-reaching *change in these relations*, that is, from a revolutionary transformation of the wage-workers of capital into "a community of free individuals, carrying on their work with the means of production in common";³

- where they demonstrate the necessity, possibility and actual ways of a given society going over to a new condition, that is, where they proceed in line with Marxist methodology from the development trend of real processes and not from an arbitrarily chosen ideal;

- where they do not content themselves with general patterns but work out in detail mechanisms capable of promoting society's advance to a desired condition and ensure its future functioning, primarily the functioning of its economic relations.

The workers probably tend more than ever before to act on Marx's well-known advice (although many of them may never have heard about it), which expects one to have one's own opinion of details and not only of principles before taking power.⁴ All the more natural is it to insist that communists should prove to the masses their ability to solve social problems and show real paths to a better future. This is one reason why we consider it an important fact that our party has submitted to public opinion a detailed program for nationalizing the steel industry. The main point of this program is that it defines a new policy for the industry with due regard to national conditions.

True, there is a danger of being carried away by speculative projects of the functioning of the future society and hence of losing touch with reality. The specific forms that socialist development in our country takes will depend on the many circumstances in which the transition from capitalism to socialism will take place, on the manner in which the working class and its allies fight for it. But there is no doubt that in our country as elsewhere, the main features of socialism will be social ownership of the means of production and the political power of the working class and other working people.

The fundamental point is that under socialism the working class and other working people will be able to shape the trend of social development by themselves and effectively express their interests in every public sphere. We try to bring it home to the masses that the sum total of changes to be brought about in the course of the advance to socialism but above all in the period of building the new society will create a fundamentally different situation than under capitalism, a situation in which the capitalist alienation of labor will be ended and the workers will begin to realize that they are *working for themselves*, since that will actually be the case.

III

The working-class movement has long since gone beyond national boundaries. It joins confidently in the worldwide struggle against internationally united capital, against imperialism. But in this sphere as in others there is evidence of something new, the fact that the working class is beginning to concern itself with global problems, problems of civilization as a whole.

Characteristically, the demand for safeguarding peace has been added to the list of *trade union demands*. Major unions backed, for instance, the demonstration of peace suppor-

ters in Luxembourg for peace and disarmament on May 15 of this year. It is also indicative that the polarity of class interests in this sphere comes out more and more.

Marxism regards class interests as objective interests flowing from the position of classes in society and from the whole of reality.⁵ Marx's method, Lenin pointed out, consists in realizing, "in the first place, the movement of which class is the mainspring of the progress possible in those concrete conditions" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 143). Approaching the situation from this standpoint, we must note that the aspirations of the working class and capital, primarily big capital, are also direct opposites in regard to peace. Big capital tends by nature to establish its individed and uncontrolled power both at home and abroad by every means, including force and diktat. The working class, which accomplishes its historical mission — transforming the social system — by virtue of objective conditions, resists the imperial ambitions of big capital, thereby defending the interests of the majority of the population.

Of course, it would be simplistic to imagine that at one pole are all capitalists, who want war, and at the other all workers, who want peace. The idea of peace appeals to all social sectors, including the bourgeoisie. It would certainly be a mistake to underrate the dangers inherent in statements by obsessed people, who say "there are things more important than peace" and talk about the possibility of waging a "limited nuclear war," and to ignore imperialism's bid for aggression and big capital's ill-concealed desire to do away with socialism and the revolutionary movement at one nuclear missile blow. On the other hand, it is evident that today capital realizes the risk it would run by trying to solve political problems on these lines. Its spokesmen join others in declaring for peace. The question is, what kind of peace.

Compelled to reckon with reality, the ruling class would like at least to preserve the status quo. It tries to impose a peace raising obstacles to the national liberation movement and social change, a peace under which fighting El Salvador or free Nicaragua would have no place and every liberation movement would be branded as "terrorism." This concept of peace virtually rejects social progress.

By contrast, the working class has an objective stake in the international situation helping end social injustice, assure the all-round progress of nations and defend their sovereign rights. It recognizes the right of every people to fight for national and social liberation. This is a class concept of peace, one that is also scientific and in harmony with the objective laws of so-

cial development, for it would be hard to imagine a world society in which all social movement had come to a standstill, all social progress had stopped and objective economic laws paving the way for the succession of one social formation by another and now working for socialism were no longer operating.

Our party program takes an explicit stand on the issue of war and peace, a stand expressing the class interests of the workers. We know very well and help the masses understand who is really responsible for growing international tensions, has a stake in the arms race and threatens the peoples with war. We cannot fail to see the main and most dangerous aspect of the present policy of imperialism, namely, its urge to gain military-strategic superiority for the United States over the USSR, and for NATO over the Warsaw Treaty. That is why our class conception of the issue connotes renunciation of the line of "equidistance" which the workers' enemies would like them to accept, and of the idea of "equal responsibility," which we are occasionally urged to recognize. Any other approach would be a departure from the truth and also from class interests, and would prejudice both peace and social progress.

Today's peace movement, which has assumed a large scale in Europe, is distinctive in that it encompasses the most diverse social forces, people of different ideologies. The CPL has joined in this movement and recognizes the right of every participant in it to his own concept of peace. What unites us is the important thing which we all realize, namely, that all nations need peace, that peace is a condition of meeting all human requirements, a condition of materializing all the aspirations of the people, including social ideals. We consider it our duty to explain our class position to the masses, to show them that it is our concept of peace that is realistic and scientific, for it takes account of the inherent laws of social development, which are independent of people's consciousness. We communists are far from making our cooperation with peace fighters conditional on acceptance of our class position. But we also oppose attempts to force us to abandon the class line as a condition for such cooperation. Both would be detrimental to a broad anti-war movement.

The experience of current actions indicates that none but the workers' firm resolve and determined action plus their example organizing and inspiring the masses can force the rulers to adopt a realistic peace policy. In neighboring Federal Germany, the early 70s saw a change in favor of détente precisely as a result of persistent demands for peace made by

the workers in the course of widespread political demonstrations. To use Marx's words, the working class shows itself more and more to be an independent force aware of its responsibility and capable of imposing peace where its so-called masters are clamoring for war.

Let us compare the phenomena mentioned above with some others, such as the participation of workers and even their trade union organizations in mass movements for environmental protection and the solution of other global problems. Let us bear in mind that these virtually general democratic movements are directed against a very definite force, the monopolies, which damage the environment in seeking profit. And let us also remember that the working class plays an increasingly important role in them. Then we will have to acknowledge that these are noteworthy new phenomena and that they confront us with new theoretical and political problems.

If we considered the totality of new developments, such as the fact that demands of a non-material nature, those relating mainly to man's position in the system of economic and social relations are coming to the fore, the formation of the consciousness of the working class of a social ideal determined by precisely this trend, and concern for peace, the environment and better conditions for the existence and development of civilization, which are now most important requirements and demands of the working class, we would find

ourselves faced with the need to make a deeper study of the structure or even hierarchy of requirements and interests of the working class, and possibly to extend the very concept of "class interest." It is thus a question of studying changes in objective conditions, the workers' objective situation, and changes in the working class itself, in its composition. Also, it is a question of how the changes that have come about are reflected in the workers' consciousness and how their consciousness itself is developing.

Our party devotes growing attention to all these problems, for to really know every day what is happening to the working class is to correctly express its interests, correctly shape our policy and influence the masses and the whole of social development more and more effectively.

Having stated our ideas about this, we hope comrades from other parties will contribute to the journal their observations and conclusions about how the working class of capitalist countries is developing and how communists take this into account in their policy.

1. ISE, *Negociations collectives en Europe occidentale, 1978-1979, et perspectives pour 1980*, Brussels, 1980.
2. *One Thousand Days of Revolution. CP Chile Leaders on Events in Chile*. Prague, 1978, pp. 83-84.
3. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 78.
4. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 575-578.
5. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 198.

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Anti-Reagan front program

James West
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There are more than 10 million unemployed; millions more underemployed or not registered as unemployed; 25-year-olds who have never worked at all; and mass unemployment among Black youth. The employed live in dread of layoffs. Hunger and homelessness are visibly evident. There are soup lines in the cities. Racism is rampant. Organized labor is on the defensive.

Such is the situation now in the USA, which is in the throes of the most devastating economic crisis since the 1930s, while continuing the biggest military buildup in history. In this situation the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USA decided to convene the second extraordinary national conference in the party's 63-year history.

The first was held in July 1933, likewise in a situation marked by deep crisis. It geared the party to fulfil its vanguard role in the mass movements of the working class and people in the struggles to achieve economic security and avert the worldwide menace of fascism.

The success of that conference can be measured by the lasting achievements indelibly etched into the history of our class. The party had a decisive part in the organization of the basic industries into multi-million member industrial unions, the CIO. It organized the Unemployed Councils, a national movement which wrested from Congress the Unemployment Compensation Act and the Social Security System. It raised the struggles against racism, discrimination, bigotry and anti-Semitism to such new heights as to mark a new stage in the unification process of the multinational working class.

As a result, it became a mass party with mass influence. It lived up to the historic challenge placed by the sharp turn in the country's development. However, the effects of the ravages of the McCarthyite repression of the 1950s, on the one hand, and of Browder and Gates revisionism, on the other hand, sharply reduced the party's size and influence and created a generation gap from which it took a long time to recover. Under the leadership of Gus Hall and Henry Winston, the party's basic

political health had been restored by the end of the 1960s.

The decision of the CPUSA Central Committee to call the second extraordinary conference was the result of a profound analysis of the new situation at the commencement of the 1980s.

It is as though the majority of our people live in a barren valley surrounded by a mountainous ring of armaments separating them from economic and social security and the accumulated profit of billions, which their labor has created. All the gains of the struggles of the 1930s are threatened by the Reagan axe. But there is far more to the picture. Militant movements of resistance, of fightback, are rising from coast to coast and border to border. Fresh winds of struggle are blowing through the trade unions, awakening them from the hibernation of class partnership.

The internal situation is affecting the world image of the USA, which has passed its zenith, its "Golden Age."

The USA's share of the capitalist world's production had fallen to 37.3 per cent in the late 1970s from 48.7 per cent in 1950, while its share of the capitalist world's exports had dropped from 18.1 to 11 per cent. As it came into the 1980s it found itself in seventh place in the capitalist world in GNP — no longer No. 1 — and in tenth place in the standard of living. For almost a century it led the world in the production of steel, automobiles and machine-tools. Today it stands third, second, and third respectively.

The law of uneven development has caught up with U.S. imperialism. A big factor bringing this about has been the shift in economic and fiscal priorities from the civilian to the military sector. Stubbornly refusing to face this fact, and driven by class fear of victorious socialism and advancing national liberation, the Reagan administration tries to recover U.S. imperialism's lost positions by still more infusions of military spending.

This policy has a self-defeating mechanism built into it. It acts like a narcotic, which gives a temporary feeling of euphoria while further eroding the basic economic structure. All of

this reacts on the international situation, further aggravating the crisis conditions.

The United States is approaching another great turning point, a time when a big change must be made. Great masses are already in motion. And this is why the second extraordinary national conference was called.

A thousand representatives directly from the primary party organizations, the clubs, in shops and communities throughout the country assembled in the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at the close of April. The conference was opened by the National Chairman Henry Winston. After a welcoming address by Sandra Jones, Organizer of the Wisconsin party organization, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, delivered the keynote report.

"Economically, in a very basic sense," he said, "the United States is in a boomless era of decline and contraction. All economic activities and processes are now operating qualitatively and quantitatively on a declining scale." The report made a penetrating analysis of the U.S. economy today and drew the conclusion that "economic issues will continue to be the key links and all struggles will, in one way or another, relate to these economic issues."¹

These extraordinary developments are having profound effects on class relations and the class struggle, compelling the working class to move to the front ranks in the forward line of march. This, in turn, refocuses the spotlight on the party's industrial concentration policy.² It is compelled to re-examine and restructure its work so that industrial concentration becomes the focal point of this work, in a new way, scrapping all old attitudes and forms of routinism. "The policy of industrial concentration," Gus Hall noted, "has to be placed within the context of the new economic era and of helping the working class fulfil its role — a role it is significantly beginning to assume."³ Gus Hall's report was a comprehensive, rounded-out evaluation of the world situation and the crucial fight for peace, the Reagan administration, the class and democratic movements and struggles, and the role of the party. "The peace movement," he said, "is literally busting out all over. June 12th will see the coming together of the great U.S. peace majority in a demonstration at the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament."⁴

The no-nuke and nuclear freeze movements, the campaigns against Reagan's foreign policies, and the movement against intervention in El Salvador have all become a broad all-people's united movement which has re-

cently moved on the offensive. Even Reagan felt compelled to respond defensively to the U.S. peace majority. This mass peace movement will continue to become a tremendous obstacle to U.S. policies of war and aggression.

The Republican administration's statements proclaiming they are for a nuclear freeze — after the U.S. nuclear and military buildup — are unquestionably concessions to the popular and Congressional challenge. They are at least forced to talk about freeze and arms reduction negotiations. The movement to cut the military budget is also gaining momentum among the people and in Congress.

Discussing the problems of the resistance and fightback movement in the working class, Gus Hall said: "Within the defensive posture, the working class is developing movements and struggles that are preparing the ground for going on the offensive in the class struggle. We must always keep in mind that the concept of militant fightback struggles in the context of defense is not a contradiction."⁵

In such a period as this it is inevitable that the working-class counter-offensive will begin from a position of defending and protecting past gains. The objective conditions and the fightback forces are moving in the direction of struggles that will shift the working class to an offensive posture. In this respect, most promising are the steps being taken by some central labor bodies to reorganize and restructure the trade union centers in order to give the trade union movement more clout. The plans include setting up task forces of union activists in all fields and areas of activity — political, legislative, organizational and educational. From the working-class viewpoint of moving from defensive to offensive struggles these reorganizing and restructuring drives can be instrumental. The working class cannot go on the offensive only in one shop, one city, or even in one industry. It must win the active support of the public and the trade unions.

The many-sided nature of this revitalization drive is of great significance because it is difficult to move to an offensive in the economic sector without the support of the political sector. The changing scene must be taken into account. The new situation calls for the rank-and-file movement to work more closely within the broad sweep of the working-class fightback and less as an opposition force. In other words, wherever possible the rank-and-file groups should work as a force within the mainstream majority and less as an anti-establishment minority. As the fightback movement develops and the thinking and mood of the workers shift, this approach be-

comes both possible and necessary. Another prerequisite is the organization of the fightback on the shop and department levels. In sum, it means working in a way that will build the base of unity, raise the sense of confidence and the level of class consciousness.

Turning to problems of unity of the multinational working class, Gus Hall said: "In the era of its decline, all the ugliest, most ruthless and criminal features of capitalism get uglier and more ruthless. Racism is deeply imbedded, all-pervasive, persistent and widespread in the U.S. capitalist system — in its economy, its educational system, its government, its ideology, politics and culture."⁶

Racism is so all-pervasive that every crisis, every corporate offensive, every retreat by class collaborationist labor leaders, every restriction or retreat on democratic rights, trade-union, human and civil rights, every decline in the overall standard of living has a sharper and deeper racist cutting edge. Each month the gloomy economic statistics take their toll in human suffering. Each month the human suffering statistics go up. In March 1982, joblessness among Afro-Americans had reached a devastating 20 per cent and an unbelievable 60 per cent among Black youth.

A fightback movement that does not undertake special actions, struggles for special demands and programs against racism cannot become a winning movement. A working-class movement that does not take principled, concrete stands against racism, racist practices, and national oppression cannot become a united, powerful fightback movement. There can be no real, stable shift to offensive struggles without a shift in the struggle against racism, for justice and equality.

As the fightback movement builds up, as the class struggle sharpens, the need for unity becomes more critical, and more obvious to new millions. Therefore, the struggle against racism and national oppression must be placed within this new context.

Drawing on the experiences of the many diverse movements reacting to the Reagan-monopoly offensive, Gus Hall called for the formation of an All-Peoples Front Against Reaganomics and Washington's militarist policies. His report projected the tactic of developing the independent, class, anti-monopoly current within a massive anti-Reagan wave for the 1982 Congressional elections. The role of communist candidates was elucidated within this context.

The discussion on the main report took place in a series of workshops: Labor in the Struggle Against the Reagan-Corporate Offensive;

Organizing the Struggles of the Unemployed; Organizing the Grassroots Fightback in the Communities; Reaganomics and the Fight for Peace; Organizing the Anti-Reagan Electoral Wave; Building the United Fightback for Afro-American Equality and Against Reaganite Racism and National Oppression; Building the Party and the Press, Essential Contribution to Smashing the Reagan-Corporate Offensive.

Another group of workshops dealt with specialized questions: Resisting Economic Ripoffs; Senior Citizens Fight for Survival; Helping to Build the Young Workers Liberation League and the All-Youth Front; Struggle of the Farming and Rural Communities; and Special Problems of Women in the Economic Fightback.

The discussion from the primary organizations reflected the widespread involvement of party members in the economic, peace, democratic and anti-racist struggles of the working class and people, and in the peace movement. "The clubs had more input in the preparation of the main report and in the conference itself than ever before in the 63-year history of the party," Gus Hall observed.

The discussion demonstrated solid support and deep confidence in the party's mass line and leadership. The conference projected a status and enhanced role of the clubs in the communities and workplaces, as well as within the party structure. Without a doubt, it gave a powerful impetus to the process of revitalizing the party. It showed that the representatives from the clubs had a clear focus, know what has to be done and have a better grasp of how to do things. Certainly it was a historic conference, marking a turning point in the party's development.

Unanimously endorsing Gus Hall's report, the conference voted to launch a new party and press building campaign. It adopted the principles for a New Economic Bill of Rights, which was presented to a public mass meeting following the close of the conference. The mass meeting also approved the New Economic Bill of Rights, which calls for a basic, comprehensive economic program to be enacted by the U.S. Congress, including unemployment insurance to be provided from job application until receipt of the first pay check, federal construction projects to provide 15 million new jobs, and special measures in the struggle against racism and for actual equality.

The 1,000 representatives from the clubs mirrored a healthy, unified party with a fine corps of young and middle level club leaders determined to make the turn toward a mass party geared to the struggle of the working class

and oppressed peoples for peace, economic security, equality, and democratic advance to a better future.

1. Keynote Report to the Second Extraordinary Conference of the Communist Party USA, by Gus Hall, General Secretary. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 23-25, 1982, p. II-3.

2. Industrial concentration has been a policy traditionally pursued by the CPUSA to organize party work in basic

industries, notably, steel, automobile, coal and electrical engineering.

3. Keynote Report, p. II-8.

4. Ibid., p. V-7. More than a million people marched on June 12th 1982, from the United Nations building to Central Park, which was the largest demonstration for peace in U.S. history. In addition, nearly 200,000 people demonstrated in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, and other cities.

5. Keynote Report, p. VI-6.

6. Keynote Report, p. VIII-1.

At the sharp turning points

Makhtar Mbaye

CC member, head of CC Organizational Department,
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THE CHARACTER OF A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

The building of a communist party is not an easy task even where the proletariat has several generations behind it. But in a less developed country, which usually has a fledgling working class, this task is compounded many times over, and this is exemplified by the experience in the formation and development of the party of Senegalese communists. In its quarter-century, it has stood many trials which called for a sober analysis of emergent situations, constant creative quest and the application of the most suitable forms, methods and style of organizational work, and skill in adapting to the constantly changing and frequently unforeseen circumstances.

Wishing to take part in the discussion on the nature of communist organization¹ and to consider, in particular, the interconnection between its general and specific features, we reached the conclusion that this could best be done by analyzing the sharp and unexpected turns of which there have been many along our way, from the establishment of the African Independence Party of Senegal (AIPS) in 1957, to the constituent congress of the Independence and Labor Party of Senegal (ILPS) in 1981.² What has our party done, how has it acted in organizational terms, in order to "fit" into each such turn, without losing its initial orientation and maintaining its fundamental type?

Up until 1960, the party worked in the conditions of legality. That was a period in which it organized diverse and persevering action against colonialism and its local allies, and for national independence and socialism, markedly extended its influence and won the sympathy of the masses. The colonial authorities

and their lackeys were terrified at the vigor of the upswing of the popular movement, which stirred the poorest strata, for they had a greater interest than anyone else in genuine independence for the oppressed and exploited Senegalese people. The colonial authorities were especially fearful of the *class character of our party, with its ideology of Marxism-Leninism*.

The activity of party cells at the enterprises, factories and construction sites, in the urban neighborhoods of the poor and in the villages, and the communists' firm revolutionary resolve were visibly manifested in the course of the 1958 referendum³ and the municipal elections of 1960. On both occasions, the colonialist and neocolonialist forces, conscious of the growing danger to the regime posed by the party-led broad popular movement, resorted to vote-rigging and fierce repression. The AIPS's attacks on the suppression of democratic freedoms during the elections provided the pretext for banning its legal activity. The Senegalese government provoked disorders and outlawed the party.

Our young and still inexperienced organization had to go underground and to start work in unknown conditions. That is why it could not help making mistakes and miscalculations, as it groped for the right approach to many problems.

The clandestine period (1960-1978) was the hardest in the history of the communist movement in Senegal. It was also crucial in the rooting and consolidation of the party's class nature and ideological unity. There was a natural purification of the party ranks during the restructuring of its work in clandestine conditions. Many members of the petty bourgeoisie left the

party. These people are generally inclined to political vacillation and swings, succumbing to ideological, political and material pressure from the ruling class, frequently displaying a great urge for advancement in official careers, up a ladder whose every rung is controlled by imperialism and the bureaucracy. The petty-bourgeois elements in the party whose aspirations were confined to the struggle for independence did not or pretended not to understand the alienating character of the new "political independence" imposed by the neocolonialists. Some members of the AIPS, fearful of the prospects of a long and hard underground, preferred to engage in less dangerous activity. The same thing was done by those who had tried to make our communist party abandon its true mission.

Being driven into the underground, the communists believed that their most important duty was to constantly let broad masses of people know that the party was alive and active and that it maintained its independent class role. Despite the attempts by the neocolonialist authorities to break up the AIPS, it stood all the tests and preserved its ideological cohesion, which has since then provided a firm guarantee of the party's inner stability and strength which it needs in the relentless battle against neocolonialism, and for national democratic revolution and socialism.

The two-fold and internally contradictory task of that period was to replenish the party ranks with new members, while ensuring the AIPS's security. Its successful fulfillment required the elaboration and use of new organizational forms corresponding to the clandestine conditions.

The first thing that had to be done was to raise a reliable shield against the enemy's numerous attempts to infiltrate their men into the party. Hence the tendency toward a priority development of centralization within the framework of democratic centralism. This tended to produce difficulties. The pains taken to maintain organizational seclusion frequently created the impression among comrades that they were virtually alone in the whole country.

Meetings were held in accordance with a strict agenda, which always included an "ideological quarter-hour," a specific form of training for party members in the context of the circumstances. Security measures, designed to prevent the "location" of party structures, forced the communists to be extremely restrained, and not to put forward questions which had no direct bearing on the functioning of the organization or the fulfillment of con-

crete assignments. With the establishment of cast-iron discipline, each party cell was converted into a clockwork mechanism, rigorously abiding by the rule of security. That was the lesson we learned from the bitter experience of the mass arrests in 1965-1966, which cost the party its underground printery and led to the incarceration, torture and exile of many of its members.

However, the various constraining measures weakened, but did not break the AIPS's ties with the masses, and did not prevent it from taking an active part in their struggles. Our central press organ reached the working people's neighborhoods and industrial areas every night, and continued its educational and explanatory work. Leaflets were also a powerful weapon in the party's hands. They were used to expose all the arbitrary acts of the neocolonialist regime aimed against the interests of the people, the working people in the first place. The technique of clandestine distribution of printed matter was gradually improved. Special teams consisting of well-seasoned and well-tried comrades had mastered this technique and secretly delivered our publications to the most unexpected places — to the surprise of one and all, including the authorities and population.

It is in this period that we began to publish the *Daan Doole N'Dakaaru* (The Cape Verde Proletarian), the organ of the party's Cape Verde regional organization. It was put out by workers who had completed their training in the party's underground schools. The newspaper was welcomed with enthusiasm in the midst of the proletariat, where sympathies for the AIPS were growing.

The party also managed to penetrate deeply into mass organizations, where the communists gained a reputation for their good advice, and so were frequently elected to responsible posts. Party activists working in this field were oriented toward the most conscious working people. In the course of about a year, our comrades made a point of studying those who could be invited to join the party, obtaining information on their habits, their contacts, their attitude to their family, fellow workers, and neighbors, and on their political and trade union record. This method tended to slow down the recruitment of new members, but it was necessary in view of the specific conditions in which our party then lived, and which called for exceptional vigilance in bringing in new members.

In the period of its clandestine activity, the AIPS acquired much experience, which steeled its militants. Their tireless and dedicated

struggle, like those of the other patriots in the country, forced the neocolonialist authorities to "take to the trenches" and to agree to some cosmetic changes, pompously announce a "democratic opening," which in effect turned out to be a refined clampdown on democratic freedoms. Upon sober reflection over the existing situation, the party decided to withdraw partially from the underground and to take a public stand.

That was the start of a new stage, the stage of semi-clandestine work, when the activity of the AIPS was tolerated but not officially recognized. The party managed to find a legal breach in the conspiracy against it, and used it to the utmost. The conditions of legality, as written into the constitution, restricted the communists in terms of public action but did not allow the authorities to impose a ban on all political activity.

In order to eke out the highly limited possibilities in this contradictory situation there was a need to tackle the vital organizational questions, to analyze the new factors in the political situation, and to work out new forms and a style of work that would make it possible to accelerate the party's development and to make up for the handicaps of the underground period. At the same time, there was a need to pursue a policy which actually showed the masses the distinction between the genuine AIPS and its uninvited "double" headed by Majemouth Diop.⁴ The only way for the party to triumph over its adversaries and to carry to a victorious end its noble and difficult struggle for national liberation and social emancipation was constantly to raise ever higher its capacity for action and its organizational strength.

Work in the underground had both a positive aspect, in that it tempered our comrades in a communist spirit and helped them to gain combat experience, and a negative aspect, since the imperatives of security forced the party to limit its activity in the sphere of propaganda, in the recruitment of new members and contacts with the masses. In the semi-clandestine conditions these negative aspects were manifested once again, and we had to overcome the bottlenecks inherited from the earlier period. The clandestine frame of mind, which was latent in every militant, surfaced from time to time, so creating great difficulties in fulfilling urgent tasks. Habituated in the need to act in secrecy and anonymity, and always to display caution, these comrades now and again acted maladroitly. The after-effects of the clandestine period proved to be tenacious, generating mistakes and miscalculations, and preventing the growth of the AIPS's activity. As a rule, the public distri-

bution of leaflets was conducted passively, without any inclination to act more vigorously. The coolness and reserve of party members in direct and open contact with the masses frequently prevented us from realizing on the neighborhood or factory level decisions taken by the party cell.

The geographical boundaries of the party's presence and activity were being expanded. In order to intensify its influence, until then limited by the stringest framework of the underground, the party had to be omnipresent and to make its presence felt everywhere. Apart from everything else, this required additional financial efforts on the part of the communists. The scale of party dues was increased, but even this did not help altogether to solve such important organizational problems as meeting the cost of fares for comrades travelling on assignments, the cost of printing leaflets, material aid to party functionaries and regular issue of the party press. Considering the steady decline in living standards in the country (and also the fact that most party members are low-paid working people coming from the poorest strata of the population), and the extremely small number of party members in the underground period, one can well imagine the financial difficulties the AIPS has had and still has to face.

We were placed in a highly unfavorable situation because we could not maintain direct contacts with the masses via the radio or television or hold public meetings, rallies and conferences, while the renegade Diop continued to enjoy all these facilities. The situation was compounded by the fact that in the 18 years of clandestinity we were deprived of broad and direct contacts with the people, without which it is impossible to popularize the party's slogans and positions. The narrow framework of illegality in which the AIPS was gripped enabled our opponents to distort its fundamental view of the national democratic revolution as a necessary transition stage on the way to socialism, its view of ideological issues, and finally, of the operation of Diop's return. This framework also limited our opportunities for rebutting anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaigns mounted by the neocolonialist authorities and their Maoist henchmen to poison the minds of the young, schoolchildren and students in the first place.

The conditions of semi-clandestinity demanded of the party diversified and intelligent use of the various forms of propaganda among broad masses of people. The primary task was to influence mass consciousness by means of consistent explanatory and information effort.

Attainment of this goal was regarded as the first stage to extending our base and arranging large-scale action. A number of measures to solve the problem put through thanks to the communists' dedication and political skill, created the objective conditions for the penetration of the party's ideas into the working strata of the population.

Being a part of the international communist movement, the AIPS has also applied in its practice the fraternal parties' collective experience, which helped to identify and resolve the contradictions and difficulties of the semi-clandestine propaganda work. We regard what comrade Jacques Duclos said about propaganda as being especially relevant. There is no doubt, he said, that for a large number of those who attended public meetings one thing makes them forget another, just as one nail drives out another, but each meeting is attended not only by activists who have made their choice but also by those who ask themselves questions, and that is when arguments convincingly addressed to the mind, without however, forgetting the heart, can incline one to a final choice. Ideas which have been planted are not lost and have an important role to play in orientation in life for those on whom they have an influence.

Our party had to win the battle of ideas in order to attain the unity of the patriotic forces, a unity meeting the aspirations of all honest patriots, the aspirations of the whole laboring people, a unity that was imperative for defeating the neocolonialist forces, for creating and consolidating the national democratic state, a principal objective on the way of the Senegalese revolution.

The experience of holding information meetings, which gave a considerable impetus to the development of the AIPS, provides perhaps the most indicative and interesting example of propaganda work in the period of semi-legality. Garages, yards, rooms and porches in the homes of communists and sympathizers provided the venue for meetings where one did not have to fear intervention by the authorities. Soon such meetings were established as an exceptionally suitable form of work in the new situation.

Now and then these were simply conversations between a comrade and another person, but more often groups numbering from 10 to 50 people met with a small group of communists, each of whom prepared a statement on a subject that was of interest to the audience. There were two types of meetings: "offensive" and "involvement" meetings, as we called them. Everything depended on the make-up of the audience, on whether it included represen-

tatives of other political parties or sympathizers, that is, potential members of the AIPS.

The petty-bourgeois groupings acting in the political arena, as a rule, rely on those who have been intoxicated, politically confused and have mistrust for our party. If they had the right information and deeper knowledge, they would find out for themselves the true face of the AIPS, would approve its efforts for unity in the struggle against neocolonialism, and could exert pressure on their leadership for forming an anti-imperialist patriotic front. That was our objective in staging "offensive" meetings.

Concerted efforts to maintain a healthy atmosphere of discussion sometimes came up against resistance from one or more detractors, whose sole purpose in attending the meeting was to break it up. But all attempts of this kind were neutralized by the responsible behavior of the communists. By their well-considered and organized speeches, our comrades strove, above all, to provide the right reference points for those who listened with attention and took an interest in current problems, and not to try to convince a "leftist" who has fallen victim to ideological stereotypes. We tried to counter the abstract talk and absurd charges against the party with objective arguments reflecting the actual condition of the exploited masses of working people. That was not always easy to do, and much depended on the make-up of the audience and on the capabilities of the organizer of the meeting.

The communists carefully studied the effect produced by what was said and the impact on those present, and this required a high capacity of observation and concentrated attention. It was necessary to discern how the audience moved from mistrust and scepticism, with which they had come to the meeting, toward a display of interest and relaxed participation. In the course of a speech, there was also a need to pay attention to the nature of the questions being posed, in order to determine the political color and sympathies of this or that participant, in order to muster the right arguments that would make him start doubting his earlier erroneous views. And that was already the first step on the way to serious reflection, of which the truth sooner or later had to be the logical culmination.

The method of information meetings, initially experimental and limited, was enriched over a period of years with the creative activity of many comrades. Our party was then the only political organization which applied this form of agitation and propaganda. After it had blazed the trail, other parties began to follow it. This enabled the political organizations which did

not enjoy official recognition and which could not use the mass media to make known their presence and to help to create a balance of forces that ultimately induced the neo-colonialist authorities to re-establish fully the multi-party system.

Hundreds of information meetings arranged across the country also helped to enlarge the ranks of the AIPS, in spite of the semi-clandestine conditions. Groups of candidates for party membership were set up wherever our seeds had fallen. The new membership and the young functionaries who had been tempered in the flames of struggle and intense and long propaganda activity concretely displayed their resolve and character in the course of a "general mobilization month," which was held in accordance with a party decision in 1980 for the purpose of safeguarding the working people's interests jeopardized by the government's anti-popular and anti-labor plans. The movement assumed such proportions that the authorities, supported by the Senegalese Maoists, began to talk of an imminent "communist coup backed by Soviet tanks." That was the first major action organized in the semi-clandestine conditions, a test of the extent of the party's mobilization and of what might be called its "reflex capacity," that is, its capacity to respond swiftly to changes in external conditions. Alarmed, the authorities mounted a campaign of persecution against AIPS leaders and rank-and-file members, but the arrested comrades had to be released because of the flimsiness of the charges.

The information meetings also helped to take *important steps toward the unity of the patriotic forces*. New ties were established within the ranks of the opposition, and the political parties were radicalizing their positions with respect to the common adversary.

Our successes at the semi-clandestine stage, whose achievement was not prevented either by the various obstacles, or by the limited field of maneuver in the clandestine conditions, would have been impossible without a stable, united and sensitive leadership. It constituted a solid ideological and organizational whole with the rank-and-file party members, stimulated and encouraged bold initiatives at every level, and took care to preserve in the organization the atmosphere of mutual trust and inner democracy which is so necessary for bringing out the capabilities of each activist.

All of this had a definitive role to play in the fight against the neocolonialist regime, in the course of which the party emerged from the arduous state of semi-legality and got down to legal activity.

The present period of legality is, in many respects, new and untried, and for that reason abounds in question marks. The main thing for us now is to do away with the remaining negative consequences of clandestine work, which were partially preserved also at the semi-clandestine stage. The limitations on initiative, which are inevitable in a long period of rigid centralization, continue — despite shifts for the better — to constitute a considerable difficulty in the activity of our party organizations. The persistence of this practice hampers the party's use of the new potentialities for its own growth in legal conditions. Every party member must act *vigorously, establish active contacts with the masses, and display bold creativity*. The development of initiative and the mobilization of the party's creative and intellectual potential, our leadership believes, dictate the need for *concrete participation by all the communists in the life of the party*, to enable everyone to feel his responsibility and usefulness.

The party leaders in the localities have to be equal to the tasks of the present stage. They have to make our activity more effective and vigorous in organizing the struggle and spreading the party press and leaflets. This is the only way of further enlarging the zone of our influence, which could embrace all the strata of the population that are potentially interested in the immediate and long-term goals of the national democratic revolution. But here there is a need to reckon also with the financial obstacles and to prevent a situation from arising in which the publication of even a small handbill is a hard blow at the family pocket of the professional revolutionary.

There is now an ever more pressing need to abandon the practice of training our functionaries "in a body." Only a planned and well-considered cadre-training policy will increase the number of party workers who are competent in matters of organization, the press, agitation and propaganda, and who are capable of enlivening and giving a lead in activity in every sphere.

In contrast to the early period of its legal work (1957-1960) the party now has an invaluable asset — experience — and it is highly important to make fuller use of what has been gained. The present task is to arrange *analytical and research work* as a prelude to the forthcoming large-scale battles, to enable the party to assess correctly its potentialities, the present balance of forces, the extent of the regime's resistance, and the prospects in the struggle.

The party's vanguard role, which has been confirmed in hard trials, puts a great responsibility on it. The communists' present position

in national life requires that they should display skill in using the whole range of means, abandon some of the obsolete, rule-of-thumb methods of work, and apply new forms that would enhance our potentialities and help to inflict decisive blows at the neocolonialist forces. All of this is in the interests of the laboring masses, for the sake of fresh victories in the struggle for national independence, socialism and peace.

1. *WMR*, January, February, March, June, July and August 1982.

2. For particulars on the change of the party's name and the return to work in legal conditions, see Semy Pathe

Gueye, "Loyalty to Leninist Principles," *WMR*, January 1982.

3. A referendum held in the French colonies in Africa. The AIPS came out against the French government's plans and called for a "no" on the approval of a new constitution. The party acted together with the trade unions, young people's, women's and other progressive organizations. — Ed.

4. A former general secretary of the party. In 1967, a national conference of the AIPS removed him from his post for gross political mistakes, abuse in the expenditure of party funds and unseemly behavior in private life. Thereupon, the authorities, intent on weakening our party, allowed the renegade to return to the country, gave him 30 million African francs and allowed a splinter group he led to misappropriate the party's name. So until recently there were two parties under the name of AIPS, the genuine and the "renewed."

The power of advanced theory

THE PARTY PROMOTES THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian CP, a working group of the *WMR* Commission on General Theoretical Problems visited Sofia. They were interested in how the Communist Party, the leading force of a socialist society, promotes the development of the social sciences, by whose conclusions the party is, for its part, guided in formulating its policy. Below is an interview which the members of the working group were given by Bulgarian party workers and scientists.

The members of the working group addressed the question concerning the role and place of the social sciences in the BCP's activity at the present stage to Georgi Atanasov, Secretary of the BCP CC.

It is one of our party's traditions, G. Atanasov said, to base its strategy and tactics on scientifically grounded conclusions drawn from an analysis of reality. A considerable contribution was made to this tradition by Georgi Dimitrov, whose theoretical and political legacy is broadly known in the international communist movement. Even before the revolution, the party had already trained a large group of outstanding scientists, philosophers, historians and teachers. Immediately after September 9, 1944, the BCP had virtually no problems in recruiting the intelligentsia for socialism because a sizable part of it was already supporting the party. That did not, of course, eliminate the task of restructuring the scientific front on a Marxist-Leninist basis, but it certainly made our work easier.

Socialist construction is based on the com-

munist party's scientifically grounded program, and this already determines its constant concern for creating the conditions for fruitful development of social and other sciences and for a study of socialist reality. Let me stress that the April 1956 plenary meeting of the BCP CC had an important role to play in the establishment of correct relations between our party and workers in science, with the scientific intelligentsia. The development and organization of science have been discussed at every party congress. Our experience shows that one of the law-governed processes is that as the socialist society develops, the social sciences come to play an ever greater role in its life.

Considering the relations between the communist party and the social sciences, let me bring out three aspects which are of fundamental importance at the present stage.

First, the BCP's program, main strategic decisions and line are formulated in the light of the advances in the social sciences. In the recent period, the party has formulated and solved many problems relating to the construction of mature socialism in Bulgaria, the improvement of the structure of the economy and methods of economic administration, and ways to combine the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. Step by step, it elaborated an integral system of lines and approaches in the concentration and specialization of production, and techniques in economic management, labor organization and planning.

Second, the party's decisions and programmatic questions in socialist construction, its theoretical tenets and propositions, and the experience it has gained serve as a powerful im-

petus for the social sciences and help them to tackle a broader variety of problems. Just now, for instance, as the country is introducing the new economic approach to economic management, the attention of the social scientists is focused on the processes in the economy and social relations which this tends to generate. At the same time, the party shows the right approach to the study of reality, while seeking to preserve and encourage the exceptional sensitivity to the great diversity of life which is proper to scientists, to enable them to discern the new upon its origination, to study it and to provide recommendations for practical work.

Third, in the light of the advances in the social sciences we want to elaborate not only our political program, but also our practical political party work and see to it that at every level science should be effective, while social practice should be based on scientific principles, even in the smallest collectives. This task can be successfully tackled because of the present level of the training of our party cadre. District party organizations cooperate with scientists and stage experiments, for instance, in ensuring the complex approach to the ideological education of the working people. Very often, district or factory committees, with the help of scientists, make a study of this or that problem (say, socio-psychological processes in the work collective), and then go on to take the relevant decisions. In other words, the conclusions drawn from the study of a concrete question are frequently adopted as a document of party policy. But our main aim is to have the party cadre develop a style and approach to the problem that is scientific, that helps to study life in greater depth, and that provides the basis for their work.

These three points are highly essential. While basing its decisions on science, the party also sees to it that their realization should accord with the requirements of science.

Consequently, the relations between the party and science are relations of mutual trust. Our enemies frequently say that we rule science by decree. But that is simply impossible. Besides, we are against administration by decree as a matter of principle. The main thing in this sector of party work is to work in the light of Lenin's principles so as to determine correctly, in accordance with the interests of the whole society, the most important lines in the development of science, to create all the necessary conditions for the scientists' creative effort, and for linking up scientific research and practice.

The group was interested in the mechanisms by means of which science, as a relatively in-

dependent social institution, is meshed with the processes of social construction. Its functioning and development in accordance with the requirements of society implies direction of the system of research organizations, coordination of research projects and their orientation toward the formulation and solution of important social problems. What are the political problems emerging in this area? What is the party's role in solving them? These are the questions the members of the group asked of Niko Yahiel, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and BCP CC member.

Indeed, N. Yahiel said, science is a relatively independent component of the social system and lives according to its own laws. Of course, society has the crucial role to play in its development and gives it social assignments, provides it with the facilities, personnel, etc. The world view prevailing in society leaves an imprint on science and the scientists' thinking. But under socialism, the party, which is guided by a scientific theory, directs the development of science, making sure that it most effectively meets social requirements.

The scientific and technological revolution has brought about deep changes in the relations between science and society. Science has broadly moved into production and into the governance of society. Its material facilities are being substantially restructured, and its social functions enriched. Simultaneously, contradictions are brought out within science itself, like the scientists' urge for free creative effort and the increasingly collective character of scientific creativity. Contradictions are also produced by the information explosion, the ballooning of information and the scientists' potentialities for making fuller use of it. These contradictions are generally characteristic of science as an international phenomenon.

Our country's experience shows that under socialism the communist party helps science to develop in harmonious interaction with the society. In a short historical period, through the party's concerns, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has been transformed into a large-scale complex scientific institution. Many research institutes have been set up to deal specifically with problems in the basic sectors of the Bulgarian economy and other spheres of social life. Just now, considering the country's concrete requirements, our scientific front has virtually no "white spots." We are rapidly developing research in concrete sociology, a science which in Bulgaria was "in disgrace" for years. The fact that we are doing so is the result of the party's crucial guiding role.

The party's influence on science, I think, is manifested on two levels.

On the macrolevel, it is manifested above all in the shaping of a national science policy, i.e., the policy which lays down the lines of research in accordance with the social interests and the requirements of progress in scientific knowledge itself. Let me note that there are many scientists on the governing party and state economic bodies who take decisions on national science policy. In a small country like Bulgaria it is virtually impossible to carry on research across the whole spectrum of modern science. That is why, considering our limited material, financial and manpower resources, we are applying the principle of selective research projects (the main accent today, for instance, is on the problems in scientific and technological progress in connection with the switch from extensive to intensive development) and the intensification of research itself. We are also tackling the problem of making the utmost use of foreign scientific achievements. The BCP has decided on profound and ever growing integration with Soviet science as the strategic line in the development of Bulgarian science. The party also shows concern for the training of scientific personnel, and the establishment of the right system of recognition and rewards in science. All of these are political matters.

When speaking of the microlevel, I have in mind above all the party organizations and their activity in research institutes designed to establish the necessary creative climate in the collectives, the conditions for fruitful scientific effort, and the promotion of discussions based on principle. The problem of intellectualizing social life, formulated by Todor Zhivkov, is being broadly discussed not only in the scientific institutions but in all our party organizations, the press and scientific publications. This concept, in my view, is not identical to the mere penetration of science into various spheres of activity. Intellectualization also means the acquisition of skills in making use of knowledge and a creative attitude to it. We regard the intellectualization of social and production activity as a factor in raising labor productivity and shaping the harmoniously developed individual.

Flexibility of the party's influence on science is a necessary condition for its advance in a socialist society. Why is that so? That is so because scientific work is specific. The party can promote it if it reckons with the creative nature of scientific work and actively involves scientists and research collectives in the shap-

ing and implementation of national science policy.

What are the aspects of party work relating to the social sciences that now tend to come to the fore in practice? How is scientific research in Bulgaria coordinated in concrete terms? These were the questions the group asked of Nikola Stefanov, a member of the BCP CC and head of its Department for Science and Education.

The effectiveness and quality of research is the crucial question in this field of party activity, N. Stefanov said. We seek to harmonize research oriented toward immediately practical tasks and research whose purpose is to tackle long-term problems. In other words, we seek to have the social sciences develop ahead of practice, substantiate the tasks of party and state organs, and increase our skill in scientifically formulating long-term strategy in socialist construction. Comrade Todor Zhivkov says that there is a need to see the present through the prism of the future.

The most important task before the social sciences now is to sketch the outlines of the Bulgarian economy by the year 2000. We have got down to working out long-term goal oriented complex programs and we want to have a scientific forecast of socialist progress in the country. This is reflected in the subject-matter of research. It is oriented toward cardinal problems on whose solution depends our advance along the whole front of socialist construction.

The party's approach to theoretical activity is designed to bring about a turn in the drive for efficiency and high quality of workmanship in various fields and to have the country develop faster on that basis. We do, of course, reckon with our actual potentialities, try to avoid flights of fancy and have no intention of skirting any of the natural and inevitable stages. The party has focused attention on problems of administration and management, labor organization, scientific and technical progress, intellectualization of production, the saturation of production with scientific and technical achievements, and the training of personnel.

Yet another line of research is assistance in solving problems on the level of individual enterprises and work collectives. This calls for extensive development of concrete social studies and the elaboration, one could say, of a social technology for the social sciences, i.e., techniques for carrying research to the stage at which it can be embodied in practice.

Bulgaria now has structurally developed social science institutes, and a major achievement of our scientists is the elaboration, in accor-

dance with the requirements of life, of a theory of social administration, and concrete social and sociological studies in the most diverse spheres. We have built up a sizable scientific personnel potential.

One could say that in accordance with the requirements of socialist construction and in the light of the logic of the social sciences, four scientific goal-oriented echelons have been shaped in the country. First, there are the institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences which are engaged in basic theoretical research. These institutes coordinate scientific work on a national scale. The second echelon consists of departments of philosophy, political economy, scientific communism and the history of the BCP in all the institutions of higher learning. The third consists of institutes and scientific organizations at the ministries and other central departments, like the institutes on the problems of planning, organization of production and the administration and management of the national economy. Finally, there is the complex of scientific institutions under the party's Central Committee. This includes the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration, the Institute of the History of the BCP under the BCP, CC, the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and others. They provide the CC with an immediate scientific back-up for the formulation of party policy. These institutions also deal with the further training of party cadre. The BCP CC also has a Sociological Information Center, which organizes research into the cardinal problems of party policy and which puts into a system information for leading bodies. The ideological guidance of the whole front of social sciences in Bulgaria is provided by the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee.

The working group visited the *Institute of the History of the BCP under the BCP CC* and the *Institute of Contemporary Social Theories of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*. They asked the following question of the scientists working there: What kind of practical assistance has the party been given by their research, and what kind of social response has it produced?

Deputy directors of the Institute of the History of the BCP, member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission on the BCP Tatyana Koleva, Konstantin Baichinski and Dimitr Sirkov described some of the results of the research by Bulgarian historians which are reflected in the BCP program and other party documents. Among them is the evaluation of the party's character at the turn of the 20th century and its

transformation from a social-democratic organization into a Leninist-type of party, and the analysis of the specific features of this process. Bulgarian historians regard the party's historical development as an uninterrupted process.

The new conceptions put forward by the Institute held their ground in discussion which helped to overcome diverse falsifications by bourgeois historiography. Thus, a study of the experience of the BCP's struggle against fascism during the Second World War refuted the assertions that the party took the line of armed struggle contrary to Bulgaria's national interests, and that the uprising of September 9, 1944, was allegedly a coup d'état resulting from the "export of revolution."

An important line of research is the BCP's historical experience in socialist construction and its participation in the international class struggle, its cooperation with the fraternal communist and workers' parties, and especially the history of the Balkan working-class and communist movement. These studies are also of much importance for the political enlightenment of the masses and for the shaping of the Bulgarian people's class, patriotic, and internationalist consciousness.

Deyan Pavlov, Deputy Director of the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories, told of the approach taken by scientists at the Institute in examining present-day bourgeois philosophical, sociological, economic, state-policy, aesthetic and paedagogical theories. A specific aspect of their approach is that philosophical conceptions, for instance, are not studied in epistemological terms, and not by their various schools (existentialism, neo-Thomism, neo-positivism, etc.). The scientists want to find out how these trends function in the process of ideological struggle in the world arena and how they serve as the methodological basis for bourgeois propaganda. One of the ways in which the Institute helps the party is by analyzing various bourgeois ideological conceptions as soon as these are made public, and even before they are churned out by the imperialist propaganda mill.

Applied research projects are an essential element of the Institute's activity. Every year there is a "situational analysis" of the most important processes and trends in the ideological life of the capitalist countries. Specialized studies on individual subjects are another form of applied research. The scientists' studies of the propaganda activity of capitalist radio stations and the press provide the basis for their formulations for counter-propaganda. All these studies constitute one of the initial but nec-

essary elements in the shaping of party policy in ideological and theoretical struggle against alien and hostile views.

In the course of these conversations with party workers and scientists, the group was acquainted with only some of the aspects of the BCP's experience showing the actual mechanism underlying the party's interaction with the social sciences under socialism. This experience confirms that the substance of this interaction is expressed by Lenin's fundamental ideas about the party which is guided by the most advanced theory, about scientific knowledge as a guide to action (V.I. Lenin, *Coll.*

Works, Vol. 5, p. 370, Vol. 31, p. 71).

At the same time, this experience shows that the social sciences are purposefully involved in the processes of socialist construction above all through the party's guiding influence. Under socialism, there is a development of a special sphere of its activity, namely, party policy in the sphere of science, which is designed to promote the advance of research and the effective use of its results for the benefit of the people and social progress. The party's correct guidance of the development of the social sciences on the fundamental basis of Marxism-Leninism is an assurance of the steady advance of socialist society.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

CONTINENT OF TRADE UNIONS

Patrick M. Clancy
Chairman,
Socialist Party of Australia

Q. Would you say a few words about the ongoing processes in the Australian trade union movement and about the tasks being addressed by members of your party working in trade unions?

A. Ever since the close of the 19th century Australia has maintained its reputation as a continent of trade unions. Today the labor movement is quite highly organized. Nearly three million people, or 62 per cent of the nation's work force, are members of trade unions. A present feature of the trade union movement is that it is drawing new members from sections of working people who had never taken a militant part in trade union activity before. I mean the people employed in banking, the clerical professions, and the services industry.

With the socio-economic crisis dragging on in Australia since the mid-1970s, there has been a visible activation of the movement with unitary tendencies standing out prominently. The logical outcome of these processes has been the formation, at the latest congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions last September, of a national trade union center. This is substantially reinforcing the movement's potential and, at the same time, enhancing its responsibility to the working class and working people generally.

The Australian communists have been working in trade unions ever since the party was founded in 1920. Since then the communists have been giving much of their attention to the trade union movement, making a large contribution toward the consolidation of its unity. They are working to promote the class consciousness of the workers and give their struggles a political, militant character. In parallel, our comrades are addressing traditional trade union problems linked to the defense of the rights and material interests of the working class.

Among the tasks being tackled by the communists in the trade unions, growing significance is being acquired by militant opposition to the penetration of foreign capital, of the transnationals, into Australia, where they exercise a powerful influence on government policies. One of the most dramatic episodes of this struggle was the fight of the seamen's union, which has SPA members in its leadership, against a big transport corporation. The trade union organized short strikes and maintained pickets in front of the company's offices, demanding the employment of Australian seamen on the company's ships transporting minerals from Australia to other countries. The seamen won the satisfaction of their grievances after four years of unrelenting struggles.

The Australian trade union movement unites blue and white-collar workers of various political persuasions. Members of the Labor Party, communists, and non-party people work side by side in the committees, country, district and other bodies. Our experience is that for the work of a communist to be effective he or she

must have close contact with people belonging to various trends. For us the united front principle, advocated by Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, remains the guiding light.

There are many SPA members in the leadership of the trade unions. I, too, have for many years held a leadership position in the building workers union. My party comrades, CC members, have been elected to leadership positions in the seamen's, miners', railway workers', and steelworkers' unions. A question often asked is: "What qualities should a communist have to win a position of high trust in the trade unions?" There is no simple answer to this question. The election of a communist to a leadership position in a trade union depends on many circumstances, chiefly, of course, on the personal abilities of the comrade concerned and on the level of class consciousness of the trade union members. The principal human qualities, I feel, are devotion to the cause of the workers, total honesty, selflessness, and political training. It was these merits that brought many communists prestige in the Australian trade union movement.

Q. What place is the struggle for peace and disarmament given in the work of trade unions?

A. In the trade unions there is growing understanding that the struggle for world peace, to avert a nuclear holocaust is most directly linked to improving the living standard and working conditions, to countering the offensive of the monopolies. The workers are increasingly realizing the fragility, the illusory nature of the hope that in the event a nuclear confrontation breaks out Australia will be on the sidelines. The delegates to the ACTU congress unanimously stigmatized the Reagan administration's decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, took a stand against the nuclear threat, called for the outlawing of all kinds of nuclear weapons and the destruction of the stockpiles, and categorically rejected the concept of a limited nuclear war. The congress urged proclaiming the Indian Ocean a peace zone, and the Pacific Ocean a nuclear-free zone.

The political significance of these resolutions must be emphasized. They are evidence of the effectiveness of the work being done by the communists in an area which our party sees as one of the most crucial, namely, the preservation of peace, the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. During the preparations for the ACTU congress the communists did much to enable trade union members to address this cardinal issue of our times consciously and with a high sense of responsibility.

Our comrades are trying to give the people a deeper understanding of the meaning of proletarian internationalism. There have been many instances of trade unions taking part in acts of international solidarity. Since the fascist takeover in Chile, there have been no commercial links between Australia and the Pinochet dictatorship, and this is unquestionably an achievement of the trade unions, which, despite blackmail and threats from the reactionaries, are categorical in their stand against commercial links with the junta.

We are trying to strengthen the mutual solidarity of the Australian working people with the international democratic trade union movement. Some trade unions, in which communists exercise an influence, maintain close, friendly contacts with the World Federation of Trade Unions, even though the central body is still affiliated to the reformist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

We give special attention to promoting cooperation between the Australian working class and the trade union movements of the island nations in the South Pacific. The new trade unions there need our internationalist assistance to reinforce their organizational structures and establish international links in order to contribute tangibly to the struggle for the economic independence of their countries, that won liberation from colonialism recently. In this context, mention must be made of an important conference of trade unions of Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and some young island nations of the South Pacific, held in May 1981; it called for a nuclear-free Pacific, the dismantling of the U.S. military bases in our region, and an end to nuclear tests, and decided upon a campaign plan to draw all the trade union movements of the region into this struggle.

These are only a few examples showing the directions in which the communists are working in the Australian trade union movement and strengthening its unity in the struggle against capitalism, for peace and social progress.

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

TOGETHER AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

Some readers have written for information about the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (GNRU) and its proclamation of a February 1982 document stating its aims and principles. The following reply is by Otto Sanchez, CC Political Commission member, Guatemalan Party of Labor.

The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity consists of the following organizations: the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, the Insurgent Armed Forces, the Organization of the Armed People, and the Guatemalan Party of Labor (forming the core of the national leadership). After considering the question of interaction among the nation's left forces, the GNRU offered to begin talks on our party joining the association. The GPL Central Committee's Political Commission issued an official statement last March approving this important step toward the unity of the entire revolutionary movement, without exception. The GPL had long been advocating such unity as consistent with the need to extend, strengthen, and rally our forces in the joint struggle, as consonant with the spirit of the party's policy and revolutionary stand over the past three decades.

The formation of the GNRU was a decisive step toward the restoration of the unity of the Guatemalan revolutionary movement. This unity is based on the strategy of a revolutionary people's war that enables our people to take power into their own hands and set up a revolutionary, patriotic, and democratic government of the people. The document adopted by the GNRU member organizations says that revolutionary war is the only option left to the Guatemalan people, that it alone can overthrow the ruling military dictatorship and put an end to its anti-insurgent policy of throttling the people's struggle by genocide.

The revolutionary war of the Guatemalan people has reached proportions unprecedented in the nation's history. Fighting has spread to most of the country's territory. Guerrilla organizations are striking the government troops blow after blow. The initiative is steadily passing to the people as the revolutionary war is joined by large sections of the population, in particular by the Guatemalan Indians who have been subjected to century-long ruthless exploitation, oppression, and discrimination.

The GNRU document calls for the creation of a broad front of national patriotic unity as the largest organization of our people led by the revolutionary vanguard and determined to win complete national and social liberation. It states the principal aims of the revolution and the main points of the program of the government to be formed following the overthrow of the dictatorship. The revolution will, the document says,

- end the anti-people repression once and for all, and guarantee to Guatemalans a peaceful life as the highest human right;

- lay the foundation for satisfying the immediate demands of the vast majority of the

people, for cutting short the economic and political domination of the big local and foreign magnates, the butchers ruling Guatemala;

- guarantee equality between Indians and mestizos, and eradicate discrimination and cultural inequality;

- lead to the building of a new society where all the patriotic, popular, and democratic forces will be represented in the government;

- ensure a policy of non-alignment and international cooperation that allows poor countries to develop in the present-day world on the basis of the self-determination of peoples.

In recent years the Guatemalan revolutionary movement had entered a new, qualitatively higher phase of development. The political influence and sympathy that it enjoys among the population, its high organizational level, and the popular-patriotic content of its political program make it the spokesman of the oppressed and exploited masses. It is the only force capable of building the nation's future in keeping with the vital interests of the people, the realistic alternative giving the nation a way out of the debilitating socio-economic and political crisis.

The coup of March 23 enhanced the strategic significance of the revolutionary movement's unity. Cohesion and consolidation are reinforcing the resistance potential of all the forces fighting the military-fascist dictatorship. The way the coup was planned politically and strategically and its aims on a national and regional scale incontrovertibly show that it was orchestrated by the imperialists. It was conceived not only to make the imperialists predominant in Guatemala but to ensure the interests of their global policy relative to Central America and the Caribbean. In other words, it pursues the aim of creating more favorable political conditions for intervention in the affairs of El Salvador and for aggression against the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua.

Power remained in the hands of the army top brass even after the coup. The government of General Rios Montt includes some of the most rabid proponents of repression. During their first 90 days in power they killed more than 3,000 people. Such are the tragic results of the anti-insurgent course of the dictatorship, which relies on economic, political and military support from the Reagan administration.

Our party holds that the situation resulting from the coup makes it imperative to continue developing unity among the Guatemalan left forces, to step up and extend the revolutionary

people's struggle. This, I repeat, is the only way to counter the reactionary ruling classes. This is the only way to accelerate the crisis of the mili-

tary-fascist government, put an end to its anti-insurgent and interventionist policies in Central America, and hasten the hour of revolution.



Détente: how to defend it?

International Symposium

Toward the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, the most reactionary and bellicose forces of imperialism once again stepped up their efforts to undermine détente and exacerbate the international situation. These developments are a warning that the danger of a global thermonuclear clash impending over the globe in the latter half of the 20th century has not been removed but has, in fact, become more pronounced.

Is it possible to halt the slide to the brink of war? What are the chances of détente at the present difficult and, possibly, crucial crossroads of history? How can the proponents of confrontation be forced to retreat? These questions were discussed at an international symposium sponsored by *WMR* together with the *World Peace Council*. Among those who took part in its work were:

From *World Marxist Review*: *Girgin Girginov*, CC member, Bulgarian CP; *Clement Rohee*, CEC member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana; *Roland Bauer*, CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; *Ibrahim Malik*, CC member, CP Israel; *Sarada Mitra*, NC member, CP India; *Jack Phillips*, CEC alternate member, CP Canada; *Raul Valdez Vivo*, CC member, CP Cuba; *James West*, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA; *Ahmed Salem*, CC Economic Commission member, CP of the Sudan; *Georg Kwiatowski*, German CP representative on *WMR* Editorial Council; *Raja Collure*, CC member, CP Sri Lanka; *Vus-izwe Seme*, member of the Editorial Council (South Africa).

From the *World Peace Council*: *John Benson*, Labor Party; Chairman, Australian Peace Committee; Secretary, Seamen's Union of Australia; *James Lamond*, Labour Party, MP;

Vice-President, WPC; President, British Peace Assembly; Professor *Jamie Diaz-Rozotto*, of Guatemala; *Mazen Hussein*, WPC Secretary (Jordan); *Mahmoud Salameh*, MP; Syrian Peace National Committee; trade unionist; Baathist; *Tair Tairov*, professor, WPC Secretary (USSR); *Steve Talbot*, author (USA); *Ilkka Vehkalahti*, Editorial Board Chief, Finnish Peace Committee, member of the Center Party; *Hans J. Krysmanski*, Director, Munster University Institute of Sociology (FRG).

Below is a summary of the main lines of the discussion, with the statements grouped by the topics discussed.

Peace can be safeguarded

The imperialist mass media have been working hard to suggest to the peoples the idea that the international détente which began in Europe was no more than an "accidental pause" and that a military confrontation between capitalism and socialism is "inevitable." It is an effort to prove that the struggle for peace is allegedly meaningless and useless, for, as the authors of the notorious Sante Fé Document¹ cynically declare, "war is inherent in mankind." The participants in the symposium exposed the man-hating substance of such conceptions, which are designed to justify the aggressive urges and plans of imperialism, and gave much attention to analyzing the objective factors which help to preserve peace in present-day conditions.

Opening the discussion, *Roland Bauer* recalled that in the five and a half millennia of human history there have been almost 15,000 wars. But is that a good reason to say that war is a "natural state" for humankind to be in? Not at all. From his earliest beginnings, man has always had before him the vision of peace.

In the past, many writers, philosophers, scholars and statesmen advocated the exclusion of bloodshed from the life of society. But with the exploiter societies having complete sway, this could not be done. Until the emergence of the Marxist theory there was no scientific basis for exposing the nature of predatory wars, on the one hand, and for showing the natural motivations behind the armed action against every form of oppression and enslavement, and for national freedom, on the other. The masses were defenseless in the face of the militaristic and chauvinistic propaganda catering for policies of aggrandizement. Those who wanted peace lacked the material means to avert armed conflicts.

Today, in the latter half of the 20th century the situation is a totally different one. Within the six and a half decades since the victory of the October Revolution, the political map of the world has changed beyond recognition. Socialism has become a world system exerting an influence on every aspect of international development. Capitalism is being bogged down in its economic, social and political crisis. Dozens of newly independent states which emerged on the ruins of the colonial empires are making themselves heard.

As a result of these historic changes, the objective prerequisites favoring the cause of peace have emerged for the first time. Relying on these, it is possible to contain the expansionist urges of imperialism, to advance to relations of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, to ward off the threat of a worldwide conflagration, and over the long term, to exclude wars from the life of the nations completely.

The transformation of socialism into a world system has paved the way for putting an end to sanguinary global conflicts, *Mahmoud Salameh* declared. At the cost of great effort, socialism has succeeded in altering the balance of military-political forces in the world and in establishing a rough strategic parity with the capitalist powers. This enabled the socialist community not only to prevent another world war, to the brink of which imperialism has pushed humankind again and again over the past decades, but also to limit and in some instances to extinguish local conflicts and defend the interests of the peoples subjected to aggression.

When discussing the prospects for peaceful development, *Vusizwe Seme* emphasized, there is also a need to take into account the contribution which dozens of newly liberated states have made to the struggle for peace. The stand of their overwhelming majority is deter-

mined by an understanding of the connection between their urge to win complete political and economic independence and the defense of world peace. Their involvement in the non-aligned movement enables them to take joint and purposeful action to avert a world war, and resist the aggressive acts of neocolonialism.

The impact of economic factors on political relations between countries was considered in the course of the symposium. *James West* said that in the case of the United States, economic interests had a most palpable effect on the solution of problems in international relations. This is exemplified by the reaction to "Reaganomics" on the part of various monopoly centers. It is essentially aimed to recarve the federal budget in favor of militarization, it accelerates the growth of inflation and unemployment, and this tends to undermine the economic and financial basis of the state and to worsen U.S. competitiveness on world markets. This produces doubts in financial and industrial circles which are not directly connected with the arms business about the wisdom of the line of military-political expansion.

It also breeds discontent among the governments of some countries which are allied with the United States, because the headlong militarization of the economy which Washington is trying to impose on them worsens their already difficult economic condition and increases their destabilization in social terms. Such discontent was most manifest in connection with the White House attempts to involve the NATO countries in an economic blockade of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, a scheme that is adventurist, hopeless and unprofitable.

Participants in the symposium spoke of the objective need for extensive and mutually advantageous cooperation between countries with different social systems and emphasized that this was possible only in a climate of détente. This creates the conditions for involving those circles in the capitalist world which are interested in economic cooperation in political acts aimed to ease the international situation. In other words, the development of economic relations between capitalist and socialist countries lays the material foundations for peaceful coexistence.²

The initiators of aggression, *Tair Tairov* said, should remember about the law mechanism set up after the Second World War to punish those who had prepared and started it. The Statute of the Nuremberg Tribunal, subsequently approved by the United Nations as the source of international law, qualifies quite unambiguously the preparation and carrying on of

aggressive wars and genocide as the gravest crimes against humankind. Based on the harsh lessons of the consequences of aggression, the juridical principle becomes especially meaningful in the present conditions. It has been developing in the light of the specific features of the present situation, notably in the Declaration on Averting a Nuclear Catastrophe, which was adopted on the Soviet Union's initiative by the 36th session of the UN General Assembly. Under it, the acts of statesmen who decide to use nuclear weapons first are qualified as military crimes.

Now the governments of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR have proposed the inclusion of this key rule into the Code of Crimes against Peace and the Security of Mankind, which is being worked out by the UN International Law Commission. The Code is to contain a definition of the concept of "crime against peace and security of humankind," to show the *corpus delicti* and also to reassert the principle of individual responsibility for crimes of this type.

Many participants in the symposium voiced the conviction that despite the present highly complicated and explosive international situation, the conclusion that world war is not fatally inevitable, drawn a quarter-century ago by the communist movement, continues to be fully meaningful. The main objective factors helping to avert a global armed conflict are still the following:

- the political, economic and defense potential of world socialism which is placed at the service of the cause of peace;

- the growing influence of the working class and the invigoration of its struggle against the power of the monopolies and for peace;

- consolidation of the unity of the working class and all the other working people through the development of cooperation between communists, socialists and social democrats in the struggle against the danger of war, and in defense of the working people's interests;

- the vital concern for the preservation of peace and consolidation of détente of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America united in the non-aligned movement, which have an ever greater part to play in world affairs;

- contradictions on the issues of war and peace within the ruling circles of the capitalist powers, between the advocates of a continuation of the "strength" policy and realistic leaders mindful of the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear-missile war;

- the growing economic, scientific, technical and ecological interdependence of all the states, which requires comprehensive and

equitable cooperation between them; and

- broader information of the world public concerning the consequences of war with the use of mass destructive weapons, on the one hand, and the experience of the past decade which has brought up the beneficial effects of détente on the socio-economic condition of the masses, on the other.

Necessary condition: unity and action

It was also emphasized in the discussion that the existence of objective conditions which make it possible to halt the drive by the forces of war and to safeguard and develop détente does not in itself guarantee an improvement of international relations. The outcome of the struggle for peace largely depends on the creation of the necessary *subjective* prerequisites, i.e., on the activity and purposefulness of the anti-war movements and on their cohesion on the national and international level. However, it is not easy to create such cohesion, because imperialism seeks to set the peace forces at odds with each other, and to isolate the communists in the first place.

In the United States, said James West, much is being said about a "Vietnam syndrome" which was produced by the sanguinary experience of Washington's imperialist aggression in Indochina. Militaristic propaganda has tried to convince public opinion that the psychological impact of the defeat in Vietnam which intensified the anti-war mood is no more than a "contagious disease" which is bound to disappear soon. But the fact that such a "syndrome" originated in the first place and has continued to exist must be seen as an expression of the urge on the part of the masses to prevent fresh military gambles.

Although there are obvious elements of spontaneity in the U.S. peace movement, it has also shown signs of a crystallizing new trend: its roots now run much deeper into the working class. It has involved the public at large. The U.S. Peace Council, which has been in existence for only a few years (it is affiliated to the World Peace Council) has already set up branches in 40 cities. More than 50 other national organizations are actively campaigning in defense of peace. Many of them are affiliated with the anti-militaristic coalition "For a New Foreign and Military Policy." The bellicose policy being pursued by the White House has come under increasing criticism from highly authoritative politicians, diplomats and military specialists, and this has given anti-war action greater concreteness and competence.

The actions of the peace fighters have forced

the Reagan administration to maneuver. Its possibilities for ignoring the will of the people are shrinking. One should not rule out the emergence of conditions which will ultimately confront the White House with the need to review its foreign policy line. At any rate, historical experience testifies to the reality of such a task. Let us recall, for instance, that in the early 1970s, the rabid anti-communist Richard Nixon was forced, under the pressure of objective factors, to recognize the need to develop relations with the Soviet Union on the principles of peaceful coexistence and to sign with it a set of agreements on the most acute and complicated issues in Soviet-American relations.

Stressing this view, Georg Kwiatowski said that if the Reagan administration was forced in 1981, after long and stubborn refusals, to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union on medium-range missile weapons, and in 1982, on a limitation and reduction of strategic weapons, it was pressure from the peace movement that had a not unimportant role to play in this matter.

Further success in the struggle against the danger of war can be scored only if new forces are involved in it, and the attempts to split them are defeated. Here it should be borne in mind that the peace movement in the FRG is now much more checkered than it has ever been in the past. Its participants come from virtually all the social strata and are people with diverse political and ideological views.

The opponents of détente have been trying to split the ranks of the peace fighters above all by means of anti-communist falsifications. It was asserted, for instance, that the struggle against the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of the FRG is "run" by the communists and that their purposes in doing so cut across the interests of the peace movement. When such inventions failed to take effect, reaction tried to make the peace movement prove its "independence" and "right to be trusted" by separating itself from the communists.

We, communists, have patiently explained to all the peace forces in our country that for us, a working class party, nothing is more important than peace. A world without weapons is one of the greatest ideals of socialism. Its realization is in the interests of humankind as a whole. We are prepared to support any initiative which could bring on the attainment of this goal. Because the German Communist Party has organic bonds with its country's working class, it can make an important contribution to the fulfillment of the main strategic task, which is to

unite the peace movement with the working-class movement.

No one has a monopoly on the struggle for peace. That is why there must be no enemies, but only partners within the peace movement. Their cooperation on a basis of equality will help to overcome the remaining "barriers of mistrust" and scepticism.

Hans J. Krysmanski added that in the FRG it was not only a matter of the peace movement making a quantitative leap. One could say that the country is going through a process of "anti-war education" which has involved broad masses of people. There is now evidence, he said, of the most remarkable swing in social consciousness since the war. The vigorous action by the anti-missile forces has brought a marked change in the political scene.

The ideas of peace have been penetrating ever more deeply into the Social Democratic Party, shaping a strong wing favoring the FRG's repudiation of Washington's nuclear-missile strategy. Up to 40 per cent of the members of the Free Democratic Party are opposed to the realization of NATO's plans for deploying U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of the Republic. There are symptoms that the peace trends are also gestating both in the Christian Democratic Party and in its Bavarian branch, the even more conservative Christian Social Union. Considerable changes are also under way outside the party structures: the trade unions are actively involved in anti-war action; the churches — the Catholic and especially the Evangelical — are raising ever louder voices in defense of peace.

Turning to the situation in Finland, Iikka Vehkalahti said that, in contrast to many other countries of Western and Northern Europe, a great deal there has been done on state lines to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different socio-economic systems. But this Paasikivi-Kekkonen line is under attack both inside and outside Finland. In these conditions, it is more important than ever before to explain patiently the substance of the danger to the cause of peace and to show its true sources and ways of elimination. This can further invigorate the anti-militarist movement which, in Finland, brings together a broad spectrum of political forces.

The Australia Peace Committee, which was set up a few years ago, said John Benson, has its branches in the capitals of the states and in some provincial cities. Its petition demanding the removal of U.S. military bases from the country's territory was signed by thousands of people who had come to realize that if the Pen-

tagon should start a conflict, these U.S. outposts could turn Australia into a nuclear target. The point now is to give massive scope to our anti-war movement, and one of the ways of doing this is to go beyond actions for peace and raise other problems of concern to public opinion in the country, thereby increasing the number of its potential allies.

The specific features of the Israeli peace movement, said *Ibrahim Malik*, are predetermined above all by the fact that it has come out against the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of its own country, a policy which has already caused several sanguinary conflicts. Washington's stake on converting Israel into a bastion of the U.S. hegemonistic line in the Middle East region, the continued Israeli occupation of extensive Arab territories, and the urge on the part of the Tel Aviv rulers to destroy the Palestine resistance movement — such are the sources of the explosive situation, which for several decades now has been a source of justified alarm among the peace-loving public in every corner of the world.

Nevertheless, despite the prevalence of nationalistic and chauvinistic attitudes in the country, there has recently been a marked growth in the number of those who have begun to realize the great harm of the government's refusal to seek ways for a just and lasting peace with the peoples of the neighboring countries. The main question for the anti-war movement now is how to unite their forces.

The communists believe that it is quite possible to achieve unity. But only on one condition. All the peace fighters must give up attempts to impose their views on their partners. Such attempts are instanced by the stand of the leaders of the Peace Now organization, who have made joint action contingent on the adoption of the Zionist ideology by the other participants in the movement.

Progressive elements resolutely reject such claims, believing that they lead to an "ex-communication" of communists and Arabs from the anti-war movement. For their part, the communists lay down no "ideological conditions." Their stand is clear: the historic responsibility for ridding the country and the whole of the Middle East of the danger of war requires joint action by all the peace forces despite their ideological differences and national origins.

The Communist Party of Canada, said *Jack Phillips*, believes that success in the struggle for peace depends on whether its adherents succeed in creating a political potential which makes it possible to prevent the militaristic circles from turning back the clock of history. Here we find encouraging the considerable support

given to the petition addressed to the government by the Canadian Peace Congress. It is highly symptomatic that such a clearly anti-militaristic document is winning more and more supporters in the New Democratic Party,³ among social democrats and trade unionists. Let us recall that in the early 1950s the trade-union and social-democratic leaders condemned the Stockholm Appeal and attacked all those who supported it.

Anti-war action in Great Britain has now risen to a new stage, said *James Lamond*. Mammoth demonstrations in defense of peace have involved the representatives of many political and social forces which had up to now remained on the sidelines of action against the threat of war.

Changes in the mood of broad public circles are so important that the last two conferences of the Labour Party called for opposition to the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles on British soil. The 1981 conference came out for Great Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament. The resolution, which condemns the government's decision to re-equip British submarines with Trident missiles and to allow the deployment of U.S. Cruise missiles in the British Isles was also adopted at a conference of the Liberal Party. The latest conference of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) voiced its opposition to the country's involvement in Washington's missile strategy.

The participants in the symposium agreed that the following positive trends in the development of the peace movement, which is becoming an ever more influential factor in averting war, could be brought out:

- the massiveness of the movement, the extension of its party, social and ideological boundaries, its transcendence beyond the framework of existing national and international organizations, and internationalization of action on a global and regional level;

- formation of concrete demands in the light of each country's specific conditions, extension of the range of these demands to other problems of public concern, and the growing comprehension of the interconnection between the struggle against war and the potentialities for progressive socio-economic and cultural development;

- the clearer understanding of the proportions of the impending threat of war and gradual awareness of its true sources;

- the recognition of the constructive role of the socialist countries' initiatives on disarmament and the strengthening of international security;

- the sense of confidence in the effective-

ness of action against militaristic plans;

— the growing readiness to overcome political and ideological barriers for the sake of cooperation in averting war.

Setting goals, defining priorities

The emergence of an impressive, even if organizationally unformalized coalition of anti-war forces has made it especially important to have a precise definition of the main lines and priorities in the activity of the peace movement. There is now a much more vigorous search for programs which could help to unite a broad circle of organizations, groups and individuals, irrespective of the diversity of their positions. The point is, therefore, to find the most promising spheres for the application of efforts and to concentrate on these.

Much more attention should be given to the problem of correct slogans, *likka Vehkalahti* emphasized. The experience of the struggle for peace in Finland shows that it is now no longer right to confine oneself to general calls for peace and disarmament. There is a need to try to unite men and women for action in favor of concrete proposals which are acceptable for the majority, regardless of their origins. In Finland, for instance, this could be the struggle to convert Nordic Europe into a nuclear-free zone.

Among the key tasks, speakers said, is the need to indicate the sources of the current grave tension and those who are actually to blame for it. It was said that the question of those who are to blame for the difficulties arising in the way of détente, those who seek to start a second cold war, and those who are building up the material base for the "strength" policy is of more than academic interest. The answer to it is extremely meaningful for a correct orientation of the anti-war movement.

There is no doubt about the successes of the peace movement, *James Lamond* said. But then there is also no doubt that the extent to which masses are conscious of the complexity of international processes still falls short of the high level of anti-war activity. Thus, one will frequently find a tendency to put equal responsibility for the worsening international situation on the United States and on the Soviet Union. Not all the opponents of military preparations are able to see through the demagogic character of Washington's "peace" initiatives. Not all are aware, say, that behind the notorious "zero option" is an attempt by the White House to change the balance of strategic forces against the Warsaw Treaty countries.

An effective way to clarify the truth, *Roland Bauer* said, is to expose before broad public circles the essence of Washington's political

conceptions in the light of its declaration to the whole world that "some things are more important than peace." With President Reagan as its mouthpiece, the U.S. administration has called for a "crusade" against the forces of social emancipation and national liberation and has declared its goal to be the "destruction of socialism as a world system." Those are the goals to which are geared the Pentagon doctrines of the "first nuclear strike," "warning nuclear shot," "limited nuclear war" and "protracted nuclear war." Those are the purposes served by the attempts to demonstrate that a thermonuclear conflict is "tolerable" and that "it can be won." One of the practical consequences of these militaristic doctrines is the rejection of the proposals made by the socialist community countries for ending the arms race and then going on to disarmament on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security.

The NATO countries' long-term program for "additional armament"; the decision to get down to full-scale production of neutron bombs; the plans for deploying new "Euro-strategic" missiles in Western Europe; the chemical re-equipment of the U.S. army — all these are interconnected stages in the adaptation of the war machine of the United States and its allies to the political needs of the ruling classes of the imperialist powers.⁴

In view of the fact that many of those involved in the anti-war movement oppose the concrete manifestations of the threat of war but have yet to discover its deep roots, it is the communists' duty to expose systematically the sharp class edge of the current drive by reaction, said *R. Valdez Vivo*. Its main efforts are concentrated — by no mere chance — in the zones of the world where the peoples want resolute social change. Thus, the White House is furious over the consolidation of socialist Cuba's positions, the revolutionary changes in Nicaragua, the patriotic movement in El Salvador and other Latin American countries. Indeed, Washington has not even tried to cover up its readiness to engage in any gambles to halt the decline of imperialist influence and to keep the reactionary regimes in power.

The participants in the symposium expressed the conviction that, when analyzing the causes behind the worsening of the international situation, it is not right to confine them to the "ill will" of this or that government, of this or that bourgeois politician. There is the very existence of imperialism, for which external expansion, the drive for markets and raw-material sources, and subordination of states and peoples are a necessary condition of existence and development.

We ought to show, *Jaime Diaz-Rozzotto* said, that the urge for aggrandizement has always been at the root of aggressive wars. Today, in the drive for maximum profit, the stake is on boundless militarization of the economy of the imperialist powers. Some bourgeois economists even regard it as a means for overcoming the crisis phenomena and their social consequences. But life has shown such conceptions to be totally groundless.

The stockpiling of arms is a process that has its own internal logic. The built-up war machine could tempt the most adventurous circles of imperialism to set it in motion or, at any rate, to use it to intimidate its adversaries. In such circumstances, the distance between a cold war and a shooting war is a hairline.

While orienting the peace movements toward the need to curb the influence of the military-industrial complex as the immediate stimulator of the arms race, said *Hans J. Krysmanski*, one should draw attention to the fact that it has an influence not only on the production sphere. The main foreign policy and military-strategic tendencies are shaped within the entrails of this complex, which in the leading imperialist powers is increasingly coalescing with the state apparatus.

Many participants in the symposium urged the need to contrast the militaristic policy of imperialism and the socialist countries' consistent policy of bringing to international relations the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. This would help to refute the false concepts of "bloc policy," "equal responsibility" of the United States and the Soviet Union for the growing threat of war, etc.

In this context, speakers said, it is important to explain to broad public circles the fact that under socialism there is no room for classes, social strata or groups that could have a stake in the arms race, in militarizing economics and politics, to say nothing of wars. For the socialist countries, it was said, peace is a necessary condition for implementing the long-term plans of socio-economic and cultural development and for extending internationalist assistance to the revolutionary, national liberation forces.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist states are working to flesh out their peace tenets with a structure of treaties and agreements, that is, to invest them with an international law character. The socialist community is a reliable bulwark of the forces of peace, displaying firmness in matters of principle and a readiness for mutually acceptable compromise, and working to solve both global problems and particular

issues paving the way toward the ultimate goals.

When describing the socialist countries' foreign policy initiatives, said *Ahmed Salem*, it is not enough to show their factual aspects. There must be a theoretical analysis of their content. When speaking, say, about the Soviet Peace Program for the 1980s, it is very useful to bring out its organic connection with the ideological and political principles of the new society. This will make even more evident the dialectical connection between communist ideals and the urge to safeguard peace, and will help broad circles of world public opinion to realize that for the socialist countries the policy of consolidating international security and disarmament is not a tactical ploy but a strategic line.

Some speakers said that it was necessary to show more deeply and clearly the danger to world peace posed by hotbeds of local tension and armed conflict. In this context *Mazen Husseini* called for efforts to spread more widely the principle, which socialist democracy proclaimed a long time ago, namely, that peace was indivisible. In the context of détente, this meant the need to regard the latter as a global process.

Exaggerating the importance of détente in one part of the world and ignoring the danger of confrontation in another, is tantamount to leading the peace forces onto the wrong road. Thus, some participants in anti-war movements in the Arab countries tend to underestimate the importance of international détente for solving the problems of their region. But it is well known that in the period of détente common efforts were made by the USSR and the United States to find a way for settling the Middle East conflict by political means.

Elaborating on *M. Husseini's* idea, *Sarada Mitra* added that the importance of détente in Europe is not confined to the fact that it opened before the peoples of the socialist and of the capitalist parts of the continent a real way to the establishment of good-neighborhood. Peace initiatives in Europe created the prospect for a global détente, for its extension to other regions. Détente has helped many peoples to score successes in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

There is yet another argument which helps the non-European nations to gain a better understanding of the danger of "limited" conflicts, said *Tair Tairov*. The very fact that the main forces of the North Atlantic Bloc and the Warsaw Treaty are in confrontation in Europe makes it highly problematical that it could be possible to localize even an initially small con-

flict breaking out there, if it involves any parties belonging to these military-political alignments.

The symposium also dealt with the problem of combating the psychological warfare carried on by the imperialist centers. In its efforts to deceive the social forces, *Clement Rohee* said, bourgeois propaganda has acted along two main lines: on the one hand, it has sought to prove the "good intentions" of the imperialist powers, and on the other hand, to cultivate anti-communist and, in particular, anti-Soviet attitudes with all the means at its disposal. While this is not a new way of working on public opinion, it should be treated with all seriousness. After all, there are still many people who trust bourgeois information. This also applies to the peoples of the Caribbean on whom torrents of refined lies have been poured for years.

While vigorously exposing the assertions about some "Soviet threat," *Reja Collure* emphasized, there is also a need to bear in mind that some of those who believe in the imperialist myths are our brothers by class. We must help them to escape from the propaganda snares of capital, to learn the truth about socialist foreign policy, about its ideological substance as a policy of peace and cooperation among nations.

When the bourgeoisie uses crafty methods for manipulating public opinion in the ideological struggle, backward views can temporarily prevail in a section of the working people. But it is a scientific, progressive and humanistic ideology that can alone score a lasting strategic victory in the ideological confrontation. This ideology, said *Girgin Girginov*, is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. That is why the international confrontation in the ideological sphere will sooner or later result in the overcoming of reactionary views and attitudes and in an ideological improvement of the atmosphere. This will not, of course, occur of itself, but will require further invigoration of the ideological struggle against imperialism and in defense of détente and peace. Such a struggle helps further to unite all those who are concerned with the destinies of humankind. Its goal is to assert the only realistic and historically justified method of tackling international problems in a peaceful and constructive dialogue.

The discussion eventually brought out the following main lines in the activity of the peace forces:

— establishment of the true causes behind the aggravation of the international tension and

exposure of those who are concretely to blame for the mounting threat of war;

— presentation of the objective potentialities for preserving peace and the real ways to it;

— broad efforts to explain the peace initiatives helping to halt the arms race and start disarmament, consolidate international security and extend mutually advantageous and equitable cooperation between nations;

— organization of mass struggles for the concrete goals whose attainment helps to realize these proposals;

— frustration of attempts by the militaristic circles to dampen the peace movements, to hamper their joint action with the socialist states and the communists; and

— exposure of the myth about some "Soviet war threat," and the "super-powers" concept, and the "equal responsibility" of socialism and imperialism for the growing international tension.

In closing the discussion, *James Lamond* stressed that the exchange of views at the symposium concerning the prerequisites for establishing lasting peace and the process of détente and consideration of some of the specific features of the anti-war movement at the present stage have helped to clarify its current tasks. The participants in the symposium, he said, represented not only the main regions of the globe, but also diverse political and ideological trends. It was a meeting of those who were equally committed on an issue of vital importance for all people on the globe. The sincere discussion in the course of it has shown once again that a comparison of the views of communists and socialists, non-party people and members of bourgeois parties, believers and atheists, members of parliament and scientists, party and trade-union leaders — that is what we have succeeded in doing at the symposium — that such a comparison is useful in itself and could provide a stimulus to their joint efforts and active struggle for their noble goal.

The symposium was held in an international situation that was complicated and fraught with grave danger, and one whose main features in the latter half of 1982 became even more menacing. Its participants voiced this view: no task is now more important than to halt the mounting political and military confrontation which is being produced by the policy of the imperialist powers. A further heightening of tension could make it harder to return to détente and could further complicate the relations between the capitalist and the socialist states.

Regardless of party affiliation, of ideological and political orientation among the partici-

pants in the discussion, their statements were permeated with this pivotal idea: it is possible to bring about the vitally necessary swing to a consolidation of international security. The way to defending détente lies through the utmost invigoration and joint action by all the anti-war forces and their efforts to overcome social, political, ideological and other barriers for the sake of the struggle against the threat of war. The fulfillment of this large-scale task gives special urgency to the need for steady improvement of the positive program for joint action, on the basis of which the most diverse groups of peace fighters could act in serried ranks, while maintaining their complete sovereignty.

1. A secret report prepared by President Reagan's political advisers to define and back up the goals of current U.S. foreign policy. For details see Rodney Arismendi's article "Global Madness Once More" in *WMR*, August 1981. — Ed.

2. This is exemplified by the refusal in the summer of 1982 by the leading West European countries and Japan to submit to Washington's diktat and to scrap their contracts with the Soviet Union for delivery of equipment under the gas pipeline project. — Ed.

3. The New Democratic Party was set up in 1961 on the basis of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and a section of the trade unions; it is a member of the Socialist International and is represented in Parliament. — Ed.

4. On the character and scale of U.S. military preparations, see commentary by James West in *WMR*, "New Facts: Who Is Preparing for War and Who Seeks Peace", April 1982. — Ed.

The only true revolutionary course

International Conference in Havana

An international scientific conference on "The General and the Specific in the Revolutionary Process in Latin America and the Caribbean" was held in Havana under the auspices of the CP Cuba Central Committee and *WMR*. It was attended by the representatives of 22 communist parties and 13 other revolutionary organizations of the continent. The almost 500-page collection of papers and messages of greeting to the conference published by the CP Cuba on the eve of the final sitting is eloquent indication of the scope of the work done. To this should be added the voluminous verbatim report of the discussions, which showed the urge for unity on the part of all those who were present and which were frank, fraternal and constructive even when the views differed. Here is an account of the conference by two representatives of *WMR* who were there: *Girgin Girginov*, CC member, Bulgarian CP; and *Raul Valdez Vivo*, CC member, CP Cuba.

With the growing political consciousness of the working class and the masses in Latin America, revolutionaries are ever more resolved to unite their ranks, for they believe, as Fidel Castro has repeatedly said, that this is the only strategy capable of carrying them to victory. The whole course of the conference demonstrated that the representatives of parties with over a half-century of experience in the struggle and the representatives of young organizations just beginning to assimilate the seminal ideas of Marxism-Leninism want mutual understanding based on the principles of scientific

socialism and proletarian internationalism. For them, this is a necessary condition for mobilizing all the forces capable of standing up to imperialism and reaction, to enable the working people of the continent to shape their own future freely. The attainment of this goal would certainly do much for the cause of peace, national liberation and social emancipation all over the world.

The conference coincided with the outbreak of the fighting over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), which provided fresh evidence that the crisis of imperialist domination in the region had become a general one and that it was gaining in depth. It would be no exaggeration to say that a new situation had taken shape in the region. This is the first time Latin America has come out with such unanimity against the policy of imperialism.

The positions of the Organization of American States and of the so-called Inter-American Defense System — these notorious instruments of imperialist intervention in the region — were visibly shaken. But what is even more important is that the false idea that there can be a strategic alliance between Latin America and imperialism was shaken likewise. In the face of the predatory nature of imperialism words like "common historical destiny" and "solidarity of American civilization" turn out to have a hollow ring. These upheavals are fairly eloquent confirmation of the uniformities of social development by which speakers at the Havana meeting were guided in their analysis.

Merging in one powerful tide

Every participant in the conference naturally

spoke of the struggle of his own organization and in the course of the discussion expressed his own views of the problems of utmost concern. Still, everyone referred to the state of the continental revolutionary movement, and here there was a full consensus.

Opening the conference on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, alternate member of the Political Bureau Jesus Montane Oropesa drew attention to an essential point which was variously reflected in all the subsequent speeches: "Latin America as a whole, and the countries of Central America and the Caribbean in particular, have beyond any doubt entered upon the present decade in the atmosphere of a marked upswing in the people's anti-imperialist liberation movement."

This upswing has proceeded in the presence of the remaining archaic relations of production based on a lop-sided development of capitalism that is dependent on imperialism (U.S. imperialism in the first place), on latifundism and other pre-capitalist relics. The crisis of Latin American society is becoming ever more acute, determining a qualitatively new stage in the objective conditions for the liberation revolution. Nor is this a cyclical upheaval; it is permanent and all-embracing, i.e., a *structural crisis of basis and superstructure*.

General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana Cheddi Jagan said: "Latin America and the Caribbean are in the grip of a grave crisis. The reason is the deep crisis of the whole world capitalist system, of the relations of colonial and neocolonial dependence. Imperialism seeks to shift its burden onto the developing countries. This worsens the conditions of the masses, deepens the contradictions and intensifies the national liberation and class struggle. The revolutionary tide is on an up-grade."

What is characteristic above all for Latin America in the 1980s is the broadening of the social basis of the revolution and the start of new battles involving the use of diverse forms. It was noted at the conference that today it is not only leaders or individual organizations but entire peoples that increasingly come to realize that the unity of the national, regional and world revolutionary processes is objective. Such an understanding is especially important in view of the sudden sharpening of the international situation and the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism. In this context, the conference gave the participants a fresh impetus for developing theoretical and political thinking and equipped them with valuable conclusions for revolutionary action.

In his opening speech, J. Montane Oropesa declared: "We, Latin American revolutionaries, are inseparable from the rest of the world, and whenever anything happens anywhere, it has a direct bearing on us. The U.S. administration is now foisting on its NATO allies tremendous military budgets, fuelling an unexampled arms race, reviving the coarse barbarous language of the cold war, and trying to deploy on the soil of Europe 572 medium-range missiles targeted on the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries. The consequent threat to world peace is of immediate concern to the Latin Americans. It cannot but move us to the most active and vigorous resistance. Everything must be done to thwart this imperialist policy. We are internationalists. We are not in the habit of burying our heads in the sand like ostriches. The destiny of socialism and all the other revolutionary and progressive countries is our own destiny. We shall share it without fail, being conscious that our unity and solidarity today must be broad and solid as never before."

These words were an exact expression of the feelings of the participants in the conference, for they were an expression of the new consciousness which is gestating among the masses of the continent, the working class in the first place. This is borne out by the massive anti-imperialist struggle which now is no longer just an expression of protest, as it was a few decades ago, but a real way to victory. There is good reason, therefore, why it was noted with satisfaction at the conference in Havana — convened in the 24th year of the revolution — that Cuba has ceased to be the only free territory in America, as it was for 20 years.

Analysts from other regions frequently regard Latin America as an aggregation of states with a similar level of development, failing to see the distinctions between the revolutionary processes under way in these countries. But there is a need to reckon with these differences not only in assessing the long-term prospects for political battles, but also in making short-term forecasts. This question was dealt with by Teodoro de Melo, member of the CC Executive Commission, Brazilian Communist Party, who said that while all the peoples in the region had good grounds to regard U.S. imperialism as a common enemy, each country had its own and often considerable peculiarities "produced, on the one hand, by economic and social factors, like high or low level of capitalist development, presence or absence of obstacles for imperialist investments, structure of productive forces, make-up of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat,

and on the other, by factors of an historical order."

Virtually all the types of socio-economic formations or their phases known to history will be found in Latin America: these range from primitive forms of the subsistence economy, which is widespread in some zones of Central America and in the Indian tribal areas of Brazil and Colombia, to socialism in Cuba. Between these two poles, one will find capitalism in every form, ranging from emergent capitalism with pre-capitalist features (Central America and the Caribbean) to actively advancing state-monopoly capitalism (Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela among others).

The comradely exchange of opinions showed once again that because of these countries' uneven development, the tasks immediately facing the revolutionaries cannot be the same. Thus, socialist Cuba's main task is to complete the building of the new society. Its successful fulfillment is important not only for the Cuban people but also for all the other peoples of the continent. It is fear of this example that explains Washington's obtuse stubbornness with which it has subjected Cuba to economic blockade, issued threats against it and engaged in direct aggression over such a long period of time that is unprecedented in modern history. In other countries in the region, the revolution is on the agenda and the unity of all its forces (once, undoubtedly, Cuba's "secret") is of primary importance. In some cases, the struggle to ensure and extend democratic rights for the masses comes to the fore. Finally, there are vast zones in which the primary task is to overthrow the despotic regimes and satisfy democratic demands.

Marked by radicalization

Life has provided ever more cogent proof that Lenin's theory of revolution in the epoch of imperialism is very solidly based. But some spokesmen for the contemporary working-class movement, which assumes diverse forms in the concrete national conditions, now and again question the effect of earlier established uniformities and the application of formulated principles. One also finds attempts to construct "new" conceptions in contrast to those brought out by Marxist-Leninist science and borne out in practice.

The participants in the conference displayed their unanimity in examining the general uniformities of world development and their manifestations on the continent, and the specific trends. They believe that both the neglect and the doctrinaire view of the objective course of history and its refraction in national condi-

tions could lead to serious errors. The truly dialectical method orients the revolutionary forces toward a concrete analysis of the concrete situation in each country. The problem is not to allow the extremely diverse specific features, the constantly emerging new phenomena to obscure the general, fundamental uniformities, and to succumb to the illusion that they can be ignored with impunity. We feel that the speakers at the Havana meeting were guided precisely by such a dialectical approach.

"Our revolutions," said Manuel Pineiro Losada, CC member, CP Cuba, "like the revolutions in Asia and Africa, are advancing along one and the same worldwide historical road opened up in October 1917." In Latin America, he said, the most diverse factors have shaped "favorable conditions for intensive and radical development of the revolutions." How is this expressed and what kind of trend is seen here to be the basic one?

A study of the papers suggests that the various particular processes shaping the panorama of political life on the continent proceed under the common mark of radicalization. The exploiters are here confronted with steadily growing resistance from the exploited, the working class in the first place. That is the basic trend. It is most pronounced in Central America and the Caribbean. There is no return to the period in which European colonialism used Latin America as a vast and easily accessible source of resources for the primitive accumulation of capital. Gone for good is also the time (from the end of the 19th century up until the victory of the Cuban revolution) when U.S. imperialism could regard the continent as no more than its backyard.

The situation in the three subregions — Central America, the Caribbean and South America (each was considered separately by the conference) — bears out the truth of what has been said. Let us consider some of the problems that are most important for the first two subregions, where the revolutionary battles have become most acute in the recent period.

Carlos Leonardo Cordero of the Costa Rican Socialist Party declared: "The profound social upheavals that are in evidence all over the Central American region and that have been caused by the sharpening of the class struggle and the strengthening of the working class and its military-political organizations, and also by the unity which that class has achieved with other popular strata, are shattering the local dictatorships." The artificially fanned fear of U.S. imperialism, which strove to implant the doctrine of "geographical fatalism," is a thing

of the past. Moreover, says **Enrique Alvaringas**, CC Political Commission member, CP Honduras: "In 1959, the Cuban Revolution ushered in the stage of anti-imperialist and democratic revolutions in Latin America and the Caribbean. Beginning from 1979, with the victory of the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua, with the attainment of independence by Belize, with the growth of revolutionary action by the Puerto Rican and Haitian patriots, and the flare-up of people's revolutionary wars in El Salvador and Guatemala, the center of gravity in the Latin American revolution has moved to the region of Central America and the Caribbean."

In Honduras, the intensity of the liberation struggle has also been growing. On the eve of the conference, four military-political organizations in Guatemala merged in the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity.* This association, and also the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador, have welcomed the conference. The delegates voiced their admiration at the courage of the fighters of both fronts, which is being skilfully combined with tactical flexibility, and wished them further advance toward unity.

The crisis of the power system which has been shaped in the subregion has affected virtually all the classes and strata of the population. The ruling circles are increasingly seeking ways to escape from this situation. There are groups which have to some extent learned the lessons of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada and believe that democratic change is the lesser evil as compared with revolution. But there are also influential factions advocating a "hard line" and tougher repression against the popular movement. Democratization of social life could, of course, ease the effects of the socio-economic crisis. Imperialism and the local oligarchy, however, are aware that it would aggravate contradictions within the ruling bloc to the limit, intensify the isolation of the fascist-minded militarists and promote the strengthening of the working people's organizations and, ultimately, invigorate their struggle. That is why even moderate reformist projects are rejected out of hand by the ruling classes. Events show that extremist groupings tend to win the day. Accordingly, more and more people are coming to realize that progressive transformations can be effected here only through an anti-dictatorship, anti-imperialist

democratic revolution. Active involvement of popular strata under the political and ideological guidance of the working class will pave the way for subsequent transition to socialism. That is the perspective outlined by the participants in the conference.

The Central American and Caribbean peoples' struggle relies on powerful support from the progressive forces of the world. The solidarity movement involves not only the revolutionaries, but also social democrats, broad church circles, and some bourgeois parties and governments. All of this bears out the Marxist-Leninist proposition that revolutions can have and do have only an internal origin and that the only real danger comes from the export of counter-revolution by bellicose and adventurous groups of imperialism. The broadest solidarity movement erects a barrier in the way of subversive counter-revolutionary activity from outside, and gives the peoples confidence in ultimate victory.

Adolfo Sanchez Rebolledo, representing the United Socialist Party of Mexico (USPM), a new organization of the Mexican working class, spoke most explicitly on this matter: "It is quite a realistic prospect not only to defeat imperialism, but also to find a way for solving regional conflicts which makes it possible to advance the building of a democratic and revolutionary society... It is also important that in the general offensive by the peoples in the region international solidarity has a primary role to play." Despite the fact that the USPM takes an irreconcilable stand with respect to the "Mexican-style social reformism," which is being advocated by the country's ruling circles, it accepts the government's Central American policy, highly values its cooperation with Cuba and Nicaragua, and supports the initiative for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in El Salvador. Let us recall that the Salvadoran insurgents themselves, Cuba, Nicaragua and all the revolutionaries of Latin America have come out in favor of a political solution of the conflict. The obstacles in the way of negotiations are being thrown up by the same forces which seek to heat up the international atmosphere, namely, U.S. imperialism and the reactionary regimes following in its wake.

In this context, **Luther Thomas**, CC Political Bureau member, People's Party of Panama, noted the need to pursue consistently a policy of broad alliances of progressive circles both at home and abroad. He referred to his country's experience; "As a result of negotiations which lasted 13 long years, the steadfastness displayed by the government under the influence of the military, vigorous action by the patriotic

*For details on this event and the attitude to it on the part of the Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL) see the interview with Otto Sanchez, CC Political Commission member, GPL (p. 34) — Ed.

forces, and the militant international solidarity, we forced the stubbornly resisting imperialists to recognize Panama's legitimate right to the whole of its territory and to start the decolonization of the Canal Zone."

International solidarity and the creative character of the foreign-policy line pursued by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF) had an important role to play in the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution. In order to build a new society, the SNLF delegate *Leonel Espinosa* said, "we must take a dialectical view of the general uniformities and of our country's specific features, thereby avoiding the mechanical use of the experience of other peoples or overestimation of the specific elements of our own process."

Whenever the uniformities of the revolutionary process are either ignored or even consciously rejected by the leadership of a given party, the forces of counter-revolution and imperialism are quick to capitalize on such mistakes in order to stage a social comeback. The classes removed from power — and this applies to the Latin American countries as well — have demonstrated a growing capacity to learn from their defeats and to adapt to the new conditions. Practical experience has repeatedly borne out Lenin's view that "the class instinct and class consciousness of the ruling classes are still superior to those of the oppressed classes" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 483). Depending on the situation, local reaction, with external support from imperialism, engages in economic sabotage and subversive activity, terrorism and violence, and resorts to military coups which trample on the legality, democracy and freedom which had but yesterday been declared to be "sacrosanct" and which had been allegedly threatened by the revolutionary forces. All of this, it was said at the conference, sets before the revolutionaries the task of being prepared for possible sharp changes in the situation.

Speakers drew attention to the importance of *defending the revolutionary gains and resolutely beating back attempts by local reaction and imperialism to restore the old order*. That is a matter of life or death for the liberated peoples. It is well understood in Cuba, in Nicaragua and in Grenada: workers, peasants and all other patriots are safeguarding the revolution, arms in hand. Their successes could have been greater but for the ceaseless imperialist provocations. *Cornwall Leon*, representing Grenada's New Jewel Movement, said: "Today, in face of the threats and real dangers coming from the United States, our revolution relies on

active and organized support of the masses, the people have ever greater faith in it. The imperialists are alarmed by the fact that the Grenadan revolution has become yet another symbol of hope."

Inconsistency in conducting the revolutionary line is fraught with defeat. Such is the conclusion drawn by *Trevor Munroe*, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Jamaica, in analyzing the reverse of the democratic forces in the 1980 elections in the country. Firmness is extremely necessary in a situation in which imperialism makes extensive use of psychological blackmail and methods of economic destabilization. Jamaica is now faced with this alternative: either the establishment of a fascist dictatorship or "the strengthening of the working class and the peasants so as to make them capable of routing imperialism and the bourgeoisie."

At the same time, *Frank Hypolitte*, the delegate of the United Party of Haitian Communists, declared that "in view of the grasping nature of U.S. imperialism and also of the aggressive fascist-type policy which it seeks to impose directly or through its lackeys in Africa, Asia and Latin America, we believe that it is impossible to defeat the local and foreign reactionary forces without the solidarity and support of the socialist community and the international revolutionary movement."

Left-wing forces in countries still to win political sovereignty are faced with other problems. But there again the revolutionaries actively involved in the struggle for independence believe that their ultimate goal is to build socialism. *Pierre Tarer*, delegate of the Guadeloupe Communist Party, said that in his country, which is a French colony, "the struggle for autonomy has shown the way to a future in dignity." *Etile Jean Pierre* of the Martinique Communist Party said that the country's perspectives were independence and socialism. For his part, *Pablo Rivera*, representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, emphasized that "the first necessary step toward socialism in Puerto Rico is the winning of independence and the establishment of a state guided by our people's national and social interests." He came out in support of the Latin American project for granting independence to Puerto Rico, which the countries of the continent are to put before the UN General Assembly for its consideration.

The Central American and Caribbean peoples are carrying on a struggle "in the entrails of the monster," as *José Martí* metaphorically put it. But the revolutionaries are right in warning that it is dangerous not only to minimize the potentialities of imperialism, but

also to share the illusion that it is as strong as it once used to be. To take this view is to doom the left-wing forces to passive tactics and to waiting for especially favorable international changes. There is an ever louder and more insistent demand by the peoples in this region: "Changes — Now!"

South American giant

Central America and the Caribbean show that even in countries with relatively small populations, the overall anti-imperialist liberation process has some noteworthy specific features. Their diversity is even more pronounced when it comes to South America. It is hard to analyze the situation in each individual country in the region, and so we shall confine ourselves to presenting some of the ideas suggested in the conference papers.

Let us first note one essential point. The Cuban delegation motioned support for Argentina's sovereign right to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), and this was unanimously adopted. The meeting also unanimously demanded the release from prison of Antonio Maidana, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party and fiery fighter for the freedom of his country and of the whole of Latin America. By these acts of solidarity, the conference in a way indicated a characteristic feature of the liberation process in South America, where the struggle against imperialism and the fascist regimes implanted by it, and for democracy and social progress is coming to the fore. It is being carried on in various forms, at different depths and, with different degrees of intensity and sharpness, but it is coherent in purpose, which is not merely to re-establish the trampled bourgeois institutions, but to secure a renewed democracy resting on the support of the masses and capable of effectively safeguarding their interests.

There is no denying the fact that even in countries where socialist tasks are not yet on the agenda, the activity of the working class and all the other working people is on an ever higher level. Antonio Diaz-Ruiz, head of the CC Inner-Party Ideological Work Department, CP Cuba, said that "the struggle against the common enemy helps to fortify the revolutionary will of the masses and, most importantly, to involve new influential social and political forces which, despite their ideological, philosophical and religious differences, constitute a broad social base which is permeated with the spirit of democracy and anti-imperialism."

This was most evident during the Anglo-

Argentinian conflict and, earlier on, during the Nicaraguan people's war of liberation. Virtually all the political forces were set in motion in a relatively short period of time. The persevering struggle of the communists and other progressive circles was not fought in vain. Their efforts were not always crowned with success — there were both retreats and heavy defeats — but they helped to increase the anti-imperialist potential on the continent. That struggle has now come to fruition. There has been a marked enlivenment of activity by various groups and organizations, however checkered and contradictory in social and political terms, but capable of uniting against imperialism. The identity of views on some issues has not, of course, abolished the class struggle, but has made it more intricate, inducing the proletariat and its parties to take independent action and creatively elaborate the existing problems in depth. Far from weakening, this tends to strengthen the united front of the classes and strata of the population which constitute the motive force both of the democratic and the socialist revolution. This dialectical conception was clearly expressed at the 1975 Havana Meeting of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The South American peoples' growing struggle is proceeding in the face of feverish political moves by the United States and other imperialist powers and a sharp aggravation of contradictions between the ruling classes, primarily between their extremist factions and the advocates of flexible, liberal methods of government. These contradictions have resulted in some compromise alternatives of "limited," "protected" or "controlled" bourgeois democracy. They are designed to raise a screen of talk about the re-establishment of "representative" institutions to cover up the efforts to keep the progressive forces out of political life and to preserve all the main economic and social mechanisms of domination by the transnational corporations and the local big bourgeoisie.

The plebiscite farce in Chile and the introduction of an anti-popular constitution, said Julieta Campusano, CC member, CP Chile, exemplify the operation of "protected democracy." But they did not break the will of the working class, as will be seen from the demands which it has put forward in the course of the struggle and in its urge to join the other contingents of the working people in remedying the weaknesses and mistakes of the past. Back in September 1980, the Communist Party of Chile reached the conclusion that a new political situation was taking shape in the

country, and this situation has now become a reality. The militant spirit is inexorably growing stronger in the midst of the people, indignation is spreading to new strata of the population, and mass creativity is evolving a diversity of forms for action against the regime.

Elements of the changing situation are also being taken into account in their conclusions by the Uruguayan communists. The people's mounting resistance and the resolute "No" which they said to the fascist dictatorship in the 1980 plebiscite opened up favorable prospects for the anti-fascist movement. At the same time, the most militant section of the opposition, Eduardo Viera, member of the Executive Group Abroad, CP Uruguay, declared, is aware that "the dictatorship forces are trying to preserve some of the fascist structures and to impose a false model of 'limited democracy' under the tutelage of the military."

The experience gained in setting up the Multipartidaria,* Argentinian communists, member of the CC Political Commission Oscar Arevalo and Adela Sanchez, stressed, shows that in their country's specific conditions, "the struggle for the restoration of democracy can bring together various political forces, ranging from the working class to influential groups of the national bourgeoisie. The proletarian party's insight and vigor will help to make active this heterogeneous alliance which may be unstable because of its participants' different goals, but which is absolutely necessary in order to put an end to the despotism. The return to democracy is seen as the surest way of really advancing to radical change. It is a way that does not, of course, fit into various idyllic notions. It is blazed by outbursts of mass struggle involving the whole people, with the working class out in front, and by action for democratic freedoms, which are being stubbornly suppressed by the imperialist and oligarchic circles."

Even countries blessed with the "oil bonanza" like Venezuela and Ecuador, have not escaped this either. Growing protest stems both from the arbitrary acts of the local ruling classes and from the policy of the imperialists plundering the national wealth, seeking to sell high and buy low, and to transfer to the "South" the cyclical crises of the "North." Javier Garaycoa, CC Executive Committee member, CP Ecuador, gave some telling figures on the depth of the crisis in his country. There is the broadest public discontent with the govern-

ments, which squandered fabulous revenues from the sale of oil while oil prices were on the rise, and are trying to get the working people to shoulder all the burdens now that prices have dropped and there is a glut on the market.

Alvaro Oviedo, CC Executive Committee member, Colombian CP, spoke of the growing contradictions between the people, on the one hand, and imperialism acting hand in glove with loyal circles in the local oligarchy, on the other. We, communists, do not believe that the establishment of a more reactionary power in Colombia, like the terroristic dictatorships in the countries of the Southern Cone, is inevitable. We feel that we have sufficiently powerful forces and democratic reserves capable of stopping reaction and opening up a democratic perspective."

Populist and nationalist organizations are being ever more actively involved in the revolutionary movement. That was the conclusion reached by Fernando Tapia, representative of the Socialist Party of Chile led by Clodomiro Almeida.

Indeed, the ranks of the revolutionaries have been growing everywhere. The mechanism of dependent capitalism keeps backfiring. Contradictions result in breaches in the imperialist system of domination. The differences between the pitch and level of popular struggle that will be found in "America's thin waistline," as Central America was called by Pablo Neruda, and the Caribbean on the one hand, and the rest of the continent, on the other, have a tendency to shade off. No matter how hard imperialism may try to export fascism, it can no longer hope to have even a short respite. Direct armed intervention will not help here either. The Washington strategists have miscalculated in their expectations that Brazil, the biggest country of the continent, will take up the "big stick" and assume some of the functions of the continental gendarme. Nor were their expectations justified by the other potential candidates from among the states with a relatively high level of economic and military development. The White House is finding it ever harder to make one bunch of Latin Americans fight another. They have fought and will continue to fight against imperialism. There is no other prospect.

Problem Number One

How is power to be taken? What is the importance of the revolutionary forces' program? Who and how shapes their vanguard? Can one speak of phases or stages in the revolution, and if yes, how are they to be demarcated? What are the ways, forms and methods of this struggle?

*An association of major political parties in Argentina set up in mid-1981; it relies on the support of the communists and socialists; it advocates the resumption of the constitution, a lifting of the ban on political and public activity and other democratic changes.

On these and many other problems is constantly focused the attention of the communist parties. They were also considered at the Havana Conference. It is quite natural that the views expressed were not always identical, even though they were similar or akin to each other. Concrete experience undoubtedly had much influence on the views expressed on this or that problem.

No survey can possibly do justice to all the views expressed, and so we present some of them to show the aspects of the struggle which are being jointly scrutinized by Latin American revolutionaries. Their collective creative effort, involving a fraternal sharing of experience, can be likened to mountaineering: before starting on the ascent of a forbidding peak, each must decide for himself how this is best done. But in order to overcome the obstacles and difficulties on the way up, there must be mutual support.

Since *Latin American society is on the threshold of important changes*, the problem of winning power by the working class and other revolutionary forces is becoming paramount. It marks the watershed between the Marxist-Leninists and the social-reformists. Social-reformist and kindred doctrines depict the advance to democracy and profound social transformations not as a way of class struggle and revolution but, on the contrary, as class collaboration and gradual reform. The institutions and forms of the political system of capitalism are declared to be suitable for such changes. Their evolution, the social-reformist ideologists assert, proceeds through an extension of bourgeois democracy and should of itself bring about a "socialist restructuring" of the political system.

But smooth evolution can never bring about any fundamental change in the class substance of a society. If such evolution was to occur, speakers argued, it would need to have, apart from everything else, the miraculous benevolence of U.S. imperialism, which would then have to repent of many of its past "sins," notably those against the Popular Unity government in Chile and to abandon its global policy. Radical changes imply a break in evolutionary development, a leap, or, in other words, a revolution. Lenin wrote that "capitalism creates its own grave-digger, itself creates the elements of a new system, yet, at the same time, without a 'leap' these individual elements change nothing in the general state of affairs" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 348).

No one at the conference left any doubt that the solution of the problem of power was the key to social reconstruction. If it is to win, the working class must have power resting on the

strength of broad masses of working people, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, to use the scientific term. That is one of the crucial uniformities of the socialist revolution which is on the agenda, even if it is not on the shortest list. It was clear to the participants that the very concept of "dictatorship" had to be considered in the class sense, meaning a more profound and genuine popular democracy, instead of the abstract ethical sense, in which it is regarded by bourgeois-reformist ideologists. Similarly, behind the term "bourgeois democracy" lurks the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which turns into fascism when it resorts to extreme means. The conception of the proletarian dictatorship does not at all contain a prescription for tackling all the tasks which face the revolutionary forces exclusively by means of coercion. But it is also clear that the working class resorts to these methods in response to the use of force by a reactionary minority seeking to deprive it of full state power.

This question comes close to the problem of the hegemony of the proletariat in the liberation movement. It was emphasized at the conference that the communists and other revolutionaries are frequently accused of unwillingness to act within the framework of "social pluralism." They hear demagogic calls urging them not to repeat the "mistakes of Europe," to behave "more patriotically," to refrain from sharpening the conflicts and to accept a "useful, constructive alliance" with the bourgeois state. The claim is that that is most necessary on the periphery of the capitalist system, in countries which are dependent on the imperialist powers. It is also claimed that the present-day dynamic of the class structure requires that the proletariat should act as an equal partner with other social groups, the middle strata in the first place.

This conception, speakers said, is theoretically hollow. The proletariat strives to establish (or exercise) hegemony in the liberation movement because no other class, to say nothing of a social stratum, is capable of fulfilling the historic mission of carrying the democratic revolution to the end and building a new society free from exploitation.

In Latin America — and this was once again driven home in the discussion — the struggle for hegemony is not waged between the working class and the middle strata, but between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, for they propose alternative ways: a democratic revolution to establish genuine independence and clear the way for the socialist perspective, or preservation of dependent capitalism. The petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the middle

strata are historically the socio-political "center" for which there is a bitter fight between the antagonistic classes. It becomes most pronounced in periods of revolutionary explosion, when there is a sharp and frequently almost instant "erosion" of the middle elements and a clear-cut division into proponents and opponents of social change. In such conditions, the choice of way of social development depends precisely on which class succeeds in winning the majority over to its side.

In the course of the discussion, *Carlos Valjeos* (Left Revolutionary Movement of Chile) stressed that the leading class and the way in which the issue of power is decided are the hallmarks of the revolution. Clarity on this point alone helps to bring out the goals and alliances constituting the social basis of the revolution and to lay bare the contradictions which are overcome at its every stage. That is why there is a need to speak of two phases: the people's democratic and the socialist phase. In the former phase, the contradiction is resolved between finance capital and the military dictatorship, on the one hand, and the people and democracy, on the other. In other words, some of the tasks emerging in this phase are different from those of the socialist phase. This question arises: why is it not right to designate the tasks of the revolution at this or that stage as its main, definitive hallmarks? Our national experience also provides the answer. In Chile, an effort was made to effect anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, agrarian and other transformations before the issue of power had been decided and the strategy for winning it elaborated. It is well known, after all, that democratic, to say nothing of socialist, goals cannot be attained without power first passing to the working class, to the whole people. The proletariat's genuine hegemony and the arming of the masses are guarantees that the "two-phase revolution" will advance toward socialism. Consequently, there is good ground to speak of an uninterrupted and coherent revolutionary process.

The Uruguayan delegate *Eduardo Viera* said that there was a need to add the term "anti-imperialist" to the definition of the first phase of the revolution as a "people's democratic" revolution. But words were not the main thing. One can speak merely of a potential division into phases. Because the transition from the one to the other depends on the results of the ideological and political battle, on whether it is won by the working class, and on whether it proves to be the true and not just a declared leader. How do the first and second phases of the revolution differ? Mainly in their tasks. The

goal of the former is to fight against imperialist domination, big monopolies and latifundism, and to break up the dictatorial machine. Simultaneously, efforts are made to fulfil the anti-capitalist tasks, but these become of primary importance later, in the course of the socialist revolution. But it would be an illusion to expect the same social forces which were involved in the first phase to take part in the second. Even where the local bourgeoisie is involved in the struggle and even when a part of it does not reject socialism, one cannot hope that as a class it will support the revolution in the second phase.

Carlos Dore, CC Political Committee member, Dominican CP, referred to this problem and said that the bitter social clashes in Latin America were an indication of the general line of the revolutionary process, whose substance cannot be altered by secondary circumstances like the involvement of some groups of the bourgeoisie. But under a dependent capitalism, this class has demonstrated its total incapacity to effect democratic transformation. The proletariat alone can consistently fulfil this task, which is why it acquires a socialist character. Talk of phases or stages is justified only in the event that the goal is to recruit new allies for the struggle. Inadequate comprehension of this question breeds misconceptions. First, about the existence of a so-called national bourgeoisie whose contradictions with imperialism allegedly allow it to go along with us and even to become an important element of the revolution at the initial stage. Second, the illusion that the substance of the revolution boils down to purely reformist processes, to the extent to which individual transformations (like agrarian reform, nationalization, etc.) are effected. But there is no practical evidence that foreign imperialism moves along one road, and the local bourgeoisie, along another. External domination requires a favorable situation inside the country, and it is created. The dependent bourgeoisie has a vital stake in the relations of subordination. That is why the struggle against imperialist interests on the continent goes to the roots of capitalism. Similarly, any anti-capitalist act has a clear-cut anti-imperialist edge.

The paper presented by the Argentinian communists says that a correct definition of the economic and political goals of the concrete moment is of primary importance for winning power. While realizing that there is neither a complete blending of or a thick wall between the tasks of the different stages, it is necessary to have a clear view of these tasks and to be able to fulfil them and gain success in face of the gan-

gion of diverse factors in the country and in the world arena. And there is, of course, the need to apply Lenin's approach to the problem, for he clearly indicated that the development of the revolutionary process depends on the strength of the conscious and organized proletariat. That is the very gist of the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution.

Carlos Cardenas, CC Political Commission member, Guatemalan Party of Labor, said that in defining the character and stages of the revolution there is a need to reckon with the basic contradictions within the society, the positions of the classes, and the arrangement of the political forces. From the conditions in Guatemala it follows that it is not right to speak of an immediate transition to a socialist revolution. It cannot be proclaimed by decree. Besides, this problem is directly connected with the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. The party has defined the Guatemalan revolution as a coherent process passing through two stages which are closely interwoven with each other: an agrarian, anti-imperialist stage, and a socialist people's stage. At the former stage, the point is to end the unjust system of land-ownership and to break the shackles of imperialism. In the course of this stage, prerequisites are shaped for transition to the second stage. Here, much importance is attached to the question of the proletarian dictatorship. We believe that it is unfeasible at the first stage, just as the dictatorship of any single class is altogether ruled out. Judging by everything, a workers' and peasants' power will emerge: the two main classes will become leaders. It follows from the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism that when the socialist stage arrives, there will be no doubt about the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Luis Orlando Corrales, CC Political Commission member, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, said that Latin America is faced with a number of tasks that had not been quite fulfilled in the course of the bourgeois revolutions and in the struggle for independence. That happened because the proletariat alone is capable of fulfilling these tasks, and because certain circles of the local bourgeoisie made a deal with imperialism. These tasks have a specific content: it cannot be called socialist, but then it is not the opposite of it either. As at the first, so at the second stage, the same classes are involved in the liberation process, and this makes for its continuity. That is why we have to speak of a coherent historical revolutionary process, instead of two different revolutions. But it is one thing to call on the non-proletarian forces to rally around the banners of the revolution by

putting forward a democratic and anti-imperialist platform with the prospect of a gradual transition to socialism, and something else again to offer them the socialist alternative at once. There is a need to use any opportunities for cooperation, however small and ephemeral these may seem.

The building of socialism is the main goal of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, said its representative Amil Cardelion. The most reliable way of advancing to this goal in our conditions is to involve the whole people in a revolutionary war to overthrow the reactionary pro-imperialist regime. After the victory, a revolutionary patriotic, democratic people's government will be formed to lay the foundations for transition to socialism. Each phase has its corresponding programmatic propositions envisaging the conclusion of various alliances and the choice of definite forms and methods of struggle. That is why our association has not written the concept of ultimate goal into the program for the present stage of the battle. However, there is no contradiction between the various tactical propositions and the strategic perspective.

"If the revolution is a real one," said Rogelio Gonzalez, CC member, Paraguayan CP, "it does not occur suddenly, overnight, like a palace revolution. The revolution travels a long road and matures within the framework of the process."

Thus, the Nicaraguan revolution has advanced from scattered action by guerrilla detachments to a nationwide movement. It has borne out the truth of the analysis made by the Havana Meeting of the Communist Parties of the region, when it said that, despite the temporary defeat in Chile, the liberation process on the continent is steadily developing.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, Leonel Espinoza emphasized, did not regard the Somoza dictatorship as the people's only enemy. It was the immediate adversary, with whom the battle was to be joined. U.S. imperialism was and continues to be our main enemy to this day. That is why the Sandinistas have never asserted that a mere change of government would solve the country's problems. They urged the need to eradicate the very structure of the existing regime and to create a popular system that would restore to the working people the national wealth and the values they create. The struggle against the dictatorship was not the ultimate goal, but merely a means for taking power and transforming the state so as to fight the even harder battles for freedom, justice and the people's well-being on a new and more favorable basis.

Pedro Ortega Diza, CC Political Bureau member, CP Venezuela, for his part, voiced doubt that the struggle for socialism should not be included on the agenda so as not to invite an attack by imperialism. The latter rails against national liberation and socialist and communist movements with equal frenzy. Of course, tactics is not the least important thing, but the tasks themselves are fluid and can pass from one phase to the other.

The question of vanguard was also actively discussed at the conference. Alvaro Oviedo of the Colombian CP recalled the relevant experience gained on the continent. In some cases the role of vanguard is played by some party or movement. Sometimes, it is a bloc of revolutionary organizations shaped after the victory. Now and again such a bloc takes form before the revolution and directs the struggle for power. History could produce fresh alternatives, and combinations, but in any case, Oviedo emphasized, it is the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism that is of definitive importance for the vanguard force.

There is no doubt about the successes in the struggle for the unity of the democratic, left forces, the Uruguayan representative said. But it is not right to confuse the extremely necessary unity and the vanguard. Here, one should be guided by three principles: first, vanguard is a class concept expressing the hegemony of the working class; second, it is an ideological concept resting on the most progressive, Marxist-Leninist ideology; and third, it is an organizational concept. The vanguard is not decreed. As the revolution develops, it may expand, and some regard this as an absolute, something that it is hard to accept. Besides, in the strict sense of the word, the vanguard is not equivalent to those who lead the process in the phase of approach to the revolution, or at this or that moment of its first stage. In Peru, the process of change (1968-1975) was led by General Velasco Alvarado, but can he be identified with the vanguard? The point is not always who is at the head, but which forces are capable of leading to socialism.

We share the standpoint of E. Viera, said the representative of the Left Revolutionary Movement of Chile, concerning the need to draw a distinction between vanguard and political alliance. But in the Chilean process, the two concepts are indivisible. There are several revolutionary contingents in the country which take the Marxist-Leninist stand, which are fighting for socialism and which are making a tangible contribution to the anti-dictatorship movement. They should all strive for a fraternal dialogue and closer coordination of action

leading to the formation of a single party of the revolutionary proletariat capable of standing at the head of the people's struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the building of socialism. We believe that neither the Left Revolutionary Movement, nor any other organization can ensure the taking of power on its own.

The Guatemalan comrades expressed the view that the organizational cohesion of various revolutionary groups and proximity of their main ideological premises could lead to a situation in which the vanguard would stem from unity. In the atmosphere of a revolutionary upswing, the range of the forces establishing themselves in the vanguard positions tends to be enlarged. For instance, military political revolutionary associations could act alongside the communist parties. Twenty years after Cuba, this was confirmed by the Sandinista Front in Nicaragua, which has gained much experience in internal organization and work among the masses. The appearance of such associations does not refute Leninism and is not unexpected for history. On the contrary, their activity enriches the revolutionary movement. At the same time, such fronts are a natural product of the new international situation, which is characterized by the ideological fiasco of the bourgeoisie and the ever growing influence of the proletarian world view.

The delegate of the Guatemalan Party of Labor explained why and in what kind of circumstances there had arisen the other revolutionary organizations which, together with the communists, are now leading the anti-dictatorship struggle. This is largely connected with changes within the social structure of the society, primarily, with the rapid growth of the working class as it is joined by people from the countryside, the faster development of new urban middle strata, their radicalization, and the broader make-up of marginal groups, i.e., groups of the population which are for all practical purposes excluded from social life. In analyzing the problem, one must bear in mind the mistakes made by the communist party, which did not always manage dialectically to combine strategic and tactical goals and creatively and boldly to apply correctly elaborated propositions in practice, primarily the thesis of the fourth congress of the GPL (1969) on the use of force in the revolution. There was also the effect of the tragic events — the assassination in 1972 and 1974 of the chief leaders of the GPL, including two of its general secretaries.

The struggle of their organizations to expand the existing Left Forces Unity coalition was analyzed in a joint paper by Asuncion Cabal-

lvaro Mendez, CC Political Commission member, Peruvian CP, and José María Salcedo, member of the leadership of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Peru. "We believe that the experience of political unity of the left forces is also of much importance for creating the political vanguard of the revolution which, in virtue of the country's national conditions, could arise through the convergence or merger of different revolutionary political forces."

A wealth of experience in the struggle for unity and the establishment of the vanguard of the revolution has been gained in El Salvador. Santiago Lopez, CC Political Commission member, CP El Salvador, said: "The left forces' unity in our country was made possible as a result of the practical activity which required the straightening out of the line conducted by the revolutionary organizations that emerged after 1970. They had to overcome a leftist deviation and to deepen their relations with the masses. The communist party, for its part, has gone through a profound process in self-critically overcoming its own weaknesses and correcting its mistakes. It has comprehended the role of armed struggle as the only means of taking power in our country in the present circumstances. In other words, a start has been made on eradicating reformism from the party's ranks and its line, the only possible form of consistent struggle for uniting the revolutionary organizations."

For his part, P. Ortega Diaz declared: "The Communist Party of Venezuela is involved in all the unitary action, in all the patriotic and democratic battles of our people. What is more, it is always the crucial force. That is why there is no dogma in the fact that our program calls the party the organized vanguard of the working class."

There was some difference of view on the question of the connection between unity and vanguard. Still, no one objected to the suggestion that practice was to have the last say.

As for the forms and methods of struggle, all the participants in the conference agreed with the Cuban representative M. Pineiro Losada, who showed, citing the example of victorious revolutions, that the crucial factors of success were the unity of the revolutionaries and active involvement of masses of people in the movement. To this should be added the consistent and timely use of weapons. Contrast between peaceful and non-peaceful forms is wrong: "It is not right to call a struggle reformist simply because it is legal or because it is carried on for an extension of democracy, just as it is not right to regard it as revolutionary simply because it is being carried on the armed way." The revo-

lutionary nature of this or that form is determined by whether it makes the ultimate goal facing the masses nearer or more remote.

The Guatemalan PL delegate C. Cardenas recalled that it was not right to put ways and forms of struggle on the same footing. Marxism-Leninism teaches that there is a need to have mastery of all the forms. However, when the time comes to switch to revolutionary force in practice, one is not always ready to do so. That is exactly what happened with the Guatemalan Party of Labor, which as early as 1962 proposed the idea of armed revolutionary struggle and tried to realize it.

Participants in the debate were unanimous on the point that it is the duty of the revolutionary vanguard ceaselessly to promote the activity of the masses, to orient them toward the establishment of broad alliances, and to help build up strength for the decisive battle. Thus, despite the stringent limitations existing in Chile, the revolutionary organizations are using every opportunity for legal and semi-legal resistance. Simultaneously, they are habituating the people to the idea that armed struggle is inevitable. An uprising in the country, as the communist and other revolutionary parties in Chile see it, will not come like a bolt from the blue. Long past is the time when clandestine workers believed that all they needed to do in an atmosphere of crisis was to go out into the streets for the masses instantly to join in the insurrection. The experience of the whole of Latin America shows very well that if an uprising is to have any chance of success, the people must be thoroughly prepared for the revolutionary use of force.

"But power, the possibility of moving toward it," the Dominican delegate emphasized, "is not merely a matter of will and readiness. These qualities are, of course, important (and very important, indeed!), but if victory is to be probable there is a need for definite objective and subjective conditions which enable the vanguard to act. If there had been no sharp upswing in the class struggle in Cuba and in Nicaragua, the firm resolve of the vanguard of these peoples would not have met with such broad support."

Armed struggle cannot be decreed or called forth at anyone's desire or will, P. Ortega Diaz said. It is important to consider the political conditions in which it can be carried on. This circumstance was not taken into account by the Venezuelan revolutionaries when they tried to start a guerrilla war in the towns and rural localities in the 1960s. As a result, the communist party and its allies suffered a heavy defeat. But it is well known that triumphant

revolutions (and, in particular, also those which now have the prospect of victory before them) took the armed way. Our party's program has taken account of past experience and now says: We shall do our utmost to have the revolution proceed in a less violent form, to the extent that this is possible. At the same time, one must be prepared for the highest forms of defense of the working people and the whole people.

From the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism follows the need for tactical flexibility, and a broad approach to the ways and means of struggle. It goes without saying that such flexibility does not imply any concessions on the main issues, or abandonment of the principles without which political acts lose their revolutionary meaning and are ultimately doomed to fail.

In the course of world confrontation

It was said at the conference that diverse and ample experience of struggle has been gained in Latin America and the Caribbean. The victory of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions scored arms in hand; the rise of the revolutionary movement in El Salvador and Guatemala, despite the monstrous genocide encouraged by imperialism and its accomplices; the success of the armed uprising in Grenada; the activity of the Popular Unity government in Chile; the experience of the revolutionary processes led by the progressive wing of the army in Peru and Panama; the development of democratic and anti-imperialist processes in other countries of the continent; and the battles of millions upon millions of people for bread, freedom, social progress and democracy — all of this is an invaluable contribution to the worldwide treasure-house of revolutionary action against imperialism, and for the reconstruction of society on socialist lines.

However, this experience and the uniformities on which it rests do not all mean that in the future one will have to act in the same way as in the past. There can be no mechanical identification of the conditions of struggle for freedom, democracy and socialism. The very idea that the revolutionary experience of some peoples can provide a "ready-made model" for imitation or repetition by others is unacceptable. The paper presented by the Argentinian delegation stressed: "After all, revolutions have a tendency to run along unexpected ways and take sharp turns, and they are not invested with forms, procedures or means given in advance. Revolutions are determined by the objective course of events, the presence of an organized vanguard, which only a party of the working

class can be in virtue of the historical mission of leadership which belongs to that class."

Marxist-Leninists give no preference to the general as against the specific. Revolutionaries seek to discover the uniformities, sensitively trying to divine which way the "mole of history" is digging. Speakers justly rejected the dogmatic idea that there were some ready-made formulas or recipes to which recourse should allegedly be had in any historical or socio-political circumstances. But they also emphasized that there was a dialectical interconnection, instead of antagonism, between the global uniformities and the specifics of development in the individual countries or organizations, and that the modern world does present a coherent picture, for all the diversity of its political and economic conditions. International experience and political influence exerted by the triumphant revolutions accelerate national processes and help this or that party to hammer out its line.

It goes without saying that every revolutionary movement or organization not only has the right but also the duty to be completely independent and to display creative initiative in its activity. To be more precise, this is one of the main factors which help it to become a real political force in its own country. There is no doubt that a party which is unable to assess correctly the national situation inevitably loses touch with the masses, is deprived of political weight and ends up in a theoretical and ideological impasse. At the same time, any attempt to imagine that local conditions are exceptional and to ignore the general principles, to abandon the scientific quest poses the threat of the party's losing its class positions and goals, leaving the front of social struggle, forgetting the principles of proletarian internationalism and shedding its revolutionary substance. That was a point made, in particular, by the Dominican and Venezuelan representatives, among others.

The urge to prove one's "uniqueness" and "national originality" at any price merely hampers the use of the wealth of ideas which world history has accumulated and continues to accumulate. Even today there are some who are inclined, as Lenin ironically wrote, to arrive at great truths "by their own understanding," ignoring "all that has been produced by the antecedent development of revolutionary thought and of the revolutionary movement" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 408).

It was stated at the conference that there is no fertile soil in the revolutionary process in Latin America and the Caribbean for the growth of ideas about some "equidistance" from the main

class poles of our epoch. Such ideas are spun out by the imperialist bourgeoisie and its servitors. Every people in Latin America knows from its own experience that the Soviet Union, all the countries of the socialist community, the international working class, and the national liberation movement of other continents have always been on its side, and that imperialism and world reaction have always opposed it.

We, the authors of these lines — a Bulgarian communist and a Cuban communist — were profoundly stirred when the participants in the meeting considered the successes of socialism and the sweep of the revolutionary struggle and spoke with great respect of Georgi Dimitrov, the centenary of whose birth is being marked this year, and of Fidel Castro, in whose country the conference was held. These two Leninist revolutionaries have many features in common. Although it was their lot to live and fight in different historical periods, both have displayed ardent patriotism and profound internationalism. In his lifetime, Dimitrov, speaking at the

farcical trial staged by the fascists, concluded his speech in his own defense by saying that he himself could be slandered and even destroyed, but that would not stop the wheel of history from turning. "It does turn and will continue to turn until the ultimate victory of communism!" Years later, accused of the attack on Moncada, Fidel Castro told the court with the same confidence that history would prove that the revolutionaries' just cause would triumph. These words acquire an even greater significance today, at this new stage of history.

Convincing evidence of this comes from the developments on the Latin American continent in the overall context of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, which was ushered in on a world scale by the victory of the October Revolution. The way ahead is still long and hard, ahead lie arduous and bitter battles, but nothing can stop the peoples' revolutionary advance. Such is the fundamental conclusion drawn by the international conference in Havana.

Local government: a gain of the April Revolution

Carlos Costa

CC Political Commission and Secretariat member,
Portuguese Communist Party

Local government in today's Portugal is a direct result of the national and democratic revolution that began on April 25, 1974.

Formerly local bodies were appointed by fascist governments, which assigned them police functions, surveillance over the population and the suppression of working people's actions. Immediately after the overthrow of the dictatorship the masses, who set out to destroy the fascist state and establish a democratic system, expelled the fascists and elected administrative commissions enjoying the confidence of the population and approved by provisional governments. This process had many regional and local peculiarities depending on the given balance of forces and its development trend. The commissions played a big role in encouraging the activity of the population. Taking part in their public sessions, people realized their rights and their opportunities of influencing the solution of communal problems.

Thirty articles of the constitution adopted as a result of the April Revolution and proclaim-

ing democratic freedoms, the nationalization of key economic sectors, an agrarian reform and worker control over production management, concerned local government. They finalized its progressive character.

Provisions approved subsequently proceeded from the principles of the constitution and bore the imprint of democracy born of the revolution. Laws on the powers and composition of local government bodies and their finances were passed under strong pressure from the masses. The upsurge in the fight for democracy also had its impact on the domestic situation, so much so that even the right had to vote for these laws.

Local government* today involves large sec-

*Under the constitution adopted on April 25, 1976, local self-governing entities — parishes, municipal districts and administrative regions — were set up all over the country. They are governed by parish, municipal and regional elective assemblies, collective executive bodies (parish and regional juntas and municipal chambers) and consultative bodies (municipal and regional councils). — Ed.

tions of the population; about 66,000 Portuguese have been elected to the assemblies and juntas of 4,050 parishes and to the assemblies and chambers of 305 municipal districts. Besides, regional and municipal councils include representatives of trade unions, peasant organizations, traders and manufacturers' associations, sports and cultural organizations, etc. This is conducive to the formation of an alliance of the classes and social sectors opposing big capital.

Tenants' Commissions, too, play an important part. The constitution entitles them to be represented in parish assemblies and invests them with considerable powers.

All these bodies are elected on the principle of proportional representation. They are obliged to meet publicly and any citizen is free to attend their sessions. This has created conditions for deputies from diverse parties to discuss in specific terms problems of the population and to know its interests, which are opposed to those of caciques (village bosses), rich proprietors, the leaderships of reactionary parties and big domestic and foreign capital.

The current system of local government is a factor for the effectiveness, promotion and extension of democracy. It is also an instrument of improving the population's everyday life. Hence the great importance which the Portuguese Communist Party attaches to it.

Operating in common with other democrats, the communists have made a decisive contribution to the expulsion of fascists from local bodies, to elections for democratic administrative commissions and to the mobilization of the masses. Our party has helped formulate constitutional standards for local government bodies. It played a most important role in the campaign for the enactment by the Assembly of the Republic of progressive legislation regulating the functioning of these bodies.

The United People Alliance (UPA), with the PCP as its pivot, retains most of the seats and chairmanships in 50 municipal chambers and 315 parish juntas. They administer 27.8 per cent of national territory. The Alliance holds 322 seats in 132 municipal chambers, 1,785 in 264 municipal assemblies and 5,079 in parish assemblies. Over 9,000 people have been elected to local government bodies on its lists. Many communists represent diverse popular organizations in assemblies.

The National Conference of the PCP in October 1981, which concerned itself expressly with the issue of local government, stressed the need to uphold its democratic and autonomous character and the importance of this for the nation's life.

The conference pointed out that in carrying on a general offensive against revolutionary gains and the democratic constitutional system established by the revolution, the right also encroach on the local government system brought into being by April. It examined various aspects of reaction's attack on local government and the democratic system as a whole and called for their defense.

That attack pursues the following aims:

- an unlawful revision of the constitution, such as would alter the system of elections for assemblies and juntas and abolish the powers of tenants' commissions and other grass-roots popular organizations forming the basis of local government;

- revising the law on local finance so as to cut drastically funds at the disposal of local government bodies and replace the objective criteria of distributing appropriations with purely voluntarist standards to be set by the government;

- revising decrees on local government with a view to restricting citizens' direct participation in it and limiting its democratic character;

- enacting a law on the powers of central, regional and local authorities in regard to investment, such as would overburden municipalities with petty administrative problems and virtually make it impossible for them to take decisions on important matters, primarily on control over the utilization of land.

Lastly, steps are taken to organize interference in the functioning and even a boycott of local government bodies with the aid of both central government agencies and provincial ministerial bodies.

The conference discussed the alternative advanced by the PCP in the sphere of local government. This alternative is based on defense of the April constitution, which may only be revised in conformity with its provisions. It envisages consistent enforcement of the law on local finance, protection of the lower echelons of local government and their democratic character, the enactment of a law specifying responsibility in the investment sphere, the establishment of administrative areas within the boundaries established by the constitution and the conduct of an extensive democratic debate on this issue.

Fascism in Portugal meant the suppression of freedoms, overexploitation and oppression of the working people and colonial war. Furthermore, it meant poverty and a miserable existence, which were, and still are, the lot of a sizable part of the population. Immediately before the revolution Portugal was short of

700,000 houses, over half of the dwellings lacked running water and more than one-third had no electricity. By far most district capitals lacked a sewage system, many districts were denied medical aid, 95 per cent of the population, youth included, had no opportunity to engage in sports, there was a shortage of nurseries, and so on.

It is impossible to do so much as tell in this brief account about all the improvements that local government bodies led by the PCP have brought about since the revolution, so I will confine myself to a few examples. In 30 municipal districts of Alentejo and Ribatejo, where the UPA is in the majority, the number of communities having running water has doubled, the sewage system has been greatly extended and sanitary conditions have improved. Thousands of houses have been built or repaired and assistance has been rendered to housing cooperatives and tenants' associations. Electricity supply for the population of Setubal District increased from 54 to 89 per cent in six years; a total of over 1,000 kilometers of highways and other roads were built or repaired. In the Alentejo and Ribatejo municipal districts mentioned above, the number of communities having electricity went up from 212 to 303 in the same period. The number of cultural centers increased from 9 in 1974 to 82 in 1980. That of new schools, nurseries and sports facilities went up sharply in many districts. The historical centers of the towns of Evora and Beja were rebuilt and so were churches and memorials in Seixal, Almada, Cuba, Odemira and Mertola, to name only a few examples of the performance of local bodies governed by the UPA and committed to preserving the nation's cultural inheritance.

However, these data are far from giving a complete idea of communist activity in local bodies, an activity aimed at improving the population's life. Communists are also doing important work in local bodies where they are in the minority. In the latter case they join actively in decision-making on numerous problems, take a stand in defense of freedoms, legality and the democratic functioning of these bodies and combat corruption.

The PCP policy toward local government bodies takes account of the distinctive character of local government in Portugal as an important gain of April and is geared to furthering it. It is based on deep confidence in the people's creative capacity and the need to combine defense of the people's current interests with defense of their long-range interests, taking local, regional and national interests into consideration.

Portugal's communists attach special importance to the following five principles: unity on specific problems of the activity of local bodies, constant participation of the people in it, informing the population, proper relations between elected persons and the employees of local bodies, the renunciation of restrictions and prejudices on account of party allegiance and disinterested service to the population.

Experience has shown the fruitfulness of the policy for unity between deputies and the local population on this or that problem. The range of problems on which all bona fide deputies can achieve consensus is very wide. It may be a question of building or not building a nursery, repairing a schoolhouse, supplying a community with running water, improving or installing a sewage system, and so on. To be sure, there are disputed issues but most of them are discussed with due regard to the opinion of others.

However, there are parties which try to impose bourgeois parliamentary methods on local bodies by making some deputies (the majority) the ruling group and others (the minority), the opposition. Regrettably, socialist leaders are not among those who firmly reject these methods. However, there is reason to affirm that the communist policy of achieving unity is gaining ground by attracting more and more deputies who belong to other political forces.

When the communists are in the minority they combat all that they regard as negative, and support proposals they consider reasonable, no matter whom they come from. In other words, they cooperate with anyone who is striving for the same aims as themselves; they do not expect others to take the initiative but put forward proposals and try to win people for them. In this way, even when in the minority, communists and other members of the UPA play a constructive role of the first importance in defending the interests of the population. When in the majority, the communists try to and do win the support of all deputies. In the Setubal District, for instance, where the UPA has the majority in 13 municipal chambers, 97 per cent of these chambers' decisions were adopted unanimously. This is also true of the Alentejo chambers and many other local bodies.

A key aspect of the PCP policy in local government bodies is to draw the masses into both decision-making and the implementation of decisions. In Odemira, the population did voluntary work worth 40,000 contos.* In Sebolido Parish, Penafiel District, the voluntary

*One conto equals 1,000 escudos. — Ed.

work done in 1980 exceeded in terms of value 30 per cent of all investments.

Popular participation in the activity of local bodies is something more than a dependable guarantee of the correctness and growing effectiveness of decisions. It is also, and perhaps primarily, the strongest evidence of the social consciousness of the masses and the most solid basis for the people's unity and brotherhood.

Informing the population is inseparable from the effort to bring in the masses. It is done by UPA and PCP members in districts and parishes under their jurisdiction and is particularly important in view of the fact that the media monopolized by the government try to manipulate public opinion. Among other things, they deliberately mislead people in regard to the prerogatives of central and local authorities and the relationship between their powers. This is due to the stepped-up attack on local authorities by the Balsemao — Freitas do Amaral government.

Great importance is attached to relations between deputies and the staffs of local bodies. It is impossible to competently manage the affairs of local bodies in the absence of mutual understanding and active cooperation between deputies and staff members. This implies that the employees of local bodies must be well-informed and be able to express their opinion on current policy although its trend is determined by deputies.

The staffs of local government bodies increased substantially after April 25 and it has become necessary to restructure municipal services. We consider that new staff members should be taken on without bias and that working people should be enabled to join actively in whatever reorganization is effected.

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Communist deputies think highly of the activity of various professional organizations of employees of local bodies and of their rights and role, and help them in every way.

A distinguishing aspect of the communists' policy in municipal chambers and parish juntas irrespective of whether they are in the majority or the minority is, as I have said, to renounce all restrictions and prejudices on account of party allegiance. This approach enables them to make decisions impartially, according to objective criteria, without infringing anyone's rights or granting privileges to anyone. Nor does this principle amount to abandoning a class position. The point is to find solutions meeting the requirements of the population as far as possible. We believe this principle should also be applied in giving people jobs, promoting them, offering them favorable conditions, and so on.

The CC PCP stresses that "the party's work in local government bodies has made it possible to gain ample experience, know local and regional problems ever better and contribute more effectively to their solution by participating actively, competently and dedicatedly in local government bodies. However, it is necessary to further this experience and knowledge, to generalize and publicize them in a way ensuring that the party copes with its responsibilities more and more effectively and that other democrats are in a position to benefit from the experience and knowledge of our party so as to help improve the people's life. By putting this patrimony in the service of all democrats, the PCP helps promote Portuguese democracy."

Whatever the future alignment of domestic forces, the PCP, being entirely dedicated to the cause of the working class and the people, will press forward with its struggle for a progressive solution of urgent social problems. It will continue to pay the greatest attention to demands made at local level and honor its commitments. When the people's interests are affected, the party will uphold the principle of renouncing restrictions and prejudices on account of party allegiance and take an uncompromising stand against every form of corruption or domination on the part of local reaction and oppression. The PCP will abide by its policy of dialogue, cooperation and increasingly strong links with the masses.

Communist participation in local government helps in very large measure make it more effective and more democratic, improve the population's life and defend the freedoms and the democratic systems enshrined in the constitution.

A stride forward

K. Lipkovics

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NOTES ON SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN VIETNAM

We arrived in Hanoi just when the fifth congress of the Vietnamese communists was in session, we toured the North and the South of Vietnam, stayed in cities and villages, factories and cooperatives, and spoke to workers, peasants, craftsmen, party functionaries, government officials and employees of social institutions. Our impressions, therefore, were many. We shall try to describe them in the light of three main questions which we selected before setting out, having in mind the specific features of the country's historical and present-day realities and the communist party's activity.

I

We reasoned on the following lines: the previous five-year plan period in Vietnam was different from the five-year plan periods in other socialist countries. The attempt to have one program for socio-economic development cover the whole of national life was being made there for the first time since the country's re-unification. That was in itself interesting and probably instructive. And the conditions? Having barely emerged from the 30-year war of resistance, the country had to beat back fresh attacks: from the Pol Pot troops in the south and the 600,000-strong Chinese army in the north. What were the overall results? What had been and what had not been realized of the first Vietnam-wide national economic plan? What were the lessons and conclusions to be drawn? And what kind of socio-economic program had been adopted for the 1980s?

It was a holiday, and Hanoi enterprises had staged mass festivities to mark the opening of the fifth congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The shore of Lake Ho Tay was dotted with tents, kiosks, booths and variety show stages, gaily colored crowds, flying streamers with the traditional dragons and trying their luck at the "shooting gallery": hurling balls at the snarling face of imperialism. There are lively groups of people at the stands displaying

samples of products, diagrams and tables illustrating the work of the enterprises. Here, for instance, is the stand of a confectionery factory, whose director Nguen Van Thang, told us that it was, for all practical purposes, as old as the five-year plan: it was started in 1975 and has always met its targets. Next to it is the pavilion of a garment factory, whose collective was presented a bouquet of flowers from the President for its fine work. They have done much to improve product quality and have increased exports by 60 per cent. But modesty is still the watchword: "There are enterprises which are better and more important than ours. You must visit the central exposition of achievements."

We went there and saw many specimens of the new production and technical ideas from the period between the fourth and fifth congresses of the CPV, including a scale model of the Ke Go irrigation system in Nghe Tinh province, a panorama of the gas fields at Tien Hai in Thai Binh province, international award-winning diesel engines and pumps, TV sets from Ho Chi Minh City, microscopes made by the People's Army, locomotives, machine-tools and ferries.

A comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the initial period in which the whole country entered upon the way of socialism was made at the fifth congress of the CPV, which gave a high appreciation of the heroism and dedication of the people, who had once again safeguarded and consolidated national independence and the positions of socialism. Under the party's leadership the rehabilitation of the economic facilities was in the main completed. Millions of people whose normal life had been upset by the trials of war have returned to hearth and home. Large-scale socialist transformations have been carried out in the southern areas. The material and technical facilities in production have been built up, the area under crop has increased by two million hectares, and the crop has gone up to 15 million tons (in terms of rice). There has been some improvement in the life of the population.

At the same time, it was said at the congress, the country is confronted with some serious difficulties. Marked economic disproportions

remain; there is not enough stability in the sphere of the market, prices, commodities and money. The national income falls short of meeting the needs of a rapidly growing population. There is a considerable shortage of food-stuffs, fabrics and the prime necessities.

Many of the comrades with whom we spoke dealt with the difficulties of the past period. On behalf of the Hanoi city party committee, we were met by Nguyen Hong Linh, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *New Hanoi*. He told us:

In 1977 and 1978 there was a spurt in economic development, with a marked upswing in industrial production and building, including housing construction. But once again the Chinese aggression forced us to rearrange our life on military lines. After 1979, the economic pace markedly declined.

So the cause was the war and its effects? Yes, of course, but not it alone.

Six years ago, the fourth congress of the CPV mapped out the general line in socialist construction in Vietnam, and it is emphasized that its fundamental propositions still hold good. What gave rise to the serious problems was the concretization of the general propositions in current socio-economic policy. Nor is that surprising. The practical aspect of policy consists of a great many documents some of which are adopted at the center, and others in the localities, some relating to the whole of the economy and others only to its parts, some are long-term and others short-term. It is not easy at all to have the fundamental propositions precisely interpreted in every concrete case, so that from start to finish the "business portfolio" of policy is made up in the light of the situation and potentialities, and invariably with an eye to the attainment of the general goals. This requires experience, and that is what the Vietnamese communists were short of.

Every-day policy, it was said at the congress, failed to take full account of the complexities of the advance toward socialism which sprang from the prevalence of small-scale production in the country. Some harm was also done by hasty economic decisions and attempts to out-run developments: some construction projects for example, were started without adequate supply back-up, plan targets were set too high, beyond the range of the available resources.

A congress delegate told us:

"After all we had gone through, we all yearned to move ahead faster, and hence the many mistakes."

Hence also the lessons which were reflected in the approach to the drafting of plans for the future, 1981-1985 period and for the 1980s as a whole. The program was thoroughly discussed

at the congress and with a sense of realism, in the light of the country's specific conditions. While the idea was to muster all the internal forces, an effort was made to avoid wild and unrealistic expectations when setting the target figures. The leitmotif of the plan drafting can perhaps best be described by these words of Lenin's: "Better fewer, but better." There was good reason, we think, why many speakers kept emphasizing the need to take "a stride forward," "one stride forward," a formula which blended resolve and thorough consideration, sobriety and perseverance.

The congress outlined a two-fold task: further construction of socialism and reliable defense of the homeland. It sketched out the contours of the new five-year plan, which sets the goal of "substantially stabilizing the economic and social situation, satisfying the most important and primary vital requirements of the people, easing the most acute discrepancy in the economy, achieving a reliable advance in eliminating the abnormality in distribution and circulation, and creating additional prerequisites for more vigorous and confident advance in the subsequent period."

The party's strategy lays emphasis on the development of agriculture, production of consumer goods, and an upswing in traditional and local industrial and handicraft production. On this depend satisfaction of the immediate vital requirements of the population, the shaping of accumulation for key projects in heavy industry and a gradual acceleration of socialist industrialization, which the party regards as the central task and which will take a long period to fulfil. Much importance is attached to the development of transportation.

Observing the life of the country after the congress, we saw evidence of vigorous efforts to implement its decisions, say, in developing natural resources and using land and manpower reserves.

Vietnam is a country where many of the everyday details can be observed with the naked eye. The country has a hot climate and households seek to break out of the stifling shell of wall and roof and to spread out into the open, under little light straw-matted awnings. Squatting neighbors converse alongside an open counter with hanging shirts flapping their sleeves in the wind; rice and palm branches are laid out to dry in narrow strips along the edge of the highway; women ply their household chores, and here a family has already gathered round the trivet for their meal of hot dishes. But as we travelled on to An Ha along the road, this colorful scene tended to grow bleaker with every passing kilometer, giving way to an

uninhabited wasteland. The An Ha district is an arid salinated tract of land lying on the border with the Mekong delta. Only now has life begun to penetrate into it, under the plan for a new economic zone. The first 215 families arrived to settle down here in April 1981; altogether there will be 800, which means roughly 5,000 men, women and children. They will have to develop about 1,000 hectares of virgin soil on which nothing much will grow, possibly with the exception of pineapples, without a great deal of effort. The soil is being improved and planted mainly to sugar cane, which is now a green thicket covering the first 350 hectares. Work was already under way in the subsidiary shops making lump sugar, fish sauce and paper.

There is a two-fold purpose in building up this zone. First, it helps to arrange for the settlement of those who were left without hearth and home after the collapse of the Saigon regime, and such people are still to be found in nearby Ho Chi Minh City. Second, the new lands have an important role to play in the development of production. In the present five-year period, it is planned to complete the development of 300,000 hectares of virgin land and additionally to upturn hundreds of thousands of hectares. The experience in organizing the new economic zones was specifically stressed at the congress. It also urged the need to make better use of the climate, which makes it possible to take in two and three crops a year.

Incidentally, the first attempts to set up new economic zones were made in the previous five-year period, but they were not always successful, and this applies to An Ha in particular. Tran Minh Tan, the man who runs the project, told us: "We have now substantially altered our approach."

What is the new element? It is a more fundamental approach: much more money than before — 38,000 dongs — is to go into the infra-structuring of each family; they move in to new attractive and furnished houses, with stocks of food and plots of land on which the undemanding pineapple plant is already sending off its shoots. When we got there we found the settlers carrying away to their homes large vats to keep their drinking water in. There is none on the spot and it has to be brought in. A group of children ran out of the brand-new school. They kept running up to us with their hands held together in the traditional gesture of welcome, mixing prank and courtesy, as children are wont to do.

In order to avoid seasonal breaks in farming operations, auxiliary lines of production were

set up from the very beginning (the congress urged to "develop cottage-industry sugar-refining", and to "encourage local handicraft manufacture of paper"), and in the future it is planned to supplement these with a pig farm, a food-canning shop, a distillery and a furniture shop. The new settlers earn considerably more than the average, from 900 to 1,600 dongs a month. And their land is beginning to liven up.

Before we forget, we must pass on this message: the new settlers want to make friends with some collective of fellow farmers in other countries, and we convey their invitation to write to An Ha.

While these settlers have ventured into the driest part of the country, others, whom we also met, were looking out to sea, to the shelf oil and gas deposits by Cape Vung Tau.

It is hardly necessary to explain nowadays what an influx of oil means for the economy. It is also hardly necessary to explain that the starting of an off shore oil field from scratch is a very hard nut to crack indeed. The scale of the problem called for a novel approach, and this led to the emergence of "Vietsovpetro."

Soviet specialist D.A. Mamedov, who has been appointed its director-general, told us: "This organization is a new element in the socialist countries' cooperation, and involves the establishment of joint property and joint production, and not just an exchange of experience or hardware. This means an equal sharing of expenditures and revenues, and joint conduct of affairs on a parity basis."

We were told that at the head of the project was a council on which the two parties were represented by an equal number of members appointed by each government. The executive agencies and the services are also set up accordingly, with Vietnamese and Soviet specialists working side by side. The two languages are regarded as the official working languages, and the production conferences and party meetings, which the Vietnamese and Soviet communists frequently also hold together, are provided with simultaneous interpretation.

High over Cape Vung Tau stands a forlorn figure of Christ, a white target which once served the Americans as military radar: its hands are most conveniently spread out in the skies. The strip of shore is a pulsating bee-hive of construction. There are growing stacks of metal structures, moving cranes and a slipway is being built for the launching of blocks of platforms for off-shore drilling. "Vietsovpetro" was set up only a year ago, but we believe that even before this story has been told, the first drillers will have already put out to sea.

The decisions of the fifth congress have pro-

vided the country with reliable guidelines for the future. We saw that they have given the people a fresh impetus of energy and hope.

II

The Vietnamese communists have had to gain experience in economic management while submitting to this harsh motto: "Plough in one hand, gun in the other; gun in one hand, hammer in the other." Of necessity, economic management involved the use of many military and paramilitary methods. They became an ingrained habit, and grew like the skin on one's back. But as the situation changed, there was necessarily a need to modify the management. We knew that the party has indeed formulated this question. What then is the answer? What are the similarities here with the experience of other fraternal countries and what are its peculiarities?

Dao Duy Tung, head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CPV CC, says:

"The renewal of the economic management system began even before the congress. Its introduction is not easy and comes up against the great force of momentum, but hopes for success are justified where vigorous action is taken."

The editor-in-chief of *New Hanoi* added the following:

"The restructuring of planning and management was started in agriculture, and the results here are most evident. Last year, the state-wide plan for the production of food and technical crops was overfulfilled for the first time. In the area around Hanoi alone, the crop increased by 40,000 tons. Come along, you can see for yourself what our new economic policy is like."

Together we went to a farm lying in the suburbs of the capital along the banks of the dike-lined Song Hong River, where placid buffalos roamed and where pyramids of stone were piled up to protect the fields whenever the wild river overflowed its banks.

The Yen So cooperative does not have much land, but it makes good use of it. It grows rice (4.5 tons per hectare in one crop), after which the land, turned into a pond, also yields fish (4 tons per hectare); it supplies its vegetables to the city, and among the handicrafts are embroidery, the weaving of carpets and the making of bricks. Its economic level was definitely much higher than the average. At a conference of agrarian workers in Hai Phong in 1980, it was said that 70 per cent of the agricultural cooperatives then continued to be weak, and this, incidentally, once again drove home the need for economic restructuring.

We were met by a group of responsible workers of the cooperative, the community and the district. In the neighboring room, a group of cooperative chairmen were taking a course in the new economic management and we were taking our own "course" next door. We toured the village (there was not a single thatched house — the brick-making made all the difference!), looked in at the nursery school, walked across the fields and saw the carpet-making shop.

What did we find out?

The old order rested on compulsory deliveries of produce, and for the cooperatives this came to 90 per cent of the marketable grain and for individual peasants to 70-80 per cent of their "surplus." This gave way to a stable tax in kind, which now comes to 10 per cent of output and any increase in production is tax-free.

Out of the remaining part of the crop — the bulk — the cooperative meets the contractual deliveries to the state, with the procurement prices having been raised in such a way as to enable the thrifty farmer not only to recoup his outlays but also to look to a profit. Finally, from that which remains after these operations, the produce can either be sold to the state over and above the plan (at bonus prices), and to obtain additional quantities of fertilizers, cement, etc., in exchange, or to use it for one's own purposes, or even to sell it on the open market.

Furthermore, there is also a change in the system of labor remuneration. This is made directly dependent on one's personal contribution and stimulates the attainment of the highest final results. In order to understand how this is done, we also had to look into the organization of cooperative production. Because of the local conditions, it is highly peculiar.

There are more and more machines in the countryside. The cultivation of land is mechanized, say, over a quarter of the area — and that is a considerable result. But three-quarters of the area still has to be worked arduously with the hoe, broad-brimmed hat under the scorching sun and frequently knee-deep in water. The farming is divided into eight main operations. Five of these are handled by the cooperative as a "collective laborer": the cultivation of the land, the irrigation, and the supply of fertilizers, insecticides and seeds. The three others — planting, nursing and harvesting — are done individually, with each peasant having his own plot in the common field.

It was explained to us, for instance, that if a vegetable grower grows cabbages, he must bring in a crop of 21 tons per hectare, and what is over and above that is his bonus. At the Yen

So cooperative, the normed money wages average 226 dongs a month, and the bonus frequently comes to much higher. Thus, the fishermen had a monthly bonus of 400 dongs, and the vegetable growers as much as 700.

The overall result is that in 1977 Yen So's gross output came to 2 million dongs, and in 1981 to more than 10 million. This year, it plans to go as high as 17 million. If only every cooperative could keep up such a pace!

Three main lines could be brought out in the new economic policy, Dao Duy Tung told us. They relate to planning, the system of material incentives, and the work of the management apparatus.

The goal in planning is to enhance the scientific grounding and the regulating role of the state plan and together with it, to release the cooperatives, factories and associations from petty tutelage. The idea is to allow them to become real "masters of their plan," to enable them to shape it with initiative, on the basis of financial independence, and inducing them to make use of every possible reserve.

The material incentives system serves as the instrument for tuning the economic units accordingly. Remuneration according to labor, according to the concrete results is being introduced as a universal form in every sector of production. It is supplemented with various incentives for higher efficiency, enterprise and thrift. The labor incentives funds are replenished from profit. At a printing works in Ho Chi Minh City (a mixed, state-private enterprise) we were given the following example: the reprocessing of scrap paper brought in a profit, out of which 50,000 dongs were set aside for bonus payments to workers.

There is now a drive to rid the management apparatus of superfluous units, to do away with bureaucratic practices and abuse of official position, to improve the dispatch of business, to have greater clarity in the assignment of duties and responsibilities, and to promote the advancement of capable workers. Since the fifth congress of the CPV, many new men and women have filled government and economic management posts.

All of this clearly reveals the motives which are akin to those that will be found in efforts to improve management and planning in other socialist countries. This similarity is a natural development because of the general uniformities of socialist construction and the exchange of collective experience. But a closer look reveals many aspects of the inner workings of mechanisms and their links with life that bear the imprint of national experience under the country's specific conditions.

We learned some interesting facts on this score in a conversation we had with Le Kuin Van at the Ho Chi Minh City party committee. Take planning. Under the new arrangement, it turned out that the overall program for the operation of enterprises consists of three plans. "Plan A" relates to that part of production which in everything — supply, norm-setting, shaping of the pay-roll fund, etc. — is ensured by the state, which also lays down the range of goods to be produced and collects the finished products. "Plan B" also covers the manufacture of assigned goods, but it is up to the enterprise to find the raw and other materials, and these can be bought on the open market. The goods are sold through government channels at the contracted prices. Finally, "Plan C" lifts the constraints concerning the range of goods to be made, and it is up to the collective itself to decide what and how something is to be additionally produced, the only proviso being, of course, that it is not made at a loss and that there is a demand for it.

That was probably the first time that we had come across this kind of "three-element" planning. How do the Vietnamese comrades account for it? They say that it is hard (and is it at all necessary?) to take care of the mosaic of requirements in a centralized manner: what is wrong with the enterprises themselves trying to find out and meet these requirements? The state supply and trading services have yet to be broadly established, and a large part of the resources is still handled by the open market or lies dormant altogether. Let the people and the localities worry about putting them to use and bringing them into the orbit of the state.

Here we find yet another important peculiarity. The role of commodity-money instruments and mechanisms is being enhanced. This is taking place under the prevalence of small-scale production and in the presence of sizable private property (especially in trade). Their tendency to reproduce capitalism "daily and hourly" (to use an expression of Lenin's) is well known, whereas the society's plans are the very opposite. Hence the task of simultaneously working to consolidate the socialist sector of the economy, and keeping the private-property appetites in check. Not a simple task at all!

The supreme purpose of the restructuring of administration, planning and economic management, the Vietnamese communists say, is to develop socialist democracy, independent creative effort on the part of the masses, and their active participation in the country's life. This is known here as consolidating the "regime of collective economic management." The fundamental principle of the administra-

tion mechanism is: the party guides, the state directs, the people manage.

There are many examples to show how this is arranged, but we shall confine ourselves to one. In Vietnam, when two persons meet each other for the first time, the custom is to ask the other: "An thu may?" (roughly: "what is your family ranking"). An acquaintance can be simply called by a numeral which indicates his family ranking by birth. Thus, for us, Dinh Van Phao was "Uncle My": he was the 10th child in the family, which has long been in lacquer painting. Kerosene lamp in hand, he led us into a room full of marvels. In the twilight stood the usually ornate Buddhist altar, surrounded by the mother-of-pearl and gold of the famous painting which shimmered and shone in the rays of his magic lamp in a rainbow of purest colors. The colors seemed to stand out from a pitch-dark background. Indeed, if the lights had not gone out on that occasion for some accidental reason, they should have been switched off. Among the marvels in the room was furniture valued at hundreds of thousands of dongs, ornately colored bars and TV cases, vases and pictures of the symbolic trinity: happiness, longevity and good fortune, national landscapes and caskets. They are all the work of craftsmen from the Song Dong cooperative, which Uncle My set up six years ago and which he runs. He told us:

"At first, only three or four families risked joining the cooperative. We knew of some very good craftsmen around us, but they kept to themselves, for they thought that someone was simply trying to hire them: here is a sketch, here is some lacquer, here are your wages — get on with the job. I had to do much explaining, to invite them over and to show them that nothing of the kind was going on, that there was no wage-labor. We were all together, but everyone worked for himself."

There are now nearly 400 craftsmen in the cooperative, with 10 shops whose managers are elected. The board and the chairman are all re-elected every year. They have a party cell and over 100 Young Communists. The work is done in small groups, with first, second and third-class craftsmen side by side with the rising young ones. There is probably no longer any need to explain to anyone here the advantages of collective work. Depending on the skill standards, the craftsmen earn between 500-700 and 2,000-3,000 dongs a month. Last year, the cooperative had a profit of 5 million dongs, and the works speak for themselves: they are exported to dozens of countries around the world. Collective work has helped not only to preserve but also to develop an ancient craft.

It is our impression that in Vietnam today people are highly aware of the importance of the work they do, whether in terms of the evaluation of the extensive changes or the concrete appreciation of a new type of machine-tool or the opening of a street soup-kitchen. Elsewhere one does not often come across the kind of yearning for criticism and self-criticism which develops into mass campaigns here, and the thirst for knowledge and improvement. What could one wish for as a better guarantee of success? What is required is experience, and that, after all, is something that comes with time.

III

Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietnamese revolution, who took part in the founding of two communist parties — the French in Europe* and his own in Vietnam — remarked that it was "patriotism at first" that led him to Lenin and the Third International. In the old Vietnam there was no such a thing as a mature class basis, as masses of workers, for Marxist-Leninist views. There was, in fact, no industry or working class spirit in the country. The peasant way of life reigned in the country and this determined the special way in which the revolutionary forces were shaped and the party formed and developed, accepting Marxism-Leninism as the ideology of the working class. How is this echoed in the present make-up of the CPV? On what basis and by what means are the party's proletarian character and leading role in socialist construction being asserted?

In accordance with an old Vietnamese custom, some now and again gave up their old name and took a new one. This was done, for instance, in the event of some unexpected favor from fortune. Ha Huy Giap was also called by different names, because in the underground the favors of fortune came in the form of shadowing, arrest and imprisonment. He joined the party when it was founded in 1930 and for years carried on anti-colonialist propaganda, took part in uprisings and was thrown into the torture chambers of the island of Con Dao. He learned and taught and produced the first translations into Vietnamese of the *Communist Manifesto*, Lenin's *Two Tactics*, *What Is To Be Done?* and "*Left-Wing*" *Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. He grew to maturity and with it faced the trials of new struggle; he criss-crossed the country along the guerrilla trails

*We proceed from the statement of the 19th congress of the FCP.

and did responsible work in North and South. He is now director of the Ho Chi Minh Museum and is engaged in the study of the history of the Vietnamese revolution. He says:

"The masses of Vietnam are peasant masses. But that does not yet tell the whole story. Please note that, in contrast to, say, neighboring China, this country has never had either slaveholding or large-scale feudalism, which leaves in the peasant mentality an especially heavy burden of downtroddenness, narrow-mindedness and suppression of will. In the character of our people there is more love of freedom and of homeland, two feelings which have been shaped in unrelenting struggle against aggressors and oppressors. The French invaders had good reason to be amazed: every household — a resistance base, every peasant — a guerrilla. It is this "guerrilla" feature that I wanted to draw your special attention to. Because of it, the working masses of our country turned out to be better prepared for accepting progressive views and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine to which we were led by the logic of revolutionary struggle and which the party has steadfastly followed."

Ha Huy Giap also stressed another idea: the people's historically rooted freedom-loving traditions have influenced the shaping of the young working class. This also appears to be true, although the process has run in different conditions, since the North and the South had moved in opposite directions for two long decades.

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the working class was essentially shaped under the new system as a vanguard force not only because of its mission but also because of the real role it had in the society which proclaimed the power of the proletarian dictatorship. Here, the development of industrial production, including its basic sectors, was an important line of state policy. As a result, by 1965 the DRV already had more than 1,000 industrial enterprises and their output had for the first time surpassed the volume of agricultural output.

We recall our meetings at the machine-tool building works in Hanoi, the largest in engineering. Machines stamped with its logo will be found at many enterprises in the country, and some are also exported. Besides, the people we talked to at the works emphasized: "Our production does not consist only of machine-tools." At the works, there is a technical trades school, which trains skilled workers, a technical college and an engineering department. The works has produced some prominent statesmen and economic executives and has been making a noticeable contribution to

social life, to the mass movements, and to the work of the elective organs of the people's power.

Such collectives provide the party with a solid support base. Among the 3,000 workers at the machine-tool making works there are 365 communists, roughly one in eight. In short, it is a real proletarian bastion, signifying important transformations in the economy, in the society's social structure and in the make-up of the mass basis of party construction.

By contrast, the lot of the workers in the south of the country was a bitter one, indeed. The share of industry in overall output, according to the Saigon administration itself, came to less than 10 per cent. Many enterprises were idle, having been driven to the wall by the import of U.S. goods, and the rest operated under a police reign of terror and "yellow trade unions." There was a growing section of lumpen proletariat in the urban mass.

"The communists had to work from underground positions outside the enterprises," we were told by Nguyen Hoang of the Ho Chi Minh City party committee. "Anyone we sent inside virtually had no chance of avoiding arrest. That is why the problem after the victory was to move into production."

We found that it was solved gradually and took roughly six years. In Ho Chi Minh City, there are now 1,600 party organizations, with one at almost every enterprise. The old difficulties are gradually receding, but have yet to be completely overcome.

"Our city committee," Nguyen Hoang went on, "centers its attention on matters of party construction. Resolutions containing concrete propositions on the growth of the party layer in the working collectives were recently adopted. We want to see at least one communist in each team. We plan to have 35 per cent party members working directly in production. The goal for the end of the five-year period is to have in our ranks one worker in ten."

What is actually being done?

The comrades familiarized us with their propaganda work and told us of the experience of the city party school which enrolls students directly from production collectives. There is a separate course for non-party people, some of whom join the party in the course of their studies.

The CPV believes that an important means in strengthening and seasoning the proletarian character is not only a fitting replenishment of its ranks but also the discarding of those who do not really belong to the party or those who have allowed themselves to relax after the victory, and who have betrayed the cause of the

struggle in the new conditions. The jettisoning of ballast and a simultaneous consolidation of the party was promoted by the broad political campaign in the course of which members were issued party cards, the first in the history of the CPV. It was a test for everyone and all those who deserved to be called communists got their party cards in the course of the past year.

The Vietnamese communists believe that the network of grass-roots, primary organizations, the strengthening of their leadership and growth of their workman-like activity have an important part to play in enhancing the party's capability to act. Our previous experience indicated that it is usually hard to describe the results of such work: there are many specific examples, but it is frequently a problem to refer to some visible but sufficiently generalized evidence. That is why it was interesting to find in the local experience of party construction precisely such an attempt to start a kind of counting system.

The Vietnamese national mentality is perhaps generally inclined to an orderliness that is pointedly definitive and even mathematical. One feels this in the formulations of various social slogans and movements: "the two excellent," "the three readiness," "the thousand good deeds." One will also notice this in the manner of speaking. When explaining some problem, the Vietnamese will mostly arrange it in order: first, second, etc. So also in this case.

We were told that since 1980 and 1981 the practice has been gradually to certify party organizations in a way that helps to measure the changes in their work. Nguyen Hong Linh, the editor of *New Hanoi*, gave us some concrete data relating to the capital. In the light of the results for the past year, 75 organizations were given top mark. Another 250 came a rung lower. The share of the "good" increased from 69.7 per cent to 71 per cent. The share of the "weak" dropped from 19.9 to 10.2 per cent, and of the "bad" from 5.5 per cent to 1.6 per cent.

We did, of course, want to know how all this is counted and by whom. It turned out that there are five criteria. Briefly, these are as follows:

First. Production results: plan fulfillment, product quality, labor protection and production standards.

Second. Concern for the working people: wage system and level, material incentives for work, raising of skill standards mass cultural work.

Third. Collective economic management:

production democracy, criticism and self-criticism, relations between leaders and subordinates.

Fourth. Party and social work: numerical and qualitative growth of communist ranks, mass movements, consciousness and solidarity in the collective.

Fifth. Cadre supply: competence of leading cadre, their initiative, enterprise and responsibility.

As for the procedure of evaluation, this is not dictated by anyone, and in each organization they are worked out at party meetings through discussions by the communists. Only the highest title (*Trong sach vyng manh* — "strong and pure") has to be approved by the city or provincial party committee, upon which the party organization is awarded a CPV CC pennant.

The fifth congress of the CPV further raised the level of the tasks and demands on party work and all the activity of the communists. Its own organization had some new features promoting the utmost mobilization of the forces. The reporting and election campaign all over the country was divided into two parts. First, meetings discussed the documents prepared for the congress, introduced ideas from the localities into these documents and elected delegates to the congress. After the congress, the party conferences met again, this time to hear reports from their delegates, to map out concrete plans for realizing the congress decisions, and to elect their own party organs for the period head.

Realization of the complex of measures mapped out by the congress for the subsequent consolidation of the party's vanguard and proletarian character and enhancement of its action capability has been started. The congress called on the communists to make a more profound study of the Marxist-Leninist science of socialist construction, to explain the party's policy and the formulated plans to the masses, and to educate the people in a spirit of revolutionary steadfastness, loyalty to the cause of communism and vigilance in face of the schemes of its enemies. The congress voiced profound loyalty to the friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, to the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the policy of world peace.

The party is working to consolidate its ranks, intensifying its energy and preparing the people for fresh accomplishments. In his report to the congress, Le Duan, General Secretary of the CPV CC, emphasized: "We have overcome a period of initial difficulties that is

inevitable in the entry upon a new stage. We have expressed in more concrete terms and amplified the revolutionary line mapped out by the fourth congress. We have gained a better understanding of our country and of our people. We have come to have a better knowledge of the enemy and a clearer comprehension of the obstacles in the way of our advance. We have assessed more precisely and concretely both our potentialities, our strong aspects, and the difficulties and

weaknesses. Of great value for us are the lessons drawn from the past five-year practice of socialist construction and defense of the homeland. All of this, something we could not have had five years ago, provides valuable revolutionary weapons for us in the entry upon the new stage of struggle."

We feel that these words best of all convey the feelings and aspirations now swaying the country.



The right to rest and leisure under the two systems

The scientific and technological revolution is accompanied by rising levels of labor intensity and nervous and mental stress. Also, the range of the working people's social and cultural requirements is broadening. These circumstances make true rest and leisure increasingly more vital. The following survey, prepared by the *WMR* Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation, is an attempt to show how the right to rest and leisure is implemented under the two opposing social systems.

The right to rest and leisure is usually characterized by a number of indicators, including the length of the work-week, the institutionalization and duration of annual leaves, the size of the network of health-building, cultural and sports facilities, and so on. However, in estimating how real this right is under the two different social systems it would be wrong to take purely quantitative comparisons as the starting point. Also one must take into consideration factors such as employment, working conditions, social guarantees, the level of social insurance, the forms and methods of organizing rest and leisure, and how accessible the facilities are to the people. Further, one should take into consideration the glaring contrasts in the socioeconomic condition of the working people in different countries of the non-socialist part of the world. Whereas, for example, something like 40 per cent of the population of developing Asian, African and Latin American countries

have no opportunity to satisfy their most elementary requirements, in the industrialized capitalist states some social progress has been made on account of the unremitting struggle of the working class. It is in comparison with such countries that this survey considers socialism's achievements in ensuring the right to rest and leisure.

The work-week

Over the past decade the working people of a number of industrialized capitalist countries have won a visible shortening of the average length of the work-week. It is 40 hours for almost all wage-workers in the FRG and averages 39.7 hours in the USA. In 1982 it was reduced to 39 hours by a government ordinance in France.

In the same period the work-week has been substantially shortened in socialist countries as well. It now averages 39.4 hours in the USSR and 42 hours in Hungary. In Czechoslovakia it is 40 hours at enterprises working three shifts and 42.5 hours at all the others. In the GDR 16 per cent of the people working a full work-day have a 40-hour work-week, 7 per cent have a 42-hour work-week, while 77 per cent have a 43.75-hour work-week.

Thus, a purely arithmetical comparison of the length of the work-week is still not everywhere in favor of socialism. But does this comparison reflect the actual situation? Let us correlate, for example, the length of the work-week with the employment level. Under socialism full employment is the indi-

cator of the right to rest and leisure of the entire mass of working people. In industrialized capitalist countries, where unemployment is on the rise, the length of the work-week is linked chiefly to the problem of preserving jobs by reducing the working time of people holding jobs.

On the other hand, under capitalism for those holding jobs the established length of the work-week by no means signifies the limit of their working time. According to statistics for 1980, the proportion of workers with a work-week of more than 45 hours was 38.8 per cent in Britain, 25.5 per cent in France, and 13.1 per cent in Italy. In the USA the actual working time is above the norm for 23 million people, of whom seven million have a 49-59-hour work-week and six million work 60 and more hours a week. An opinion poll involving over 400,000 industrial and office workers in the USA showed that only 16 per cent had an unlimited right to turn down overtime. Thus, although the work-week has been formally shortened, its actual length for a large number of people in capitalist countries continues to depend on the arbitrary decision of entrepreneurs interested mainly in profits.

Overtime is allowed also in socialist countries, but only in exceptional cases specified in labor legislation, given trade union permission and within fixed limits. In most of these countries overtime is prohibited for persons under age 18, people studying without interrupting their work, mothers of small children, people with a reduced capacity for work, and others. As regards individual cases of overtime at the end of the month, quarter, and year, they are regarded as not conforming to the norms of work and rest and leisure in a socialist society and the state takes steps to eliminate repetitions.

Also indicative is the circumstance that in most capitalist countries the shorter work-week won in class struggles has not been institutionalized by legislation. For instance, in the FRG legislation still preserves the 48-hour work-week, in Britain a work-week of 48 hours is limited only for juveniles and women, in Switzerland a federal law fixes the work-week at 46 hours, in Belgium it is 45 hours long, and so on. In most of the socialist countries, on the contrary, the guaranteed maximum length of the work-week is close to existing norms and is, as a rule, shorter than in capitalist countries. In the Soviet Union, for example, it is 41 hours. Further, for factory and office workers under age 18 it is 36 hours (the minimum being 24), while for persons

doing health-hazardous work it is not more than 36 hours (30 hours for miners).

System of annual leaves

In the capitalist world a longer paid leave is regarded by entrepreneurs as a lesser evil than a shorter work-week, for in the former case its costs are usually lower. To some extent this circumstance has enabled the working people of individual countries to win a substantial addition to the length of leaves. In France, for example, many people are granted a fifth week for their holiday, while in the FRG about 25 per cent of the wage-workers have an annual holiday of six weeks or more.*

In socialist countries all industrial, office, and professional workers without exception have annual leaves. Their jobs are preserved and their leave pay is equal to their average pay packet. In Hungary a large segment of the working people has the right to a holiday of up to five weeks. In the USSR the holiday of working adults averages 21.6 work-days (persons under age 18 have a month's holiday). In the GDR the annual leave is not shorter than 3.5 weeks. An important point is that apart from the usual leaves, additional leaves are widely practised in socialist countries. In Bulgaria persons employed on health-hazardous work are entitled to an additional leave of 22 work-days, advanced workers are entitled to an additional 3-12 days, and so on. In Hungary health-hazardous work entitles workers to an additional leave of 24 work-days, while advanced workers are entitled to an addition of up to 12 days.

To what extent is the right to a leave used in capitalist countries? As the French Communist Party noted at its latest congress, half of the French industrial and office workers do not use this right. In Japan only 20 per cent of the working people take the full leave, while 42 per cent use only half of it. The main reason is the fear of losing one's job. Besides, many people simply cannot afford the luxury of a full leave. For instance, a 21-day sojourn

*But in the USA there is not even a law obliging entrepreneurs to grant leaves to their employees. In most cases the American working person gets a paid leave only if he or she is a trade union member and if this is specified in the terms of the labor contract with the entrepreneur. These contracts cover only about one-fourth of working Americans. The leave for those who have this right averages 1.9 weeks (five days for persons who have worked for the given entrepreneur not less than one year, two weeks for a seniority of at least five years, and three weeks for a seniority of at least 15 years). The problem of leaves does not, of course, exist for the 10,300,000 unemployed.

at a spa costs the average Italian nearly two months' wages.

In socialist countries most of the holiday expenses are paid by society. In Czechoslovakia a person on holiday pays, on the average, only 10 per cent of his or her monthly wage for accommodation in a holiday home: this is not more than 25 per cent of its actual cost. In Hungary people pay an average of 30 per cent of the cost of such accommodation, while in the GDR people pay no more than 32 per cent and for children under 16 the cost is not higher than 30 marks (the equivalent of four hours' earnings of a factory worker). In the USSR 24 days' accommodation at a trade union health home costs 121 roubles (the average wage is 172.5 roubles), but only one-fifth of all accommodation is paid for in full, a similar proportion is provided free of charge, while the rest is bought with a 70 per cent discount that is covered by the trade unions. One in 10 accommodation passes to holiday hotels and homes is issued free of charge. So-called family passes (for from two to four persons) are sold at a discount. For example, a 12-day sojourn for a family of four costs not more than 40-50 roubles, or one rouble per person per day. Passes for workers and other employees to factory-run holiday homes cost seven roubles for 12 days, and to a holiday hotel — 22 roubles for 16 days.

Organization and content of rest and leisure

Unlike capitalist society, which gives working people "full freedom" to look for the means to restore their strength and health, socialist society places much of the responsibility for organizing rest and leisure on the state. A very large role is played here also by trade unions, which in socialist countries usually have jurisdiction over the state social insurance budget.

In the USSR, for example, the trade unions run more than 940 health homes and holiday hotels and homes, and also conventional hotels, over 2,200 disease-prevention centers, and 22,000 clubs and other cultural institutions; they direct the work of 33 voluntary sports societies. The system of organized rest and leisure caters annually for more than 50 million people and their families during their holidays or spare time. Some 170 million people use the opportunities for organized excursions.

In Czechoslovakia the Central Council of Trade Unions has 100 holiday homes; factory and other local trade union committees have

8,500 facilities for rest and recreation. Nearly 3,500,000 persons annually spend their holidays at the facilities offered by this system.

Large allocations are made annually for the enlargement of the network of cultural, sports and rest facilities in Hungary. In 1981 as many as 1,200,000 Hungarians spent their holidays at trade union and factory health homes and holiday hotels, a third of them receiving accommodation at a discount covered by the trade unions.

In the GDR nearly 1,800,000 accommodation passes were issued in 1980 through the trade union system of organized rest and leisure; another 2,800,000 factory and office workers and their families spent their holidays in factory-run or leased holiday homes and hotels.

What has capitalism to offer in contrast to all this? Its system of relations of production is in principle at variance with the collective satisfaction of the working people's need for meaningful rest and leisure, because for the ruling classes the expenses on these purposes are unproductive costs bringing down the total surplus value. Hence the acute shortage of facilities for mass rest and recreation, culture and sports for the working people. A survey made in Japan brought to light the fact that less than two-fifths of the demand for such facilities is met.

The "leisure industry" in capitalist countries is geared entirely to the interests of business. Take, for example, the coast-to-coast rail tour of the USA offered by American Express. It costs \$2,295 per person. Or take another example. The Conservative government in Britain has decided to turn all national monuments over to private businessmen to be used as profit-making ventures. Also symbolic is the fact that the sports facilities and equipment have to be paid for at spas in capitalist countries, while in socialist countries no charge is taken for their use.

Needless to say, rest and leisure do not boil down solely to health building or tourism. They have to be useful and culturally enriching, which means wide access to the wealth and values of human culture. What are the indicators of cultural consumption under the two different social systems? Opinion polls have shown that of the people who read fiction in the USSR 58 per cent are permanent readers, while in the largest West European countries only between 3 and 5 per cent of the reading public are permanent readers. Czechoslovakia's theater network, whose density is roughly three times that of the Austrian and Swiss networks and double

that of the FRG, caters for an audience of up to 10 million annually. In Bulgaria each person goes to the cinema on the average once a month. Capitalist countries, even those with a traditionally high cultural level, fall behind this indicator: for example Italy (10 times annually) or Spain (7 times annually). The cost of a cinema ticket averages 50 kopecks in the USSR and £2 (or almost three Soviet roubles) in Britain. The extent to which meaningful leisure is accessible under capitalism and socialism may be judged also by comparing

another pair of figures: the annual per capita allocations for cultural requirements are only 18 dollars in the richest country, the USA, and 140 roubles in the Soviet Union.

The right to rest and leisure is a major indicator of the socio-economic condition of the working people. An assessment of how tangible this right is, makes it obvious that only socialism, a society free of the money-making complex and exploitation, can show genuine concern for the working person.

Who is blocking mutually advantageous ties?

INSTRUMENT OF COOPERATION OR BLACKMAIL?

*A view from London of trade
with the socialist countries*

It is some years now since the global market has emerged as an important political and economic factor of our time, affecting to a greater or lesser degree the national economic climate in all countries: and not only in the capitalist world, but in some measure the socialist economies, too.

International trade — whose manipulation is now much easier with the emergence of the influential multinationals — has been and is being used by imperialism as an important weapon in pursuit of its reactionary policies. Particularly, it has been in the past and is now being used as an instrument of imperialist reactionary foreign policy aimed to harm the economic development of the socialist community of nations, in attempts to blackmail the socialist countries to succumb to imperialist pressure. As the recent capitalist summit at Versailles shows, it is a well-known tool of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, as well as of efforts to facilitate the arms race, thus undermining détente.

The socialist countries, on the other hand, have always advocated extension of mutually advantageous international trade, both for economic and peace reasons. Communists have always recognized the reciprocal relations between trade and détente. Periods of intensified cold war were always accompanied by periods of contracting trade, while periods of developing détente were also times of expanded trade.

The article below is a very important, well-researched and documented example of how

reactionary Britain is using trade with the socialist community as a vicious tool in pursuit of its war policies, in its efforts to propagate anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, even if it means untold harm to Britain's economy in crisis.

I believe this article will help many workers to see clearly how imperialism, fearing and hating communism, is prepared to sacrifice their jobs and jeopardize their lives, since the deliberate contraction of trade with the socialist world, in addition to adding to the unemployed record figures, is at the same time, by intensifying the cold war, endangering world peace.

Bert Ramelson

CP Great Britain Representative,
member of WMR Editorial Board

At first sight, Britain's East-West trade — her trade, that is, with the seven European members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR) — presents a picture which may be said to give cause for modest satisfaction. According to official British figures, the United Kingdom's total trade with these countries went up by nearly 2 per cent in 1980, while UK exports to the seven went up by just over 16 per cent.

Such figures are sometimes quoted as evidence of a serious interest in East-West trade. In reality, Britain's trade with the European CMEA member-countries falls far short of the potential of the market which they represent and of Britain's potential as a supplier of the goods they need. Britain's total exports to these seven countries, which have a population substantially larger than that of the Common Market and which today produce about one-quarter

of the world's wealth and about one-third of its industrial output, are less than one-half of those to Belgium and Luxembourg. East-West trade accounts for less than three per cent of Britain's total foreign trade.

Britain, once a trail-blazer in East-West trade markets, is today being outsold by Federal Germany, France, Italy, Japan and the United States, each of whom has an East-West trade turnover greater than that of Britain — more than four times greater in the case of Federal Germany, now the East's major Western trading partner. Calculations based on figures published by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe show that in 1980 Federal Germany accounted for over 40 per cent of all the exports from the six major developed capitalist countries (Federal Germany, France, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States) to the seven European CMEA member-countries. The United Kingdom's share was the lowest of the six at just under 9 per cent.

The figures for trade with the Soviet Union, the East's major participant in East-West trade and Britain's largest East-West trading partner, accounting for over 50 per cent of the UK's total East-West trade turnover, tell a similar story. Until the end of the 1960s, Britain was the Soviet Union's main Western trading partner. She has now been supplanted by Federal Germany, France, Italy, Japan and the United States. The United Kingdom in 1980 accounted for less than 2 per cent of total Soviet foreign trade turnover, compared with Federal Germany's 6.1 per cent. Soviet imports from Britain, according to Soviet foreign trade statistics, increased by 326.8 per cent during the decade 1970-1980 (according to UK foreign trade figures, British exports to the USSR during the decade increased by 346 per cent). During the same period those from Federal Germany went up by over 800 per cent.

The relative decline in Britain's role in East-West trade reflects the decline in Britain's role in world trade as a whole. Between 1966 and 1976, Britain's share in the export of manufactured goods from the 11 main manufacturing countries of the capitalist world dropped from 13.2 per cent to 8.7 per cent.

There are a number of British firms with a long-standing commitment to East-West trade. They include some of the top names in British industry. They have in recent years secured major contracts in the face of intense foreign competition, including contracts for compressor stations on the Tyumen-Chelyabinsk gas pipeline and for the supply of two large methanol plants, work on which is sub-

contracted to firms in the most job-starved areas of Britain.¹

But many British firms fail to match the initiative, persistence and long-term approach of their West German, French, Italian and Japanese competitors. British industry is failing to compete seriously with its main East-West trade rivals, according to a review published by the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry, a body which has done much to promote East-West trade.² There is evidence that British firms have not always been able to match the credit terms offered by their competitors, and credit terms can be decisive in major deals. In this respect, West German, French, Italian and Japanese firms often get more effective backing from their governments.

Governmental policies and attitudes have a considerable influence upon the climate of East-West trade. British governments take a "serious interest," but "other countries' governments do more," says a recent study. Other West European governments "maintain much closer contact at top level with the Com-econ nations than does the British government. The West Germans in particular regularly meet not only the East Germans but the Russians, Hungarians and others at the highest level. The French are following this lead. In their case it is part of a conscious strategy to expand French trading relations in which state intervention in the direction of foreign trade plays a leading role."³

East-West trade is trade between the two competing social and economic systems. As such, it is acutely sensitive to changes in the climate of international relations. For Federal Germany, the late 1960s and early 1970s were the years of the *Ostpolitik*, which opened the way for the Federal Republic to become the CMEA's major Western trading partner. Meanwhile, Britain's Conservative government of the day, deeply suspicious of moves toward a relaxation of international tension and the improvement of East-West relations, was waging its own cold war. By 1972, Britain had fallen to fourth and by 1973 to seventh place among the Soviet Union's Western trading partners. In the first half of the 1970s, Britain's share of Soviet foreign trade dropped from 2.9 to 1.9 per cent, while that of West Germany went up from 2.5 to 5.5 per cent.

The mid-1970s, saw the accession to office of a Labour government. In February 1975, Prime Minister Wilson went to Moscow. A Long-Term Program of Economic and Industrial Co-operation was signed and credit arrangements established, which made it easier to match the terms offered by Britain's competitors. The new

atmosphere gave a stimulus to Anglo-Soviet trade: in the second half of the 1970s it increased by 98.5 per cent, compared with less than 8 per cent in the first half. Nevertheless it still lagged far behind that between the Soviet Union and the other major developed capitalist countries.

As international tension increased during the second half of the 1970s, so too did calls for curbs on East-West trade. Conservative and other critics challenged the policy of giving what they described as "cheap" credit to East European customers — a policy which was increasing export earnings and protecting jobs, and which was by no means confined to East European customers. They depicted the East as the sole beneficiary of East-West trade, though a Conservative Trade Minister has acknowledged that "most of the things we import from the Soviet Union are things we need — raw materials for which perhaps there is no other source of supply."⁴ They painted a much exaggerated picture of the alleged "dependence" of the East upon the technology of the West, seeing this as a means of exerting political pressure.

These attitudes were embodied in a discussion paper published by the Conservative Political Center in June, 1977.⁵ Its authors, one of whom became a member of Mrs. Thatcher's government when it came into office in 1979, condemned the 1975 credit arrangements as "a good bargain for the Soviet Union" but "a bad bargain for us."⁶ They called for closer Western cooperation on credit terms and for stricter controls on technology sales to the Soviet Union. They urged the "more active use of commercial policies as a source of foreign policy leverage over the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."⁷ The "countries of the free world" should be encouraged to "regard their overseas trade policies with the Soviet bloc as one with their foreign and defense policies."⁸ The West should seek "discreetly to encourage the development of policies discriminating in favor of some of the East European countries other than the USSR."⁹

In January 1980 the Conservative government used the Afghanistan question as the pretext for implementing some of the measures envisaged by the paper. (We find that the Conservative hardening of attitude to the Soviet Union and Anglo-Soviet trade, in fact long predated events in Afghanistan and Poland.)

The 1975 credit arrangements were lapsed; henceforward credit terms would be considered on a case-by-case basis. Efforts were to be made to secure stricter Western controls on technology exports. High-level contracts with

the Soviet Union were suspended. Negotiations for the review of the Long-Term Program of Economic and Industrial Cooperation were broken off. A meeting of the Anglo-Soviet Joint Commission scheduled for May 1980 was cancelled.

These measures indicated an ability to bark rather than to bite, a desire to secure maximum propaganda advantage at minimum cost. But they "caused confusion"¹⁰ for British companies trading with the Soviet Union, reported the Moscow correspondent of *The Times*. "The result may be to give the French and West Germans a long-term advantage in exporting to the Soviet Union"; the British government's measures "may make the atmosphere more difficult for Anglo-Soviet trade in general."¹¹ Department of Trade officials were quoted as warning that "it is almost impossible for Britain to hurt Russia with trade sanctions . . . Without the wholehearted support of our allies, and France in particular, we would only hurt ourselves."¹²

This was indeed the case: in March 1980, a French consortium secured a \$110-million offshore oil drilling contract for which a British group had been in the running; while the meeting of the Anglo-Soviet Joint Commission had been cancelled, that of the Soviet-West German Commission went ahead and paved the way for the signing later in the year of a long-term Soviet-West German economic and industrial cooperation program; during 1980, according to Soviet foreign trade statistics, Soviet-West German trade turnover went up 36 per cent and Soviet-French trade by 43 per cent; trade turnover with Britain dropped nearly 5 per cent (UK statistics also show a drop, but of only 0.5 per cent).

Britain made something of a U-turn in January 1981 with the dispatch of a four-man delegation headed by Gavin Dick, Under-Secretary for Trade, to Moscow. "Other European countries . . . have continued to do business on a large scale. There is not considered to be much point in losing orders to such competition," said the *Financial Times*.¹³ A meeting of the Anglo-Soviet Joint Commission took place in London in May. "The Prime Minister has bowed to pressure from leading British companies to re-establish formal trade talks with the Soviet Union," said a correspondent of *The Times*. "ICI, Courtaulds, Rolls-Royce, Davy International and other companies have been concerned that the Government's coolness to the Soviet Union . . . could threaten their ability to exploit export opportunities arising from the latest Soviet five-year economic plan." But Mrs. Thatcher "left Ministers and business leaders in no doubt" that Britain was "firmly against"

providing what were described as "preferential" credit terms to gain export contracts "even if it means their loss to foreign competitors."¹⁴

Alone among West European leaders Mrs. Thatcher has voiced support for the "sanctions" against the Soviet Union announced by President Reagan at the end of 1981. The Common Market Foreign Ministers meeting in Brussels in January 1982, while attacking the socialist countries confined themselves to taking note of the U.S. measures.

The European CMEA countries are tackling problems which have a direct bearing upon their East-West trade performance during the coming years. They are seeking to evolve economic mechanisms appropriate to their needs, combining the advantages of central planning and the market, capable of promoting innovation, efficiency and the most effective use of resources. They are dealing with problems of structural change in domestic industry and in foreign trade patterns, and of the shift from extensive to intensive growth. They are seeking ways to improve the competitiveness and marketing of exports. However, the reactionary circles of the imperialist powers have used the events in Poland to take steps to worsen the climate for East-West trade. For Poland itself, these steps merely go to compound the everyday difficulties now faced by its people.

The bulletin *East European Markets* published by the *Financial Times* in cooperation with the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry sees 1981 as having been "a year fraught with difficulty and uncertainty for those engaged in East-West trade." But "trade has continued, and for some even prospered, under conditions of mounting political tension and increasing problems for the domestic economies of all states East and West."¹⁵ It sees the recently-concluded Soviet-West German gas pipeline agreements — already dubbed "the East-West deal of the century" — as "marking a watershed for East-West business" and "the probable beginning of a new level of economic cooperation."¹⁶

Challenging opportunities exist, and Britain has a contribution to make. Cooperation of this kind has a part to play in any program for Britain's economic recovery, and in improving the international climate.

Dennis Ogden
British Lecturer

1. *The Times*, January 7, 1980.

2. *Financial Times*, March 27, 1980.

3. Gareth Jenkins and Alan Hudson. *Trading with the Eastern Block*. Economist Intelligence Unity, London, 1980, p. 105.

4. *The Times*, December 18, 1979.

5. Peter Blaker MP, Julian Critchley MP & Matthew Parris, *Coping with the Soviet Union: A New Tory View*, Conservative Political Center, London, 1977.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

10. *The Times*, January 31, 1980.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Sunday Times*, January 27, 1980.

13. *Financial Times*, January 26, 1981.

14. *The Times*, May 22, 1981.

15. *East European Markets*, December 28, 1981.

16. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1981.

CREDIT BLOCKADE: DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS.

Much has recently been written and said about the U.S. intention to drive the socialist countries to the wall by suspending credit exports for the CMEA zone and by getting the allies of the United States to do the same. What does this policy aim to do?

J. Alimi, Morocco

In general political terms, these are fresh steps being taken by the imperialist circles in stepping up international tension. You will recall that this policy has become most pronounced since the inauguration of the Reagan administration in the United States. Washington's whipping up of the arms race, its attempts to upset the rough parity and change the military balance in its favor, the step-up of the imperialist policy of strength, and intervention in the internal affairs of other states have been recently supplemented with open attacks against the socialist community countries, especially the USSR and Poland, in order to undermine them economically and exert political pressure on them.

Washington has made trade with the socialist countries contingent on the political "behavior" of each, and has been trying to use commercial ties as a means of high-handed meddling in their internal affairs. It also hopes that its "differentiated approach" in the sphere of trade and credits will drive a wedge into the ranks of the socialist community.

At the end of December 1981, the United States announced "economic sanctions" against Poland and the USSR on the pretext of the introduction of martial law in Poland. Having effectively broken off business relations with Poland, the Reagan administration made no secret of its intention to make it as hard as possible for that country to pull out of the economic crisis. The "sanctions" against the USSR were motivated by its "responsibility" for the imposition of martial law in Poland.

On the whole, this is an attempt by the most aggressive imperialist circles to roll back socialism and to shake the positions of the USSR and other socialist countries in the international arena. That is a hopeless venture! It is well known that their positions rest on the existing balance of forces in Europe and the world and are guaranteed by the might of the socialist community. The schemes with respect to Poland are also doomed to fail. As its leaders have repeatedly emphasized, Poland has been and will continue to be a solid component of the Warsaw Treaty organization and a member of the community of socialist states.

While unilaterally folding up trade, scientific and technical relations with the socialist states¹ and seeking to "guarantee" the success of this policy, U.S. ruling circles have decided to concentrate their attacks on credit relations. Export credits are an organic element of modern international trade. The extension of credit to the importing party for the payment of a more or less sizable part of the purchases is a necessary — and very widespread — means for ensuring sales. Thus, the share of medium and long-term export credits for the payment of machinery and equipment in the world capitalist market comes to 80-85 per cent. The more costly the goods sold, the bigger is, usually, the role of credit. It is especially important in trade involving complete equipment, which is what CMEA countries mainly buy in the capitalist countries. It is natural, therefore, that with the rapid growth of trade between the socialist and the capitalist countries in the 1970s, there was a development of credit relations.

Washington decided to put an end to this, and not only through its own efforts, but also together with the other capitalist powers. In the spring of this year, consultations were held with the leading West European allies of the United States — Britain, the FRG, France and Italy — and also within the NATO framework. There were reports about the possible establishment of a special agency to control and regulate credit relations with the socialist countries. Under U.S. pressure, the OECD countries decided to raise the cost of (interests charges on) export credits to the Soviet Union. U.S. private banks either stopped or sharply limited their credits to socialist countries and tried — not without success — to get the West European institutions concerned to do the same.

This looked like an artillery barrage for Reagan's resolute "anti-credit" offensive. It was launched at the Versailles meeting of the leaders of the Big Seven of the capitalist world (USA, Britain, FRG, France, Italy, Japan and

Canada), which was held in early June. Under strong pressure from the U.S. President, the declaration issued by the meeting included a provision about the "cautious conduct of financial relations" with the socialist countries, "limitation of export credits" and similar other things.

The head of the U.S. administration voiced satisfaction over the results of the meeting and the pliancy of the allies. However, according to the bourgeois press, the results of the Versailles meeting were not so straightforward. One analyst said that each leader gave the final declaration his own reading, and that it gave enough room for such an approach. At any rate, the Europeans, says *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, a mouthpiece of FRG business circles, do not see anything in the Versailles declaration that would scrap the "trade (with the socialist countries) as usual" formula.²

In the period of international détente, the volume of this trade increased considerably. For instance, in 1981, the USSR's trade with the FRG was more than 11 times higher than it was in 1970, with France — more than 10 times higher, and with Italy — 7.4 times higher. The introduction of all kinds of economic "sanctions" and restrictions, including credit restrictions, by the capitalist powers could, naturally, alter this trend and result in a contraction of trade ties.

The imperialist circles hope that the credit blockade will cause economic difficulties in the socialist countries that could produce new "Polish-type" crisis situations. Let us recall, however, that such a blockade had already been mounted in the past: it lasted for nearly half a century against the Soviet Union, and for more than two decades against the other socialist countries of Europe. But that did not prevent them from developing their national economy at a pace that was much higher than that in the capitalist countries and to fulfil major socio-economic tasks drawing only on their internal resources and mutual assistance within the framework of the socialist community.

The arrangement of relatively healthy ties in the sphere of credit between states with different social systems from the end of the 1960s effectively meant admission of the futility of the credit blockade against the socialist countries. With the mounting crisis processes and monetary upheavals, a continuation of this policy would have hit at the interests of the capitalist centers themselves.

Nevertheless, the most aggressive imperialist forces decided to reanimate the old discriminatory practice. As the propaganda screen, they have been plugging the idea that credit

relations with the capitalist world go to benefit only the socialist countries.

In actual fact, these relations do not in any sense turn the capitalist world into a milch cow for socialism. In broad economic terms, development of credit ties cannot but be mutually advantageous. Indeed, credits enable the socialist countries to increase the volume of their purchases on the capitalist markets. But this, as a rule, means large-scale contracts for the delivery of machinery, equipment and other goods. In view of the current protracted economic recession, such contracts are an important means for maintaining and even expanding production, as is exemplified by the West German groups Mannesmann, AEC-Telefunken, the French Creusot-Loire, the British John Brown Engineering, the Italian Nuovo Pignone, the Japanese Komatsu and other corporations.

The bourgeois press has admitted that "CMEA markets help to keep the factories running." And that is important not only in economic but also in social terms. Overall estimates suggest that contracts from the socialist countries help to provide jobs for at least two million people in Western Europe who would otherwise have been unemployed.

Finally, the question of easy, government-underwritten export credits is largely connected with the possibility of the West European countries and Japan importing energy resources and various types of raw materials from the CMEA countries on a long-term and stable basis. It would be highly naive to expect the United States to take an "allied stand" in this area, as, incidentally, in other areas of international trade. Too many aspects of Washington's economic policy testify to neglect of the interests of its allies. The latest confirmation of this has come from the sharp build-up — in defiance of the much advertised "spirit of Versailles" — of the protectionist barrier in the way of European steel exports to the United States.

It is not some ephemeral "solidarity," but fierce competition and the interests of one's own big business that determine the economic relations between the centers of the world capitalist economy. It is clear, therefore, that Washington has not only political motives for trying to mount a total credit blockade of the CMEA countries. There is also the urge to trip up its ally-rivals, to weaken them and to deprive them of large-scale and profitable orders from the USSR and other socialist countries and to prevent their participation in projects like the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline and the development of oil and gas fields on the shelf off Sakhalin. However, business circles in

the West European countries and Japan are clearly aware of this aspect. Hence their indignation over the self-seeking decision of the United States to extend and expand the embargo on deliveries of oil and gas equipment to the USSR. Their reaction is all the more understandable since this involves not only the purely investment and commercial interests of some companies, but an actual attempt to undermine the energy supplies of these countries over the long term.

We have already said that all manner of "sanctions" in international trade must necessarily worsen the overall situation in the world. Statesmen who reject attempts by the Reagan administration to involve their countries in an economic war against socialism are quite right. President Francois Mitterand of France told a group of U.S. journalists: "We are not going to wage any kind of war on the Russians. You have to be very serious about such a course. It could lead to a real war. If economic embargo is a first act of war, it risks being caught up by a second."³ The same view has been expressed by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the FRG, who said: "We shall not join in a trade war against the Soviet Union, which threatens to become a start of another cold war. Like our European partners, we resolutely intend to fulfil the Soviet gas contract."⁴

The attempts to exert economic pressure on the socialist states is a gross breach of the generally accepted rules of international life, the principles of the UN Charter and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Existing world economic ties are further disorganized by the discriminatory measures which limit exports to socialist countries and hamper the sale of goods from these countries on capitalist markets. Such acts, the latest CMEA session in June 1982 said, "will not have any success. The CMEA countries, strengthening their cohesion and mutual cooperation, developing their ties with other states wishing to strengthen peace and international security, firmly intend to ensure their continued confident development."⁵

A concrete confirmation of their resolve is provided by the recent Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement, which is effective until the year 2008, on the transit of Soviet natural gas across the territory of Czechoslovakia to West European countries.⁴ Together with its allies, Czechoslovakia, the Presidium of the CPCz CC and the Czechoslovak government emphasized, categorically rejects discriminatory measures and interference by U.S. imperialist circles and certain NATO states in the international affairs of the socialist countries.

The socialist community has enough economic strength to withstand the moves by the imperialist forces. Washington's line of disrupting mutually advantageous economic ties can merely aggravate the contradictions and difficulties of the capitalist economy. Those who are trying to convert international trade, including credit policy, into an instrument of political blackmail risk ending up with a loss themselves.

The socialist countries are firmly resolved to strengthen their technical and economic independence through mutual cooperation and cohesion. But this is not a cohesion that leads to isolation from the world economy and growing confrontation. It is a cohesion which ensures solid and equitable economic relations in response to the attempts to conduct a policy of discrimination and diktat, a policy which is also manifested in the "credit blockade" line. Consistent deepening of such cooperation will

continue to promote the successful fulfillment by the peoples of the socialist countries of the socio-economic tasks before them and promote international détente and the cause of peace and social progress.

Pavel Nejedly
Czechoslovak journalist

1. A recent step was the decision taken by the U.S. National Security Council on June 18 of this year to continue and substantially extend the ban imposed at the end of last year on the delivery to the Soviet Union of equipment for the extraction and transportation of oil and gas. At first, the ban applied only to the products of U.S. corporations, but this latest decision extended it to the products of U.S. subsidiaries abroad and also foreign companies turning out similar equipment under U.S. license.

2. Quoted in: *Le Monde*, June 9, 1982.

3. *International Herald Tribune*, June 16, 1982.

4. *Le Monde*, June 26, 1982.

5. *Rude Pravo*, June 11, 1982.

6. *Ibid.*

Sounding the tocsin

Jonathan Schell. *The Fate of the Earth*. Published in the USA by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, and simultaneously in Canada by Random House of Canada, Ltd., Toronto, 1982, 244 pp.

Even before Jonathan Schell's work was brought out in book form¹ the U.S. press hailed it as the "most important book of the decade. Perhaps of the century."² "This is a book that will change your thinking about the state of the world." This was not a promotion drive for a bestseller. This work by an American journalist owes its public recognition to the growing anti-nuclear protest in the USA, to the ever more visible role that is being played in that country's political life by blue and white-collar workers, doctors, businessmen, housewives, young people, the clergy, and academics.

Many in the protest movement, which consists of hundreds of scattered groups, have accepted *The Fate of the Earth* as their manifesto. Helen Caldicott, president of the influential Physicians for Social Responsibility organization, called it the "new Bible of our time." The American analyst James Reston wrote: "Anybody who wonders why hundreds of thousands of people have been protesting in the streets of Europe against the nuclear arms race, or why this mass movement is now spreading in the churches, universities and even town meetings, in the U.S. should read

Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the Earth*." ...

By virtue of these circumstances alone Jonathan Schell's book merits attention as throwing light on the ideological and political make-up of the anti-nuclear movement now taking shape in the USA. The relative youth of this movement explains why, although in politics it has *already* demonstrated its influence, its ideology is *still* at the formative stage. It is acutely in need of a coherent peace philosophy answering the nuclear threat. Schell's book is consonant with the thinking of the anti-war protesters and strongly influences their thinking, in fact, molding it and directing it into the ideological channel harmonizing with the author's philosophical and socio-political views.

For almost five years Schell studied literature — physico-technical, military, ecological, and eschatological — treating of the nuclear menace. He interviewed physicists and medics and pondered over the works of philosophers. This study produced a sort of synthesis of pacifism and meditation on the realities of the nuclear age. In his attempt to give an intellectual, emotional, and political answer to the nuclear threat and spell out basic orientations of the anti-war movement, Schell comes forward as a spokesman of renewed pacifism. Let us briefly go into the substance of his main points.

He starts with a discussion of what would happen if the accumulated nuclear arsenal

were to be used in a possible world conflict.

Many academics studying this question come to the chilling conclusion that a nuclear war would be a global holocaust, an irreparable catastrophe that would place biological life in question. But their warnings penetrate the mass consciousness in a sharp ideological struggle. Schell himself notes that "a number of observers have, especially in recent years, denied that a holocaust would obliterate even the societies directly attacked." More, "in the discussions of some analysts, nuclear attacks are made to sound almost beneficial." To illustrate this modern cannibalism, he quotes an official of the U.S. Office of Civil Defense: "... a nuclear war could alleviate some of the factors leading to today's ecological disturbances that are due to current high-population concentrations and heavy industrial production" (p. 7). One will appreciate how much has to be done to bring home the meaning of the nuclear threat to the consciousness of people in a country where such macabre statements are made officially.

Rejecting the sickening arguments that a nuclear war is "permissible," Schell writes that nuclear weapons are not merely formidable and terrible, but that they differ qualitatively from all other weapons, for they "do not only kill directly, with their tremendous violence, but also kill indirectly, by breaking down the man-made and the natural systems on which individual lives collectively depend ... Nuclear weapons are unique in that they attack the support systems of life at every level" (p. 23). Using the testimony of the people in Hiroshima, which was atom-bombed, Schell reconstructs the picture of suffering, grief and the human inability to grasp the horror of nuclear incineration.

"What happened at Hiroshima," he warns, "was less than a millionth part of a holocaust at present levels of world nuclear armament" (p. 45). ... That is why "those observers who speak of 'recovery' after a holocaust or of 'winning' a nuclear 'war' are dreaming. They are living in a past that has been swept away forever by nuclear arms" (p. 73).

Schell is aware that there are uncertainties inherent in any attempt to predict the consequences of a nuclear holocaust. It was only in the past decade that science has learned of many of the destructive consequences of nuclear weapons, especially global and long-term. It may prove that the environment's resiliency in the face of nuclear devastation is much smaller than is now believed. But here it is not only a matter of the relativity, of the incompleteness of knowledge: who can tell in

advance the scale on which nuclear arsenals may be used.

The resultant argumentative character of the judgments concerning humanity's fate in the event of a nuclear conflict, Schell writes, sometimes soothes and reduces the sense of urgency. This is precisely what the theorists of the "permissibility" of a nuclear strike speculate on, preaching the dangerous belief that there is a non-suicidal variant of a nuclear war.

However, at the present levels of nuclear armament the character of a possible holocaust is obvious: its use is inseparable from the threat to humanity's existence. ... Since the life of humanity is in question, he notes, there is morally no difference between certainty and the mere possibility: "We have no choice but to address the issue of nuclear weapons as though we knew for a certainty that their use would put an end to our species" (p. 95).

A correct understanding of the nuclear danger is hindered, Schell believes, by the gap between knowledge and feeling, between the mind and action, when people know that there is a direct and unremitting threat to their existence but do nothing about it and live as though they are in no danger. "Intellectually, we recognize," he writes to his fellow countrymen, "that we have prepared ourselves for self-extermination and are improving the preparations every day, but emotionally and politically we have failed to respond" (pp. 151-152).

In order to awaken an emotional response to the nuclear threat, Schell refers to the eternal theme of the moralists, namely, the significance of death, to a question which the imperialist strategists regard "inappropriate" for they seek to hide the anti-humane substance of nuclear war and obscure it behind technical jargon about an abstract, depersonified world. Schell widens the window, as it were, on the tragedy of the untimely death of millions upon millions of people in the event of a catastrophe, showing the moral anatomy of the nuclear threat. It brings with it a death that is new in the history of civilization, a death that "has lost its appointed place in the natural order and become a counter-evolutionary force, capable of destroying in a few years, or even in a few hours, what evolution has built up over billions of years" (p. 113). ...

In this respect he is treading spiritual virgin land, on which no moralist has yet stepped. Arguing his point, he writes: "... while reflection on death may lead to resignation and acceptance, reflection on extinction must lead to exactly the opposite response: to arousal, rejection, indignation, and action. Extinction is not

something to contemplate, it is something to rebel against" (p. 184).

What is the tragedy of the nuclear threat to the personal life of people? The answer we find in this book may be summed up as follows. Hitherto people could picture the human world beyond the limits of their life-span, and in one way or another felt a personal bond with the future. They knew that life and history would go on after them in the affairs of an endless number of generations. They saw the future simply as the continued existence of humanity because the biological species did not depend on their political will. But now in their mind's eye they see an abyss not only of personal but of human non-existence, the disappearance of history, of the accomplishments and hopes of past, present, and future generations. The tragedy of nuclear war is consequently in its immorality, its total criminality against the individual, society and the human species.

This moral stand gives no grounds for desperation and pessimism. Indeed, the destiny of the world is by no means predetermined, the extinction of humanity can be averted, and life can be saved. Schell does not accept Franz Kafka's philosophy that "there is infinite hope, but not for us." He says that people can avert a catastrophe. And he criticizes the philosophical-ethical and religious doctrines that reduce the tragedy of humanity's extinction to conciliation to this tragedy in the conscience of the individual. . . .

Ethical justification of humanity's extinction emanates, in particular, from the German existentialist Karl Jaspers, who in *The Future of Mankind* wrote that individual and all life "can be staked and sacrificed for the sake of the life that is worth living." Precisely this is what lies at the back of the imperialist bogey: "Better Dead Than Red."

Schell rejects this philosophy of aggression of a few against all others, including unborn generations. His stand is that "we must never raise that worth (things) above the life of mankind and above our respect for that life's existence. To do this would be to make of our highest ideals so many swords with which to destroy ourselves" (p. 129). The life of humanity is, consequently, the highest worth, the condition of the existence and the source of all other worths. Once the world is pushed into a nuclear conflict, it would be impossible to realize any principle — ethical, theological or political. For the nuclear flame could incinerate people together with all that is human — both "good" and "evil." There would be "ruin to the hopes and plans of capitalists and socialists,

rightists and leftists, conservatives and liberals alike."

From these moral positions Schell addresses the question of a political option, of how the monstrous threat hanging over humanity can be averted. He notes that in the USA the official reaction to this threat is permeated with somber fatalism, in which the hope to rid the world of nuclear armaments is excluded from political calculations as utopian and extremist. Yet the problem is urgent: "... unless we rid ourselves of our nuclear arsenals a holocaust not only *might* occur but *will* occur — if not today, then tomorrow: if not this year, then the next" (pp. 183-184).

These words sound the tocsin. Schell emphasizes that the choice before humanity is either total extinction or a world without the nuclear peril. In his arguments he shows the disparity between the political thinking predominant in the USA and the realities of the nuclear age. This thinking is vicious if only because it clings to a policy counting on war as its instrument. But a nuclear war is complete madness because the mechanism for total extinction stands ready.

In the event of a conflict between nuclear powers, Schell writes, this mechanism would remove the very possibility of a "limited" use of force in a "traditional" war. A nuclear conflict would not be "war" but senseless and total destruction and extermination. A similar outcome, Schell says, is probable in the event of a "conventional war" between the nuclear powers because there is little chance of limiting it to the aim of "victory." In any case, the U.S. government has declared it does not consider itself bound by the rules of a "limited war" if such "rules" bring about its defeat. Hence one can see the danger of the thinking that continues to see war as the ultimate arbiter of international disputes. This danger is all the greater, Schell says, because the holocaust will only occur if we bring it about by pursuing our political aims through violence. He shows the untenability of the militarist doctrines whose protagonists speak of the USA achieving military superiority, of the possibility of winning a nuclear war or, at worst, losing it but surviving.

These, we feel, are the most interesting of Schell's points that have drawn attention to the peril of nuclear catastrophe and his call: "... rise up to cleanse the world of nuclear weapons" (p. 231).

However, the picture of this book will not be complete if nothing is said about the socio-political posture of its author. He won a reputation as a "radical liberal" opponent of the U.S. war in Vietnam. His present leaning toward the

anti-nuclear movement is eloquently shown by this book. However, he subscribes wholeheartedly to the class prejudices of the bourgeoisie toward socialism. In his book there are many absurd, uninformed notions about the social order, substance, and practical policies of the socialist countries. Moreover, he fails to see the actual mainsprings of the nuclear threat (believing that this threat comes from the system of sovereign states). He correspondingly pictures the way to creating a world free of violence. While he calls for general and complete disarmament, he does not believe that this can really be achieved without a political revolution changing international relations on the basis of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, without the elimination of state sovereignty.

To conclude. We have noted the enthusiastic reception given to this book by anti-nuclear protesters. It was given a different reception by the other side. Strobe Talbott wrote in the American journal *Time*: "He (Schell) obviously regards the threat and evil of nuclear war as so immediate and so overwhelming that they eclipse all other threats and evils, apparently including those embodied by the Soviet system and Soviet behavior. The trouble with that line of thinking is that it could lead some readers to the sort of simple-minded defeatism summarized by the slogan 'Better Red Than Dead.'"³ ...

These attacks on Schell are eloquent evidence that the protest against nuclear arma-

ments does not suit those that have sunk so deep in anti-Sovietism that they are indifferent to the fate of the human species.

In the present volatile international situation sober assessments, weighted judgments, and considered government decisions and initiatives are of exceptionally great, in fact decisive, significance. This characterizes the foreign policy actions of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries in the approach to the cardinal problem of safeguarding the world against a thermonuclear conflagration. There was a worldwide response to Leonid Brezhnev's message to the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, announcing the USSR's unilateral pledge not to use nuclear weapons first. It is logical that if nobody resorts to a nuclear first strike, a nuclear war will not break out. However, neither the USA nor its NATO allies followed the Soviet example. On the contrary, they responded with a further escalation of the arms race.

A comparison of these facts provides much food for thought to those people who have read *The Fate of the Earth* but have little experience in politics and are not clear about where the threat to humankind comes from.

E. Jorgen
— abridged

1. It first appeared as a series in *The New Yorker*.
2. *The New York Times*, April 21, 1982.
3. *Time*, April 19, 1982.

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Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada. ISSN 0043-8642

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM published in Prague.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., \$12.50 a year. Institutions, double rate.

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tuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish and Vietnamese.

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In the USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

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