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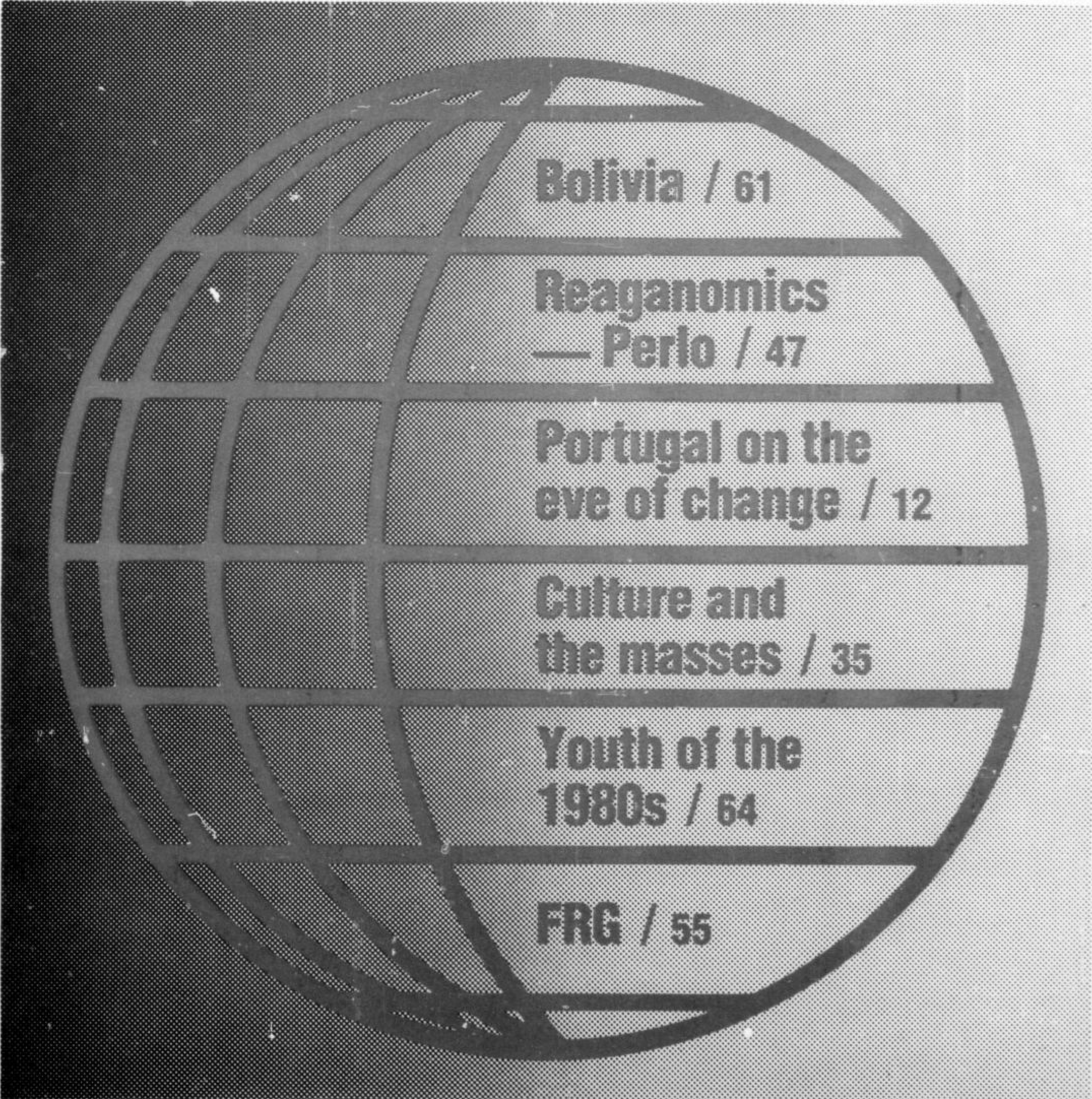
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

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WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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His name and work will endure through the ages

In 1983 the communists of the world and all other progressive people will be marking two anniversaries linked to the name of Karl Marx: the 165th anniversary of his birth and the centenary of his death.

A hundred years after it was evolved by Marx jointly with Engels, the revolutionary theory of Marxism, creatively enlarged upon and enriched by Lenin and other proponents of the cause of Marx, continues to rule the minds of all revolutionaries, of builders of socialism and communism. Through the achievements of the masses led by communist and workers' parties, Marx's scientific postulates have become part and parcel of the day-to-day practice of many countries and peoples, of the life and struggles of hundreds of millions of people. The ideas developed by him have been and remain a powerful driving force of history, and an inexhaustible fountain of inspiration in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and national and social liberation, for socialism. Their influence continues to grow. Marx's very name has become the banner for the revolutionary transformation of the world in the name of and for the benefit of working people. Today, as in Marx's lifetime, experience provides infinite confirmation of the widely known words first spoken by Lenin: The theory of Marx is omnipotent because it is true.

On the eve of the memorable dates — March 14, 1983 (centenary of the death of Marx) and March 5, 1983 (165th anniversary of his birth) — it would be appropriate to turn again to the classic evaluations of the epochal significance of Karl Marx's theoretical and practical revolutionary work given by Frederick Engels and Vladimir Lenin. We print Engels' speech at the graveside of Karl Marx in London's Highgate Cemetery on March 17, 1883 (this speech was reprinted in Engels' article "Burial of Karl Marx" carried in the German newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* on March 22, 1883). Also, we publish Lenin's article "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx," written for the 30th anniversary of Marx's death and printed in Russia on March

1, 1913 in the Bolshevik daily newspaper *Pravda*.

This year *World Marxist Review* plans to print a series of articles on the present-day significance of the theories of Karl Marx under the general heading "Marxism 100 Years After Marx."

IN MEMORY OF KARL MARX

Frederick Engels

On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep — but for ever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the

problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated — and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially — in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwärts* (1844), the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, working in organizations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association — this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme

necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers — from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America — and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!

THE HISTORICAL DESTINY OF THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society. Has the course of events all over the world confirmed this doctrine since it was expounded by Marx?

Marx first advanced it in 1844. The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, published in 1848, gave an integral and systematic exposition of this doctrine, an exposition which has remained the best to this day. Since then world history has clearly been divided into three main periods: (1) from the revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune (1871); (2) from the Paris Commune to the Russian revolution (1905); (3) since the Russian revolution.

Let us see what has been the destiny of Marx's doctrine in each of these periods.

I

At the beginning of the first period Marx's doctrine by no means dominated. It was only one of the very numerous groups or trends of socialism. The forms of socialism that did dominate were in the main akin to our Narodism: incomprehension of the materialist basis of historical movement, inability to single out the role and significance of each class in capitalist society, concealment of the bourgeois nature of democratic reforms under diverse, quasi-socialist phrases about the "people," "justice," "right," and so on.

The revolution of 1848 struck a deadly blow at all these vociferous, motley and ostentatious forms of pre-Marxian socialism. In all countries, the revolution revealed the various classes of society in action. The shooting of the workers by the republican bourgeoisie in Paris in the June days of 1848 finally revealed that the proletariat alone was socialist by nature. The liberal bourgeoisie dreaded the independence of this class a hundred times more than it did any kind of reaction. The craven liberals grovelled before reaction. The peasantry were content with the abolition of the survivals of feudalism

and joined the supporters of order, wavering but occasionally between workers' democracy and bourgeois liberalism. All doctrines of non-class socialism and non-class politics proved to be sheer nonsense.

The Paris Commune (1871) completed this development of bourgeois changes; the republic, i.e., the form of political organization in which class relations appear in their most unconcealed form, owed its consolidation solely to the heroism of the proletariat.

In all the other European countries, a more tangled and less complete development led to the same result — a bourgeois society that had taken definite shape. Toward the end of the first period (1848-71), a period of storms and revolutions, pre-Marxian socialism was dead. Independent proletarian parties came into being: the First International (1864-72) and the German Social-Democratic Party.

II

The second period (1872-1904) was distinguished from the first by its "peaceful" character, by the absence of revolutions. The West had finished with bourgeois revolutions. The East had not yet risen to them.

The West entered a phase of "peaceful" preparations for the changes to come. Socialist parties, basically proletarian, were formed everywhere, and learned to use bourgeois parliamentarism and to found their own daily press, their educational institutions, their trade unions and their cooperative societies. Marx's doctrine gained a complete victory and began to spread. The selection and mustering of the forces of the proletariat and its preparation for the coming battles made slow but steady progress.

The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist opportunism. They interpreted the period of preparing the forces for great battles as renunciation of these battles. Improvement of the conditions of the slaves to fight against wage slavery they took to mean the sale by the slaves of their right to liberty for a few pence. They cravenly preached "social peace" (i.e., peace with the slave-owners), renunciation of the class struggle, etc. They had very many adherents among socialist members of parliament, various officials of the working-class movement, and the "sympathizing" intelligentsia.

III

However, the opportunists had scarcely con-

gratulated themselves on "social peace" and on the non-necessity of storms under "democracy" when a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. The Russian revolution was followed by revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China. It is in this era of storms and their "repercussions" in Europe that we are now living. No matter what the fate of the great Chinese republic, against which various "civilized" hyenas are now whetting their teeth, no power on earth can restore the old serfdom in Asia or wipe out the heroic democracy of the masses in the Asiatic and semi-Asiatic countries.

Certain people who were inattentive to the conditions for preparing and developing the mass struggle were driven to despair and to anarchism by the lengthy delays in the decisive struggle against capitalism in Europe. We can now see how short-sighted and faint-hearted this anarchist despair is.

The fact that Asia, with its population of 800 million, has been drawn into the struggle for these same European ideals should inspire us with optimism and not despair.

The Asiatic revolutions have again shown us the spinelessness and baseness of liberalism, the exceptional importance of the independence of the democratic masses, and the pronounced demarcation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of all kinds. After the experience both of Europe and Asia, anyone who speaks of non-class politics and non-class socialism, ought simply to be put in a cage and exhibited alongside the Australian kangaroo or something like that.

After Asia, Europe has also begun to stir, although not in the Asiatic way. The "peaceful" period of 1872-1904 has passed, never to return. The high cost of living and the tyranny of the trusts are leading to an unprecedented sharpening of the economic struggle, which has set into movement even the British workers who have been most corrupted by liberalism. We see a political crisis brewing even in the most "diehard," bourgeois-Junker country, Germany. The frenzied arming and the policy of imperialism are turning modern Europe into a "social peace" which is more like a gunpowder barrel. Meanwhile the decay of all the bourgeois parties and the maturing of the proletariat are making steady progress.

Since the appearance of Marxism, each of the three great periods of world history has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the coming period of history.

The democratic substance of party control

Arvid Pelshe

CPSU CC Political Bureau member,
Chairman of the Party Control Committee
Under the CPSU CC

There is evidently no need to start from the rudiments of social science so as to look into the substance of democracy, its class character and its genuine and spurious values. The question is a fairly clear one. It has been resolved, both in theory and practice, in the building of the new social system. And if ideological debates and passions continue to run high over this problem, the only conclusion to be drawn is that democracy continues to be not only the banner of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and all the other working people for their social emancipation and national liberation, but also a pretext for diverse speculations on the part of the advocates of the old system, who would like to perpetuate the evils of injustice, inequality and oppression, the power of the exploiters, the power of capital.

It is more important, we feel, to concentrate attention on the meaningful aspects of democratic practice itself, the functioning of democratic institutions, the observance of the principles and norms on which democracy rests. With that end in view, we shall try to share the experience gained by the CPSU in organizing and exercising broad democratic control, the key feature of the democratic structure of the socialist society and the indispensable condition under which democracy is most fully expressed and developed.

I

The Soviet Union has the honor of being the first in history to translate into life the ideas of socialist democracy and to fill the high concept of democracy with genuine content. Democracy became reality in the Soviet Union and then in the other socialist countries. The CPSU, being at the origins of this process, anticipated it. It itself emerged, grew strong and developed as a profoundly democratic organization in which all affairs "are conducted, either directly, or through representatives, by all members of the party, all of whom without exception have equal rights," as Lenin, its founder and leader, said.¹

What was the purpose for which our party

was set up? Whose interests did it express and continues to express? What is now the source of its strength and invincibility? A closer look here will help to understand the truly democratic structure of the CPSU, and to dispel the diverse artificial charges, the mean insinuations about its allegedly "bureaucratic" and just short of "militarized" hierarchic internal organization, and so on.

Our revolutionary proletarian party was based on the sound foundation of the Marxist-Leninist theory and of ideological and organizational unity. It was formed from the representatives of the proletariat itself, from among its most conscious fighters. The monolithic nature of its ranks, the blend of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action did not, of course, arise of themselves. They were forged in hard and frequently highly dramatic struggle.

Party members of the old generation still remember the clannishness and amateurishness, the sectarianism and the isolationism of the individual groups, the Menshevik anarchism and the Bund's federalism. There were vacillations and splits. It took Lenin's genius and the efforts of his associates to find and introduce into life, on the principles of democratic centralism, an optimal blend of broad democracy, independence and initiative of local organizations, with their subordination to the party centers, of the minority to the majority, with the decision of higher bodies binding on the lower ones, etc.

The adoption of democratic centralism as the fundamental principle of the party's structure and activity raised both democracy and centralism to a qualitatively new stage. Their dialectical unity invariably yields remarkable results. Democratic centralism ensures the party's high capacity for action, multiplies its forces and potentialities and maintains the necessary atmosphere of organization, discipline and order. "The development of inner party democracy," Leonid Brezhnev emphasized, "simultaneously presupposes the utmost strengthening of discipline within the party. Both these

aspects are indissolubly connected. Complete democracy, freedom of opinion in discussing any questions, and iron discipline once a decision has been taken by the will of the majority — such is the indisputable law of the party."²

Nor is that an order imposed by someone, as our ideological foes have been trying to suggest by means of distorting mirrors, but the law-governed result of the party's own development, of its own efforts, of a profound understanding of the fact that the communist party cannot be equal to its historical mission without observance of a single set of programmatic and statutory requirements, without a communist discipline that is the same and scrupulously binding for all the communists.

The falsifiers of history in vain seek to prove that the banning of factions and groupings within the CPSU simultaneously means a narrowing down of democracy and criticism, as authors of yearbooks on international communist affairs claim. The absurdity of such assertions is obvious. With us, criticism is not only a communist's right, but also his duty, a duty directly imposed on him by the rules. Criticism and self-criticism are the most important democratic norm of party, state and social life. Its observance is guaranteed both by the CPSU rules and the constitution of the USSR.

Nothing is more ridiculous than to present the life of the Leninist party as being programmed "from above," and the communists as people mechanically voting for various allegedly imposed decisions. For us, the problem of majority and minority has not lost its classical meaning, although the revisionists seek to assert the opposite. Vibrant discussion of meaningful problems in life proceeds in an atmosphere of open exposition of different opinions and views, in debates and discussions, but these culminate in a democratic procedure, in a vote with these mandatory questions: "Who is 'For'?, Who is 'Against'?, Who has 'Abstained'?" Of course, the decision adopted is that for which a majority has voted.

Collectively taken decisions, expressing the collective will, the concentrated experience of the communists and the working masses become a law and are strictly binding on everyone, including those who find themselves in the minority. We frequently have cases in which decisions on matters relating to the main lines of party, state and economic work are adopted by an absolute majority or even unanimously. It is this unanimity that seems to infuriate our foes. They would very much like to see disputes and squabbles rage within the CPSU, producing rifts in the monolithic unity of our party ranks. But they will never see this

happen, because our communists have no differences of opinion on the basic, fundamental questions of revolutionary theory and constructive practice. Time itself and the successful solution of fundamental problems of socialist construction bear out the correctness of the choice of way and its complete conformity with the objective laws of social development.

Democracy in the formulation and implementation of party decisions is backed up by control of execution, which blends with the organization of the matter in hand. That is, of course, only one aspect of control, but it is an exceptionally important one, for it helps systematically and purposefully to ensure "a correspondence between word and deed that lends itself to verification,"³ so enhancing the party's capacity to act.

The level of inner party democracy is determined by the concrete conditions. At the initial stages, our party, being a relatively small one and having to operate deep in the underground, could not afford any broad democracy and did not work out any special forms of control. But even then, the utmost possible was done to have the principles of electivity and accountability of the leading organs observed, and publicity, criticism and self-criticism developed. When the party became the ruling party, and its ranks increased, and when the problems of creative construction came to the fore, with a manifest tendency toward these problems becoming ever more complex and an extension of the scale of party activity, the question arose of control, its concrete forms and methods that would make it possible to combine, in the spirit of the party's democratic traditions, trust and exactingness and firm and conscious discipline.

Lenin gave an elaboration of various aspects of theory and practice in revolutionary transformations and the principles of party and state construction, and drew the conclusion that socialism was impossible without massive, comprehensive, systematic, public and effective control, and that control would be an objective necessity until the higher phase of communism arrived.⁴ One of the first decrees of the Soviet power was the "Statute on Workers' Control." Soon worker and peasant inspectorates (WPI) were set up everywhere, at the center and in the localities. They worked in close contact with the Central Control Commission of the Party (CCC) and with the corresponding commissions of the local party organizations which were set up somewhat later, in the early 1920s. The unification of these control organs — party, and socio-state control — increased their

weight and authority. Working together, perseveringly and purposefully, and relying on broad masses of working people, communists and non-party people, the CCC-WPI organs made a fitting contribution to the laying of the foundations of socialism in our country.

With the passage of time, the structural forms and methods of control underwent various changes in view of the concrete historical conditions, but what remained immutable were the principles of control, which had been scientifically grounded by Lenin and which were enriched in the process of the party's theoretical and practical activity, and their ideological, political and moral continuity as the real organs of the "party and proletarian conscience,"⁵ and their organic connection with the solution of the ever more complicated and responsible tasks arising in economic and cultural construction.

II

In Soviet society, there is now a coherent system of socialist control based on solid principles which involve massiveness, universality, system, publicity, objectivity, effectiveness, trust, exactingness and a sensitive and attentive attitude to people, principles which have been tested over decades of practice. It includes party control exercised by the whole party, its organizations and their elective governing bodies, and also by the communists themselves in accordance with the requirements of the program and rules of the CPSU; state control exercised by genuinely representative organs of state power — the Soviets of People's Deputies — and also by the organs of administration, and by departmental and inter-departmental control organs; organized people's control; control by trade union, Young Communist League, cooperative and other mass social and voluntary organizations of working people; control by Soviet citizens who in accordance with the USSR constitution, have the right to take part in the administration of state and social affairs, in people's control, in the work of state organs, in the discussion and adoption of laws and decisions of state-wide and local importance. Enjoying freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR, Soviet citizens have the right to address to state organs and social organizations proposals for improving their activity, to criticize shortcomings, and to file complaints in court against the actions of persons in office, and state and public agencies.

We find, therefore, that the social basis of control under socialism is provided by the working people themselves, for to them be-

longs both the state power and the whole of the social property. They alone have the right to take part in the administration of state and social affairs. They alone have the right to dispose of the social, material and spiritual wealth.

Massive and comprehensive control has become an inalienable component part of Soviet political democracy. Almost 10 million men and women are involved in the organs of people's control, and of them two-thirds are workers and collective farmers. The party orients every type of control toward enhancing its effectiveness, and urges the people's controllers to act more vigorously and purposefully. It was said at the 26th congress of the CPSU: "The trade unions and work collectives should tighten their control of decision-making concerning all questions of work and life of people and take a larger part in planning and managing production, selecting and placing personnel, and effectively utilizing the funds at the disposal of enterprises and organizations."⁶

A visual demonstration of the diversity of the instruments by means of which the Soviet working people exert an influence and can, in accordance with the requirements of the day, exert a more active influence on social processes, economic development, and the education of people, was provided by the 17th congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR. Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the congress gave a profound analysis of the key problems in the activity of the Soviet trade unions at the present stage, the substance of the party leadership of the trade union movement, and the importance of concerted and clear-cut action by the party, state, economic and trade union bodies.

It was said at the congress that even under mature socialism, the task of the trade unions' defense of the interests and rights of the working people has not become less meaningful. One will realize that in our conditions they do not defend the working person against the state or the employer, as they do in the capitalist countries, but against breaches of Soviet law by individuals and agencies. The Soviet trade unions have the duty to take an irreconcilable attitude to any departures from juridical statutes and labor legislation, and to create, through the whole of their activity, an atmosphere that would rule out the very possibility of any breaches of the working people's rights.

Here we come to the very substance of socialist control, of its orientation, purposes and criteria. Under socialism, control consists in safeguarding the social interests, the interests of the people. In every form, it acquires a political character, because it serves, in any measure, directly or indirectly, to promote implementa-

tion of the party's line, to consolidate the economic and socio-political foundations of the new society, and its steady development and perfection.

Control is geared to the uncompromising defense and assertion of the correct, democratic functioning of our political and economic system, to the protection and multiplication of socialist property, and to the ensuring of the citizens' socio-political rights, freedoms and duties. Party, people's and other types of socialist control constantly have in view the various problems in realizing the party's economic and social policy, and improving the economic mechanism and style and methods of work in every unit of management and organization. Consistently exercised control helps harmoniously to blend the social and individual interests of citizens, and to promote their understanding that labor alone is the source of the growth of the social wealth and of the well-being of the people and of every Soviet individual, for the results of labor determine a person's status in the socialist society. That is precisely why in the conditions of developed socialism, far from being relaxed, control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption is intensified. The problem of labor, of its quality, quantity, and remuneration according to productivity, is simultaneously both an economic and a socio-political problem. Closely bound up with it are the notions people have about morality and justice, about the socialist way of life and the shaping of the communist world view. Control helps to encourage industrious and honest men and women, and simultaneously to plug up for good the channels through which unearned incomes can be derived, to cut short parasitism, bribe-taking, speculation and encroachments on the property of the whole people.

When analyzing the socio-political content of control and its profoundly democratic character under socialism, it is well worth while to point out that it is altogether wrong to connect control only with the negative aspects of life, so that its field of action is narrowed down to the detection and elimination of mistakes and shortcomings. Scientifically organized and balanced control activity helps to appreciate realistically our potentialities and objectively developing processes, to sum up and make utmost use of advanced experience, and boldly to blaze the trail toward all the new and progressive that springs from the collective creativity of the masses.

The importance of control along with the main lines of economic and socio-political life tends to grow to an unprecedented degree in

the mature socialist society. The party starts from the assumption that the higher the stage of its development, the more complex is the dialectics of the vital processes and man's spiritual world. But the CPSU, a party of revolutionary optimism, shuns the optimism of self-complacency. It sees the difficulties and complexities of the constructive process and its contradictory trends. Summing up the results of the work done and giving due to the successes and gains achieved, our party, at its 26th congress, and at the November 1981 and May and November 1982 plenary meetings of the CPSU CC, spoke with Leninist straight-forwardness and frankness about the shortcomings, the "bottlenecks" and disproportions in the development of the economy, and the outstanding problems.

The building of socialism is a process that has nothing in common with movement along a smooth and well-paved road. The number of pits and obstacles along this road has turned out to be greater than could have been anticipated a few decades ago. The building of the new society proceeds in a complicated international situation. But the party and the people look confidently to the future. They have at their disposal many reliable means for overcoming the difficulties and contradictions. The communist party's strength and invincibility lie in its sound and extensive ties with the working class and all the other working people and in its constant critical self-verification.

Nor has our party betrayed the self-critical approach in assessing the state of control itself. While stating some improvement in control, the 26th congress of the CPSU recognized that the level of control and verification of performance still fell short of the increased present-day requirements, and mapped out ways for its further improvement and development of its democratic principles. A full-scale program of concrete measures is contained in the CPSU CC's resolution "On Further Improving Control and Verification of Performance in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU." Together with a number of other party documents, it considers the questions of control and verification of performance in the general context of the consistent and overall assertion of Lenin's style of work.

III

The party's governing and guiding role determines the special status of party control. Permeating every sphere of inner-party life, it also extends to every aspect of state, economic and social activity. Consequently, party control has a two-fold task to fulfil: first, it operates as a

reliable regulator of inner-party relations and stands on guard of the principles and norms of party life and undeviating observance by the communists of the CPSU program and rules and of party decisions, and second, it promotes the normal functioning of the state and economic mechanism, injecting into economic and socio-political activity the necessary impulses of purposefulness, consistency and workmanship.

While fulfilling both these tasks, party control is not isolated from other types of control and does not hamper the independence and initiatives of state and social organizations in the exercise of their functions. On the contrary, it does everything to promote the latter, setting models of truly democratic organization of verification of performance and vibrant activity.

Of exceptional importance is the role of party control in ensuring discipline, which is the same and is equally binding for all the communists. As the democracy of inner-party life is deepened, attempts to apply a "dual" legality and efforts to make the observance of the rules of party life dependent on past services and posts, to divide CPSU members into the "elect" on whom discipline is not binding, and those who must submit to it, appear unnatural. Such attempts would be in crying contradiction both with the CPSU rules and the party's tasks of educating the new man and perfecting the new social relations.

By means of control and, of course, criticism, the criteria of equal party exactingness are asserted, objective and scrupulously principled assessments of negative facts and phenomena are ensured, and their vehicles given the inescapable lessons. Our party resolutely combats the slightest expressions of the haughty and neglectful attitude on anyone's part to the fulfillment of party duties, the claims to special status, benefits and privileges by politically immature persons in office, and the urge to take a high-handed view of the demands made on every party member. Whenever the usual measures of comradely influence do not help in such cases, the persons who refuse to submit to discipline are expelled from the party.

This rule applies among us: the greater the rights allowed to a person, the greater the degree of his responsibility. The person in office is responsible not only for himself, but also for those whom he directs, and on him falls the full measure of the political and moral responsibility for breaches of party and state discipline in the collective. If he does not set an example and does not make due demands on himself and on

others, he cannot be a real organizer of the masses.

We find condemnation among us of the practice when some party committees, unwilling, as they think, "to discredit a leader's authority," consider his case bypassing the primary party organization and sometimes even failing to inform it of their decision, or when they do not display due exactingness and confine themselves to half-measures with respect to a communist who has made a bad blunder. Our point of departure is that such liberalism, such a "ranking" approach to the consideration of personal dossiers does not help to strengthen discipline and, moreover, harms the correct education of cadre.

Of course, one must also display concern for the authority of the worker concerned, and see to it that in no case should his human dignity be slighted, but is it right under this pretext to prefer darkness to light, to shun public discussion of the "painful spots" in a communist's behavior, of his vices and virtues, especially when it is necessary for everyone to join in helping a comrade? The discussion of a breach in a narrow circle, "in camera," does much harm both to the offender and to the organization in which he works. Here, "fear of the light" is simply harmful. It is akin to refusal to lend a helping hand to someone who is in trouble.

How then is party control organized? What is its internal structure? There is not the slightest exaggeration in saying that control in the CPSU is exercised by the whole party: all its primary organizations, and elective governing bodies. All of this springs from Lenin's idea that every party member is responsible for the party, and the party is responsible for each of its members. He wrote: "The party itself is obliged to see to it that its rules are observed by its functionaries ... He who cannot demand successfully of his agents the discharge of their party duties toward those who entrusted them is unworthy of the name of party member."⁷

CPSU congresses have the decisive influence on the organization and exercise of party control, as also, incidentally, of every other type of socialist control. The higher party forums, which are held on a broad democratic basis, in an atmosphere of self-critically assessed results of earlier activity and accumulated experience, take decisions on the most important questions of policy, strategy and tactics, and organizational and ideological work.

The guiding activity of all the elective party bodies is closely bound up with control. An example of the genuinely Leninist approach to the matter is set by the CPSU Central Com-

mittee, its Political Bureau and Secretariat. In the recent period, there has probably not been a single plenary meeting of the CPSU CC at which various aspects of the state of control and verification of performance were not dealt with in depth.

It is established practice at the Central Committee to hear reports from leaders of various ranks who are personally responsible for definite lines of work. That is also the orientation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, the ministries and departments, and the party and Soviet government organs of the Republics, territories and regions. The Party Control Committee under the CPSU CC and party commissions of the local party organs have invigorated their struggle against breaches of party and state discipline.

In accordance with the CPSU rules, verification of performance in the regional, territorial and central committees of the communist parties of the Union Republics is exercised by the secretariats of these party committees, thereby ensuring a blend of verification of performance and organization of the whole of party committees' work in the selection, placement and correct education of cadre and direction of economic and cultural construction.

The practice of reporting along two lines — of lower-standing party organizations and committees to high-standing ones, and vice versa — which is now broadly established practice, has justified itself. It is also hard to exaggerate the importance of such democratic forms of control as progress and other reports by the heads of ministries and other departments, enterprises and institutions, and rank-and-file communists in their collectives, at party, worker and collective-farm meetings and electoral meetings. At such meetings, those present are usually involved in a direct, frank and frequently highly critical conversation. It is true that some leading functionaries seek to avoid any discussion of meaningful problems in social life, to blunt the sharp issues and to gloss over the shortcomings and difficulties which exist in real life. Such an approach and an inclination to make a show, harm the common cause and the activity of the masses. Critical and exacting statements by rank-and-file working people and communists and their control from below give the leaders a keener sense and a deeper understanding of their own responsibilities and help some of them to get rid, in due time, of ills like swagger, conceit, immodesty, callousness and formalism.

Of course, contact is maintained not only at

meetings. The working day of many party committee secretaries and of Soviet government and economic executives starts with a study of the state of affairs in their production sectors, construction sites, shops, dining rooms, market places, hospitals, children's institutions, etc. Proposals and remarks received in the form of letters are carefully scrutinized, and decisions taken on the deadlines for putting through the measures needed and ways of informing those who have made these proposals and remarks concerning the results.

We are quite clear about whether mass democratic control is compatible with control on the part of persons in office, leading functionaries. To put it more explicitly: far from being incompatible, the two types of control are inconceivable without each other. Here is what Lenin said on this score: "The masses must have the right to choose responsible leaders for themselves. They must have the right to replace them, the right to know and check each smallest step of their activity. They must have the right to put forward any worker without exception for administrative functions. But this does not at all mean that the process of collective labor can remain without definite leadership, without precisely establishing the responsibility of the person in charge, without the strictest order created by the single will of that person."⁸

Lenin was a resolute advocate of collegial forms of work, while perseveringly putting through the idea of one-person management, and strict personal responsibility of every one for the business assigned to him. Incidentally, control is also required to prevent collegiality from being distorted, and to prevent collegial institutions from being converted into places of endless fatuous discussion, red-tape mongering and irresponsibility.

Consequently, control from below is supplemented with control from above, on the part of the leaders themselves, who have the duty of constantly studying the people around them, selecting skilled workers, and training those who will take over from them. In democratic conditions, leadership does not amount to an administrative monologue. It is a dialogue, a workmanlike dialogue concerning the truly important problems which arise in the work process.

IV

The organization of control and verification of performance in the primary organizations, which constitute the backbone of the party, needs to be considered specifically. Let us point first of all to the fact that the 24th congress of the

CPSU (1971) completed the process begun by the 18th congress of the party (1939) of investing these organizations with the right to control management activity. The 26th congress emphasized the need to invigorate further the activity of primary organizations and drew attention to the need for their fuller and better use of the right of control vested in them.

Our party now has 420,000 primary organizations with 18 million communists. Without exception, these organizations are empowered to set up standing and ad hoc commissions with control functions. The resolution of the CPSU CC "On the Commissions of Primary Organizations in Exercising Control over the Activity of Management and the Work of the Apparatus" and the statute of these, provide that through these commissions primary party organizations exercise systematic control of the fulfillment of the Communist Party and Soviet government decisions and the plans for economic and social development. The activity of these commissions is designed to induce fulfillment of the tasks facing the work collectives. They have the duty to notice and support in due time all the novel and progressive elements, to deal with the placement and education of cadre, the improvement of the people's working and living conditions, to see to the scrupulous observance of state, planning and technological discipline, and to enhance everyone's responsibility for the fulfillment of their assignments. Whenever necessary, the party committees and bureaus put up the matters raised by the commissions for discussion by meetings of communists and also of industrial and office workers and collective farmers.

When considering the nature of the activity of the commissions in the primary organizations, we should like to emphasize these two circumstances. First, their very establishment is nothing but a further natural development of the collegial and democratic principles in the activity of primary organizations, and a concrete form of the ever broader involvement of all the communists in organizational and educational work. Second, they provide the necessary element which cements the whole system of party control that is based on the principles of collegiality, ranging from the commissions of the party committees of large party organizations and district party committees to the Party Control Committee under the CPSU CC.

Responsible functions connected with verification of observance by members and candidate members of the CPSU rules, of party and state discipline and also of party morality, and with the exercise of control over the correct and

objective scrutiny of the personal cases of individual communists are vested in the party commissions of local party organs and the Party Control Committee under the CPSU CC. Party commissions are formed by party committees and carry on the whole of their work under the guidance of these committees for the purpose of enhancing the responsibility of communists and leading cadre for the unconditional fulfillment of party decisions and for implementing the party's policy.

From top to bottom, party control is the fullest expression of the political approach to the solution of the problems which arise in every sphere of economic and socio-political activity. This approach requires in-depth and objective verification, a principled stand in assessing any discovered shortcomings, perfection of style and methods of work, precise definition and enhancement of personal responsibility of the communists and of all other persons in office for the fulfillment of their party, production, official and social duties.

Experience testifies that verification is most effective when party control activists regard an organization or institution not just as inspectors, but above all as aides capable of making an in-depth analysis of the state of affairs, of correcting them, of clarifying obscure matters, of providing advice and consultation. No commission, however experienced and knowledgeable its controllers and specialists, is capable of successfully coping on its own with the tasks before it. That is why those who do the verifying involve in their work activists from among the members of the given collective, study the opinion of the largest possible number of communists, and lend an ear to their remarks and wishes. Now and again, control verification develops into a real sociological study, because of the considerable number of those involved and deeming it necessary to express their views.

Control is, understandably, impossible without a study of the documents of party and state statistics, reports, proposals and critical remarks, letters from the working people, and press reports. But however important official documents may be, they are no substitute for the opinion of people concerning the facts and phenomena being verified, especially when it comes to the behavior and moral make-up of a functionary. Lenin wrote: "In appraising persons, in the negative attitude to those who have 'attached' themselves to us for selfish motives, to those who have become 'puffed-up' commissars and 'bureaucrats,' the suggestions of the non-party proletarian masses ... are extremely valuable. The working masses have a

fine intuition, which enables them to distinguish honest and devoted communists from those who arouse the disgust of people . . ."⁹

The party insists on boldly and openly dealing with the substance and causes of shortcomings and omissions, on calling a spade a spade, and designating by name those who have made mistakes and blunders, without, however, transcending the bounds of respect for human dignity, without allowing any humiliation or unjustified harshness or lack of tact. The greater the tranquility in which the facts and arguments are analyzed, the greater the conviction of the conclusions drawn from what has occurred, the greater are the guarantees that matters will be set right and — most importantly — that the necessary influence will be exerted on the one who has erred. The shaping of steadfast civic and party qualities in a person, including education in the light of his own mistakes, is one of the main tasks of control, which is democratic in substance and spirit. Each one of us, looking back on the past, considering his own experience in education and self-education, will honestly say that the features which have now become second nature to us, the standard of behavior, have not been inculcated by any extraordinary measures, but by painstaking and profound ideological and moral influence.

There is also a truly democratic order in the summing up of the results of verification on socially important matters and in the adoption and implementation of measures relating to the given party organization or work collective. It is not, of course, the decisions or the measures themselves that will "work," but the collective will of the communists, their desire, their skill and the additional experience which they have gained in the course of the verification.

Consequently, control helps to develop in the communists a sense of personal and collective responsibility, a spirit of comradeship and mutual assistance, and a readiness to act, and it also helps to assert the comprehension that in the party there are no "little" people, that in it everyone is a worker, so that the smallest possible job is just as important as the tiniest part of a sophisticated mechanism. If it is removed, if it stops working, the whole assembly will start to pink or grind to a halt.

The consistently political approach is the vibrant spirit of party control. Thanks to it, the communists concentrate their main attention on achieving actual results, on extending practical assistance in the solution of the immediate economic and social tasks, on enhancing the responsibility of cadre and on tightening up organization and discipline.

In conclusion, we should like once again to emphasize that the democratic nature of party control is determined by the profoundly democratic nature of the party's inner life. The constant perfection of its style, the forms and methods of its activity is simultaneously a process of qualitative improvement of control and verification of performance. A close look at this process will show that it is a further and fuller unfolding of the democratic and humanistic principles, norms and traditions that are connected with Lenin's name and that have been firmly established in the life and multifaceted activity of our Communist Party.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 434.
2. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1970, p. 347 (in Russian).
3. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 574.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 470, 473-474.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, p. 221.
6. L.I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, Moscow, 1981, pp. 118-119.
7. V.I. Lenin *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 224.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 212.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 40.

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Portugal on the eve of change

Alvaro Cunhal
General Secretary, Portuguese CP

Portugal once again lives in expectation of change, eight and a half years after the April 25, 1974 revolution, having followed a path of highly contradictory political development.

It is impossible for important qualitative changes not to take place in the present situation. In the short or medium term, a radical shift is evidently inevitable in one of these two mutually exclusive directions: either the democratic regime is strengthened, or its basic features and gains are wiped out.

The Portuguese Communist Party, the working people and their class organizations, and broad democratic, political and social strata are now carrying on a struggle to effect the shift toward a consolidation of the democratic regime. The solution of this problem calls for a number of measures, above all the resignation of the reactionary government now in power, and the formation of a government which has respect for democratic legality.

Democratic changes in the Portuguese revolution

One of the most characteristic aspects of the Portuguese revolution is that the proud democratic transformations of 1974-1975 were not determined by the decisions of the political power, but by the revolutionary action of the working class and the popular masses, with some support from the government and the armed forces.

The anti-fascist revolution of 1974-1975 not only liquidated the fascist dictatorship, re-established democratic freedoms and gave all citizens broad social and political rights, but also brought about a radical change in the structure of the Portuguese economy. It destroyed the political and economic power of the monopoly groups allied with imperialism and of the latifundists. Nationalization spread to the basic sectors of the economy: banks, insurance companies, power industry, ferrous metallurgy, oil refining and petrochemistry, ship-building, the cement, cellulose, glass, tobacco and beer-brewing industries, mineral fertilizers, and also railway, marine, air and road transport.

Considering the participation by nationalized enterprises in the capital of other companies, nationalization has indirectly af-

ected hundreds of other enterprises. At the same time, the state took control of factories and plants abandoned by their fascist owners during the revolution and supported the control of production activity which the working people there established. The result was the formation of roughly 1,000 cooperatives and self-management enterprises.

In that period, the working people took over the lands of most latifundias and expropriated 1,140,000 hectares of land (12 per cent of the national territory). On these tracts of land the rural working people acted vigorously and creatively to set up more than 500 cooperatives and collective production units (UCP), which commenced boldly to transform and develop agriculture.

Consequently, the socio-economic structures were radically transformed. Portuguese democracy, having eliminated state-monopoly capitalism, set itself the goal of building a socialist society (and this was written into the 1976 constitution).

A turn to the right occurred after the events of November 25, 1975.¹ As the result of a complex process, political and social struggles, and internal contradictions within the armed forces, the so-called military left suffered a defeat. The revolutionary units and the Armed Forces Movement, which had organized the uprising of April 25, 1974, and which had important positions in the organs of power, were disbanded.

Despite the fact that the great gains of the revolution were entrenched in the constitution of the republic framed by the Constituent Assembly and adopted in 1976, reaction had already mounted a counter-offensive by the end of 1975.

Since then, the succession of governments in power — Socialist Party (PS), coalition Socialist Party and extreme right Social Democratic Center (CDS), cabinets without any clear party stamp, and since January 1980, the governments of the reactionary parties, PSD² and CDS, have carried on a sustained and ever fiercer attack on the revolutionary gains. They all had one and the same main purpose: to re-establish the monopolies, the latifundia and

state-monopoly capitalism, which the revolution had liquidated.

Counter-revolutionary offensive and popular resistance

In the six years of this sustained offensive, the counter-revolution has managed to inflict heavy blows on the Portuguese people's democratic gains. On the basis of an alliance concluded by the PS and the reactionary parties (in some cases overt, in others denied by the PS), laws were enacted against the nationalization, the agrarian reform, and the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Much of what the working people had gained in wages, social benefits, public health and culture was destroyed. Virtually all the indirectly nationalized enterprises (in whose capital the state had a share) and also the bulk of those which had operated on the basis of self-management were returned to their former big capitalist owners. In order to pave the way for the transfer to private capital of the nationalized enterprises, the successive governments in power have conducted with respect to them a policy of economic and financial sabotage. Avowed agents of the former monopolies were appointed to these enterprises, which had to market their products at ruinous prices; they were denied credits and not allowed to expand; their contracts were cancelled, and all of this pushed them into a situation of financial collapse.

In the agrarian reform zone, the same governments carried on a real war against the cooperatives and the UCPs. Making use of powerful repressive forces and grossly trampling on the constitution and democratic legality in order to re-establish the latifundia, the authorities have taken away from the working people over the period of six years more than one-half of the expropriated land, tens of thousands of head of cattle, thousands of farming machines, land improvement structures, and much of the produce.

But despite this six-year offensive and the heavy blows inflicted on the democratic transformations and the Portuguese people's gains, the counter-revolution has not managed entirely to carry out its plans.

During 1982, in the course of powerful and lengthy mass action the working class, the other working people in the agrarian reform zone and the peasants put up heroic resistance to the reactionary onslaught. Thanks to this struggle, not a single nationalized enterprise was returned to private capital, and the nationalized sector continues to include the basic industries of the Portuguese economy.

Thanks to this struggle, nearly 400 UCPs and cooperatives with more than 500,000 hectares of land continue to operate in the agrarian reform zone. They are beating back reaction and have carried on the production process organized according to plan. Thanks to this struggle, the working people, the masses of people have succeeded in safeguarding a large part of the rights and freedoms won in the course of the revolution.

The fact that much has been safeguarded in the face of the offensive by reaction, which makes use of the government and the Assembly of the Republic, is an indication that the working class and the popular masses are capable not only of transforming social structures in the process of revolution, but also of safeguarding their gains through struggle, relying on their unity, organization, determination and faith in their own strength and in the future.

Revolutionary mass action and the political power

The ninth congress of the Portuguese CP in May and June 1979 gave much attention to the problem of the interconnection between revolutionary mass action and the political power.

On the one hand, it was emphasized at the congress, the deep-going democratic transformations in the course of the Portuguese revolution and the popular resistance to the reactionary offensive testify to the tremendous revolutionary vigor and capability of the organized and active popular masses to transform society. On the other hand, the obvious mistakes of the revolutionary forces in the sphere of political power enabled the reactionaries in the organs of power to reorganize themselves, gradually to restore their key positions in the government and the state apparatus and to go over to a counter-offensive.

It was justly said at the congress that this situation could continue for a long time, but not indefinitely. Unless the democratic forces succeed in bringing about a democratic turn in the activity of the organs of power, the latter will destroy the gains of the revolution and the democratic regime with them.

In the three years since the congress, the situation has not changed: the authorities' counter-revolutionary offensive is confronted with firm popular resistance in defense of every inch of democratic gains and of the regime itself.

But we are nearing a point at which it will be impossible to maintain the status quo. Reaction, represented by the CDS and the PDS in the government, having a majority in the Assembly of the Republic, and making use of the

collaborationism of the PS under the leadership of its General Secretary Mario Soares, has been purposefully implementing a plan to liquidate the democratic regime, and to stage a real coup d'état.

The hour of important changes is at hand.

Either the democratic forces succeed in expelling the reactionary parties from power, in putting an end to their offensive, and in forming a government that would respect legality and the democratic gains entrenched in the constitution, and also seek to solve the grave national problems within the framework of the regime set up by the revolution, or reaction will put through its plan of re-establishing the political and economic power of the monopolies.

The evolution of the political situation over the next few months will determine which line gains the upper hand.

The Portuguese CP, and the working class and popular movement with it, continue to believe that a defeat will be inflicted on reaction which is in the government and which, for the time being, has a majority in the Assembly of the Republic, and that the Portuguese people and the country's democratic institutions will ultimately ensure Portugal's democratic emergence from the deep political, social and economic crisis.

Reaction's conspiratorial plans

Since the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship on April 25, 1974, the reactionary forces have been stubbornly seeking to prevent any further democratization of national life. Throughout this whole period, they have engaged in subversive activity and have repeatedly tried to stage a coup.

In July 1974, under the leadership of the then President of the Republic and Chairman of the National Salvation Council, General Spínola, who was in league with the prime minister and a number of other ministers (among them Sá Carneiro, the PSD leader who later died in an air crash), an attempt was made to wipe out the MFA and to oust progressive leaders from the government.

On September 28, 1974, another counter-revolutionary act — also under Spínola's leadership — was made, when the so-called "silent majority" staged its unsuccessful "March on Lisbon."³

March 11, 1975, saw the failure of an attempted military putsch, once again led by Spínola, who had by then been ousted from the presidential post.

All these three attempted coups were frustrated by the joint struggle of the popular masses and the MFA.

Reaction then set itself as the main goal the establishment of control of the armed forces command. United with "moderate" elements in the MFA (notably the members of the "group of nine"⁴) against the military left and with the PS against the Portuguese CP and the working-class movement, the fascists and other reactionaries wanted to channel the military events of 1975 in such a way as to destroy the democratic regime. But they were not strong enough to do so.

After this, making use of extensive discontent in the country with the PS-led governments' incompetent policies and relying on its newly gained positions in the state apparatus, reaction entered into a governmental alliance with the PS (the PS/CDS cabinet in 1977) and soon removed the socialists from power in order to create all the conditions for an electoral victory.

The main line of the CDS and PSD activity in 1980 was to win full power in the elections so as to liquidate democracy.

On October 5, 1980, the right-wing parties, having once again won a majority of the seats in the Assembly of the Republic, formed a government of the PSD and the CDS, which had joined together in the Democratic Alliance (AD).⁵ But the conspiratorial plan was not fully realized: the fascist General Soares Carneiro suffered a defeat in the presidential election, when General R. Eanes was again elected President of the Republic by an overwhelming majority, for which a part of the credit goes to the PCP, for it had urged the people to vote for Eanes and to defeat the fascist candidate.

Let us note that Eanes was nominated by the PS and its General Secretary Mario Soares. But at the eleventh hour, Soares withdrew support for Eanes and came out against him, despite the fact that his party continued to maintain its initial stand.

Having suffered a defeat in the presidential elections of December 7, 1980, the reactionary forces (AD) were forced temporarily to retreat so as to draw up a new plan for subversive action. Making use of their majority in the Assembly of the Republic, they have made the review of the constitution the main tool of their new plan to wipe out democracy.

Review of the constitution in the counter-revolutionary process

The draft project for a review of the constitution framed by the reactionary forces (AD) before the 1980 presidential elections amounted to its actual complete remaking in breach of the very constitutional principles on which the fundamental law has to be amended. The draft pro-

vided for the deletion from the constitution of all the democratic gains in the economic sphere, a sharp curb on rights and freedoms, and a new system of governmental organs designed to give the reactionary forces full power.

But having suffered a defeat in the presidential elections, the reaction (AD) became incapable of pressing through its initial project for a constitutional review. It has now concentrated its efforts on changing the competence of the organs of power so as to establish control of the armed forces, to re-establish a fascist or fascist-type military hierarchy and to take command of the general staffs and military units with the prospect of using them to suppress any popular resistance.

Having set this as its main goal, the AD sought to effect the following changes: to eliminate the Council of the Revolution, and to transfer its powers and those of the President of the Republic in the military sphere to the government, above all to the minister of defense (a post now held by the leader of the extreme right-wing CDS party).

Meanwhile, the AD did not have the two-thirds majority in the Assembly of the Republic which is required to amend the constitution. It obtained the required majority only because of PS support. During the voting, most of the PS deputies declared their disagreement with the review of the fundamental law and pointed to the dangers this posed to our democracy. Still, the socialist deputies voted unanimously for a review on the plea that "voting discipline" had to be maintained.

Apart from the above-mentioned important changes in the structure of the organs of power, the Constitutional Review Act set up a new institution — the Constitutional Tribunal — to be elected by the Assembly of the Republic. One will easily realize that, with the AD's majority in the parliament, the bloc of right-wing parties will also be in a majority on the Constitutional Tribunal. Its activity will consist in declaring all the unconstitutional, illegal and undemocratic decrees which the AD is to bulldoze through the parliament as being in conformity with the constitution.

This has produced the following situation. The Constitutional Review Act has been adopted and promulgated by the President of the Republic. Laws on national defense, the organization of the armed forces, and the Constitutional Tribunal have also been passed. New laws relating to the nationalization, agrarian reform and the rights and freedoms of citizens are in the process of preparation.

Unless this process is halted, Portuguese

democracy could be destroyed within a relatively short period of time.

In order to end the AD government's destructive policy and to thwart its subversive plans, the PCP, supported by a broad mass movement, has proposed these four measures: the government's resignation, the dissolution of parliament, the formation of a transitional government, and the holding of parliamentary elections ahead of schedule within the constitutionally prescribed period of 90 days.

These measures should have been put through before the constitution was amended. But if they are effected without delay (and the President of the Republic is still able to do this in accordance with his constitutional prerogatives), a coup by the AD could still be pre-empted.

If the government does resign, the chiefs of the general staffs and the high command would obviously not be appointed by the AD, which would not control the armed forces either.

If parliamentary elections are held in complete accord with the democratic norms, the AD's inevitable defeat will not enable it to use the majority which it has in the Assembly of the Republic.

Consequently, the struggle is now going for the earliest possible realization of these four measures. The future of Portuguese democracy largely depends on whether they will or will not be taken in due time.

The forces of democracy

The PCP insists that Portuguese democracy has enough strength to defeat reaction, safeguard and ensure the further development of the regime established by the revolution, to form a democratic government and to solve the most acute political, social and economic problems facing the country.

There are many facts to indicate that the government's social and political basis has shrunk and continues to shrink. Fresh and ever more acute conflicts are in evidence within the AD bloc itself. Within the PS there is growing discontent with and opposition to the policy of alliance with the AD.

By contrast, the working-class and democratic movement has a high level of organization. The mass action against the government's policy is sustained and is marked by a broad sweep, involving more and more new strata and groups. There are regular strikes, demonstrations and mass rallies in the course of which the rural working people back up the agrarian reform, while the industrial proletariat and the employees come out in defense of the nationalization and their conditions of life.

Everywhere, even in the areas where reaction tends to have a majority in elections (Center and North), the mass peasant struggle is gaining momentum. A movement by the traders whose interests are being hurt by the AD government's policies is developing.

This mass struggle is marked by a high level of unity, determination and confidence in success. It is also noteworthy that the government is powerless to weaken or undermine the militancy of the masses.

This situation is also reflected in the trade union and peasant movement, and in the general state of the mass organizations.

The trade union movement is one of the pillars of Portuguese democracy. The General Confederation of Portuguese Working People — National Intersyndical (CGTP-IN) has some 1.7 million members of the 2 million unionized working people. The General Union of Working People (UGT), which has been organized and is supported jointly by the reactionary forces (PSD and CDS) and the PS, and which receives governmental assistance, controls trade unions with only 200,000 members. But even in these a struggle by the working people is under way for withdrawal from the UGT. In the recent period, more than 40 unions have left that body.

In their efforts to prevent the escape of unions from their control, the reactionary and socialist leaders of the UGT have been trying hard to end the practice of the norms of trade union democracy. Thus, three years ago a general assembly of the Employees Union in Porto elected a leadership that was in opposition to the UGT, but because of action by the government and the repressive forces that leadership has not yet been able to get down to performing its duties. Here is another example. At recent elections in the Bank Officials Union in Porto the victory also went to a unitary list, but the reactionaries are trying hard to prevent the new leadership from exercising its functions.

The UGT is acting as a tool of the government and of big capital and has been involved, together with the repressive forces, in the grossest provocations aimed against broad strata of the working people.

By contrast, the CGTP-IN has taken a firm stand for the working people's interests, the revolutionary gains and the democratic regime; it has insisted on the resignation of the AD government and enjoys real support from the overwhelming majority of the people. In 1982, it staged two general strikes, each of which involved nearly 1.5 million people, to back up its main demand for the government's resignation.

In the recent period, important changes have taken place in the peasant movement. Compared with the 1974-1975 period, there has been a marked decline in the influence and support enjoyed by the Confederation of Portuguese Landowners (CAP), whose leadership is controlled by the reactionary parties. At the same time, unitary peasant organizations have been developing apace. In their day-to-day struggle for the peasantry's interests, they have been winning ever greater support in the masses. An indication of these changes was the establishment of a National Confederation of Farmers (CNA), which is recognized by more than 400 peasant organizations.

It would be no exaggeration to say that on the whole the mass organizations of the laboring classes are a part of the camp of the democratic forces and a most important element of its organization, action and unity.

In this popular struggle, the PCP has the determining role to play.

Both the reactionary parties and the PS leadership are engaged in a frenetic anti-communist campaign in their efforts to isolate the PCP and to expel it from political life. But their efforts are counter-productive. The PCP has continued steadily to strengthen its ranks (in 1980, it had more than 187,000 members). The communists' influence among the masses and their role in the country's political and social life have been growing.

The objective reality is that in the existing conditions not a single major national problem in Portugal can be solved without the active role of the PCP and the working people. More and more Portuguese are coming to realize the need for the Communist Party's participation in a democratic alternative to the present government.

The immediate prospects

The immediate prospect is a sharpening of the social and political struggle.

A marked worsening of the people's living conditions and the grave state of the national economy — the result of the policy of re-establishing big capital and undermining the nationalization and agrarian reform — are a source of deep discontent, indignation and protest.

In 1982, with inflation running at 25 per cent, the government tried to limit the growth of wages to 17 per cent. The number of lay-offs has been growing, and the army of unemployed has topped the half-million mark. The balance-of-trade deficit has risen to \$4 billion, the external debt to \$13 billion, and interest payments to

foreign banks to \$1 billion. The government is trying to intensify various forms of exploitation. Small-holders, traders and small industrialists are faced with the prospect of ruin and bankruptcy.

The struggle for immediate economic goals is bound to intensify and to assume new forms, with one of the demands being the resignation of the AD government, because it has become obvious to millions of Portuguese that their problems will not be resolved and will be merely compounded so long as the AD runs the country and has a majority in the parliament.

In view of the danger posed to our democracy by the amendment of the constitution and the government's new powers in the military sphere, one could say that the struggle for the government's resignation has become a national demand.

In this situation, the municipal elections of December 12, 1982, have acquired special importance both from the standpoint of the local organs of power and in the light of the overall national political situation. The main struggle is waged between three forces: AD, PS (its electoral rolls also include representatives of the UESD) and APU (an electoral alliance of the PCP, MDP⁶ and independents).

Earlier on, the PCP invited the PS to hold a meeting to consider the positions of the two parties in the municipal elections. An agreement between these two parties would help to deprive reaction of its majority in dozens of municipal chambers, including those in the major cities (and Lisbon as well). But the PS refused to have such a meeting with the PCP. Moreover, the PS concluded agreements with the AD on jointly withdrawing candidates in order to deprive the APU and the PCP of a majority in a number of cities.

The APU has taken a clear stand in the elections. It wants the democratization of local power and a solution of the problems facing the population, setting itself the task of increasing the majority it has in 50 municipalities and winning an absolute majority in a number of municipalities where it now has a relative majority, so as to consolidate the APU's positions everywhere.

The APU's overall political goals are to reduce electoral support for the AD and to increase the number of votes cast for the APU. The results of the elections could be crucial in the struggle for the government's resignation, the dissolution of the Assembly of the Republic and the holding of early elections to the parliament.

This article was written a month before the elections. The PCP and its allies in the APU

have got down to intensive work in order to fulfil the tasks before them.

If they succeed in doing so, the elections to the local organs of power will be an important step in averting the danger of a reactionary coup and in creating the conditions for a democratic way out of the existing situation. If they do not, the struggle will proceed in ever more difficult conditions, while the AD will have additional opportunities for stepping up its counter-revolutionary offensive.

But however that may be, the Portuguese people continue their struggle, aware of the dangers, but also conscious of their own strength.

In line with its own traditions, the PCP will spare no effort to fulfil the tasks before it.

1. When scattered action by some military units under the influence of ultra-leftists was used by reaction to hit out at the groups in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) which fought for the deepening of the revolutionary process. — Ed.

2. Social Democratic Party. — Ed.

3. This was designed to dissolve the MFA, to exclude the representatives of the left parties from the government and to concentrate all power in Spínola's hands. — Ed.

4. A trend which took shape within the MFA in the summer of 1975. It sharply criticized the practical activity of the military left headed by V. Gonçalves and advocated a "middle road" for Portugal's development. — Ed.

5. It also included the Popular Monarchist Party (PPM). — Ed.

6. UESD — Left Alliance for Socialist Democracy; APU — Popular Unity Alliance; MDP — Portuguese Democratic Movement. — Ed.

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A. Ledovsky

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The New Year motto: for peace and life, against nuclear war

Humankind is entering the new year of 1983. What will it be like? A year of constructive cooperation to strengthen peace, or a year of destruction of the foundation of détente by the imperialist forces, which are pushing the world community toward a nuclear catastrophe? The answer to this key question depends on us, the people of all races and nations on earth. Only together, through joint efforts can the people stay the hands of the madmen, who are prepared to plunge humankind into a holocaust in order to preserve their privileges and domination.

The communists have remained selflessly devoted to the ideas of peace through thick and thin. They are going to fight for these lofty aims with all who are against imperialism and war, and for life on earth, freedom and social progress. *WMR* continues this unchanging line with the following contributions from prominent leaders of the anti-war movement.

TOWARD THE WORLD ASSEMBLY IN PRAGUE

Bedrich Svestka
Academician of the
Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences,
Chairman of the
Czechoslovak Peace Committee

In Czechoslovakia, as in all the countries of the socialist community, the peace movement is integrally bound up with the construction of the new society, and with the solution of the vital problems of socialist development. "Build the motherland, strengthen peace!" — this appeal made by Klement Gottwald in his day is especially powerful today. In order to build the new society further, which we are now creating, it is necessary to avert war and remove the threat. Such is the goal and meaning of all the efforts of the peace supporters in socialist Czechoslovakia.

At the same time it must be stressed that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz) and the CSSR government pursue that same aim in formulating and implementing their home and foreign policy. Since peace is an ideal of socialism, here, as in the other socialist countries, there are no contradictions between

the aspirations of the peace fighters and the goals of the new social system. This fact means that the Czechoslovak peace movement can rely on the tremendous international authority and influence of the entire socialist community, and increases our forces many times over.

In saying this I do not at all wish to disparage the forces and possibilities of the anti-war movement in the non-socialist countries; on the contrary, I would like to emphasize that the struggle for peace is of an unprecedentedly mass scale there with the present escalation of international tension. The fight for peace has gone beyond Europe, has spread rapidly in the United States and Canada, and now encompasses all the continents. The anti-war movement is a reflection of the broad masses' discontent with the policy of escalating tension pursued by the imperialist circles in the West, and with the social system which retards the solution of the fundamental problems facing humankind. The people in the capitalist world are feeling the reality of the war threat ever more sharply, and its impact on their whole lifestyle. The arms race is swiftly draining national resources, and it is the masses who have to pay for it. Everyone is worried about the future and many, especially the young, are losing their perspective and know not what the future holds. It is this phenomenon, which I would call "social insecurity," which generates the large peace movement. At the same time the great diversity of the participants in today's anti-war struggle sets new tasks as well, the main one being, in my view, to work out a broad joint action platform, around which different parties and social organizations, people with varying world outlooks, beliefs and positions in society could cooperate in the name of peace. It is equally important to get reliable bearings and to make the participants in the anti-war struggle clear on who is their ally in the struggle and who is their implacable opponent.

This is a complex question. In recent times virtually all politicians have come out for the prevention of war. However, one should be able to distinguish between leaders who are for peace in words but prepare for war in deeds,

and those whose words and deeds coincide. For example, if you read Reagan's speeches you will find words about peace with which one could apparently agree, but in actual fact these words mask the decision to produce the neutron bomb, the plans for a nuclear war in Europe, and the additional hundreds of billions of dollars for different types of mass destruction weapons.

I should point out that we in Czechoslovakia have a certain immunity to high-flown talk. Hitler in his time also spoke to the Czechs and Slovaks about peace, and when Chamberlain arrived in London he brandished the Munich Agreement and declared that he had saved peace for Europe. But in reality our country was thrown under the fascists' heels and the world war soon broke out. One does not forget things like that. But I would not say that all the numerous groups and trends in the anti-war movement today have such an immunity. Many still have to learn that it is particularly necessary in the struggle against the nuclear threat to be able to see the connection between words and deeds.

In the summer of 1983 Prague will receive the participants in the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War. In February 1983 there will be a meeting of the Assembly's International Preparatory Committee in Geneva. What do we, the host country, expect from this international forum? First of all, we hope to see many different organizations here, since the Assembly will be open to all who value life and sincerely wish to protect it. Prague is ready to welcome everyone who makes a contribution to the fight for a peaceful future. We would like to hold discussions on the strengthening of peace with a wide spectrum of anti-war forces as, for example, the American "Physicians in the Fight for Social Responsibility," the "Krefeld Appeal" movement in the FRG, and environmental movements in some West European countries. And if all are agreed that peace needs to be preserved and that war will wipe out humankind it will also be possible to agree on how to avert the threat and work out a common action program. This is our goal.

We do not want to confine the World Assembly within the walls of the building where it will meet, however large that building may be. We are going to seek to give the peace supporters coming to Prague from all continents the chance to visit plants and agricultural co-operatives, to speak to working people in town and country, and see for themselves that the idea of peace is truly a part of our people's lives.

Above all we expect that the World As-

sembly will further the strengthening of the anti-war ranks, favor the choice of correct and attainable orientations and goals, and help to entrench in social consciousness the idea that it is necessary to actively fight against war.

FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE'S BENEFIT

Ibrahim Zakaria

General Secretary of the
World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)

There are now almost 4.5 billion inhabitants on our planet, and this number is expected to double in the next 40 years. But despite the scale of the resultant problems and contrary to the prophecies of the pessimists, there is no cause for alarm. The soil, the depths, and the oceans of the globe contain colossal reserves of the mineral resources necessary to develop economic activity. There are numerous energy sources — the sun, the oceans, uranium ore, coal, oil and other minerals, whose use is made possible by science.

But our planet's main wealth is its people, the working people whose creative ability, intelligence, culture and knowledge, handed down from generation to generation since the beginning of time, have enabled science and technology to make rapid progress, giving humankind tremendous resources and possibilities at the end of this century. These resources can be used to build a future in which humankind will be ensured freedom, democracy, social progress and peace.

Our planet does indeed have everything for the happiness of people, to provide everyone with a good life. And at the same time it is the working people who are the direct victims of the militarism and military adventures, and it is largely on their shoulders that the burden of the arms spending rests. That is why there is perhaps no country in the world where the working class and its trade unions have not made vigorous efforts to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

Thus the trade union movement is today closely interlinked with the anti-war movement, since it is a struggle not only to preserve life on earth but also to improve it. The ranks of the peace movement have been broadening every year. Today, it is not only the WFTU which participates in the working people's anti-war struggle, as was the case, say, six years ago; the movement now includes virtually all the international trade union centers. And this is a large force, for there were 340 million people in the trade union movement in the world at the beginning of the current decade.

One can use the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as an illustration of this.

Up until quite recently it considered anti-war action to be purely political, but now organizations in it successfully combine the struggle for disarmament with the traditional trade union activity. In the past many trade union leaders in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America considered the working people's anti-war action as of secondary importance, something for the European countries and the United States, but now they see it differently and have been actively joining in.

Joint efforts bring success in the struggle for peace. Five years ago the ninth world congress of trade unions in Prague adopted an appeal to all working people and trade union centers to make the 80s a decade of the consolidation of unity in the struggle for peace. Following the congress the WFTU held some important international meetings and took action with trade union centers of different orientations to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the trade union movement in the face of the threat of a new war and of an offensive by capital against labor. Aware of its responsibility before millions of working people, the WFTU not very long ago adopted a special appeal to all the regional and international trade union centers, making concrete proposals on possible coordinated action in the struggle against the threat of war. Such action was taken for example in response to the NATO decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The WFTU has always linked the working people's struggle against the war danger with the fight for the right to work. The two concepts — peace and work — are inseparably welded together and stand side by side. Disarmament makes it possible to appropriate colossal sums to peaceful spheres of the economy, and increase jobs in those branches whose products serve to develop the home and foreign market. And, in contrast to this, the arms race increases rather than lightens the working people's burden, arouses insecurity concerning the future, and causes tremendous unemployment. There are now almost 30 million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries alone.

The tenth world congress of trade unions (Havana, 1982) focused on trade union participation in the struggle for peace. An indication of just how representative that congress was is the fact that while the WFTU now unites 96 national trade union organizations, the congress was attended by the representatives of 338 trade union centers. It adopted an appeal to the working people and trade unions of all countries to fight for democratic development, peace and the security of the peoples.

We welcome the forthcoming broad international forum in Prague, the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War. The WFTU will do everything to ensure that the trade union organizations of different countries and the leaders of both regional and international trade union centers are represented at the Assembly. We hope that this important meeting will result in still further activization of the worldwide struggle against war and for disarmament.

We are optimists, and we struggle in the belief that the planet will be saved from the nuclear danger. The trade union movement has been strengthening with each passing day. The working people champion their own vital rights and interests when they defend peace.

THE SCIENTISTS' DUTY

Professor Georg Fuchs
President of the International
Peace Institute, Vienna

Every person must be concerned about the developments on earth. At the beginning of the 80s, the U.S. administration headed for a sharp aggravation of the international situation. The Reagan administration's refusal to ratify the strategic arms limitation agreement, known as SALT-2 and signed here in Vienna, was a turn for the worse. Reagan declared that the USA was going to begin production of the neutron bomb. The stipulation he made that the weapon will at first be deployed in the United States means nothing since it is perfectly clear that it is meant for use in Europe and not in the USA. Washington's militarist course led to the NATO decisions to build up arms and deploy U.S. medium-range missiles in some West European countries.

But, on the other hand, we also see a huge upsurge of the peace movement. The people have seen what threatens them and how real is this threat. In many countries there have been powerful mass demonstrations, the likes of which I have never seen though I have been participating in peace movements — Austrian and international — for many decades. For example, 70,000 people, most of them youth, took part in a demonstration for peace and nuclear disarmament on May 15, 1982, in Vienna. That is a very large number for a small state like Austria.

The peace movement in different countries and various areas of life is marked today by a richness of forms, and scientists can also play a big role in this struggle. At present the greatest threat to humankind's further existence is nuclear weapons, and we, scientists, must tell the

truth about what it does. As a doctor of physics, a trained medical doctor and a specialist in the field of radiology and radiation therapy who has done a lot of study on the effect of nuclear arms on people, I find it strange to read the statements by some U.S. administration officials that one will be able to survive a future nuclear war. There is no longer any doubt that in Hiroshima more people were killed than the hundreds of thousands who perished in the first weeks after the blast.

As the radiologists predicted, the consequences of the intense radioactive radiation are still being felt in our day, almost three decades after the explosion of the first atomic bombs. Numerous cases of leukemia were first registered among the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; then, about 15 years later, an increase in the incidence of malignant tumors — cancer of the thyroid and salivary glands, breast cancer in women, and lung cancer — was noted, a situation which continues to this day. This must not be passed over in silence!

Scientists are not prophets but we can state firmly that if a nuclear war breaks out humankind will perish. More than 200,000 people died in the first few weeks after the explosion of just one atomic bomb in Hiroshima, a bomb which specialists now consider obsolete and small. Now there are bombs with a thousand times more explosive power, and there are thousands of them in the world. The press has pointed out more than once that there is the equivalent of 10 tons of TNT in nuclear blasting charges for every inhabitant on earth. This is more than enough to kill everybody. This capacity to kill each and every one of us several times over is called "overkill-capacity," and we scientists must constantly explain that if a nuclear war breaks out it will be impossible to stop it. If just one single neutron weapon unit is activated, units which, as is known, destroy only living things, escalation of the use of nuclear force will begin and will continue until humankind liquidates itself. That is why I believe that *the peace movement must win in order to preserve life on earth.*

In speaking of the responsibility of scientists I would like to touch briefly on the objectives of our institute's work. It began to study the problems of peace in 1969. There are now a total of about 100 such institutions, but our institute differs from the rest in two ways. Firstly, it is international, and has its specific features since scientists from both socialist and capitalist states work here. We think that Vienna is a suitable location as the capital of neutral Austria. Another distinguishing feature is that our specialists are not separated from the peace

movement. The institutes in the West largely hold theoretical discussions on the problems of peace, but those who participate in them have virtually no ties with the anti-war struggle. It is different with us: we maintain contacts with the peace committees in the socialist and capitalist countries, with the World Peace Council, and also with UNESCO, with which we hold scientific symposiums, for example the 1982 symposium on educating man in a spirit of peace.

Although these symposiums are held in a relatively narrow circle of scientists, with the participation of about 30 experts, their results are available to broad strata of the public. We publish a magazine, *Science and Peace*, in German; it also comes out in English as *Peace and Sciences*.

We are looking forward with great interest to the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War. Taking part will be a delegation from our institute, which has for many years been sending its representatives to all the major forums of the movement of peace fighters. Our delegation to Prague will include scientists from capitalist and socialist states, who will participate in the discussions in order to show the real threat to life posed by a nuclear war.

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Local conflicts in imperialist strategy

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CC member, CP Cuba; WMR Editorial Council member

Vusizwe Seme

South African CP representative
on WMR Editorial Council

COMMENTARY

"Hot spots" is a term that has become a part of the political lexicon of the latter half of the 20th century. There have been many of them in the recent period. In the past year alone a large number of explosive situations simultaneously erupted in various regions of the globe. Two aggressive wars — Britain's in the South Atlantic, and Israel's in the Middle East; ceaseless U.S. provocations against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada in the Caribbean; South Africa's piratical raids into Angola and Mozambique; armed clashes in the Horn of Africa; acts of banditry along the borders of Kampuchea; punitive operations in El Salvador and Namibia; and finally, the protracted Iranian-Iraqi carnage, which is absurd for the peoples involved in it, and which is being used by the U.S. imperialists, and Israeli and Arab reaction for their own strategic interests. And that is far from a full list. Tension in various parts of the globe has risen to alarming levels.

What are the reasons for this danger-laden phenomenon? Where are the origins of the armed conflicts which are traditionally called "minor" but which have cost the lives of 10 million people in the period since the Second World War? Let us try to answer these questions and to find out what are these "hot spots" in the light of the facts and examples from the regions where our countries lie. While the Caribbean, the Middle East and the South of Africa are geographically far from each other, in all these three regions there is a high pitch of contradictions between the will of the peoples for national liberation and social emancipation and the urge of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, to rule their destinies.

Nowadays, "hot spots" are, as a rule, focal points at which there is a clash of the peoples' interests and the aggressive policy of imperialism. At these points, imperialism and reaction exert ceaseless political, diplomatic and

economic pressure and provoke armed conflicts in an effort not only to crush the forces of progress but also to create strongpoints for maintaining, bolstering and spreading their influence. That is, in effect, one of the most important elements of the *global strategy of social revanche, which is being pressed by an imperialism which has lost its historical initiative*. This is ultimately an attempt to regain the historical initiative from the forces of socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace.

Consequently these "hot spots" are in fact areas where the contradiction between socialism and the liberation movements, on the one hand, and imperialism, on the other, is manifested in its most acute form. But it would not be enough to regard the sharpening of international tension in one part of the globe or another merely as such a manifestation of the class struggle in the international arena. Such exacerbations also spring from the urge of imperialism to enslave the peoples and make them live in poverty, hunger and disease, which afflict masses of men and women. Experience shows that other causes also tend to lead to situations of conflict, including large-scale armed clashes. Among these causes could also be inter-imperialist contradictions, the legacy of territorial claims handed down from the colonial past, nationalistic or hegemonistic geopolitical conceptions, and attempts by imperialism to use puppet governments to suppress national liberation movements. At the same time, we find that, whatever the cause of the conflict, imperialism always tries to capitalize on it. This is exemplified by Somalia's unjustified territorial claims on Ethiopia, which have led to fighting between these states that is being used by Washington as a pretext to set up bases for its rapid deployment forces and to fuel the strife in the Horn of Africa.

One should moreover bring out the social contest within countries, in which imperialism

always sides with national reaction. Is that not the message, say, of the events in El Salvador, where only the material and military aid of U.S. imperialism has kept the anti-people criminal junta in power?

The creation and maintenance of seats of extreme tension are bound up with the economic, military, strategic and political aspects of the policy of imperialism. The maintenance of these in various parts of the globe has become just as much a part of the long-term plans being spun out by the Pentagon and NATO as the arms race, the cobbling together of new military blocs, and acts of direct aggression, as massive economic sanctions, overt intervention in the internal affairs of other states, and sustained psychological warfare. Imperialist strategists think that all these acts as a package make it possible to upset the balance of forces that has taken shape in the world arena, to tilt the existing military equilibrium in favor of imperialism, and to harm the Soviet Union, the whole socialist community and the cause of national liberation and social emancipation.

Historical experience shows that the hopes of the imperialist circles to change the global balance of forces in their favor have no perspective. The basic trends in the development of society are irreversible and the forces of reaction will not manage to reverse the tide of world history. First, there is no doubt that any stepped-up development of militaristic programs by the United States and its NATO partners will be invalidated by corresponding measures on the part of the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries. As a result, the equilibrium will be maintained at a new and higher level, even if this does harm international stability. Second, one must also take into account that the schemes of reaction are coming up against ever stronger and growing resistance by the world's progressive forces.

Although the U.S.-Israeli aggressors have attained some of their military and political goals in Lebanon, they have failed to attain the main one, which was to get the Palestinian problem off the Middle East crisis agenda, to put an end to the Palestinian national liberation movement and the struggle of the Palestine Liberation Organization,² and Lebanon's national patriotic forces, which will continue until the triumph of historical justice.

The conflict in the South Atlantic, where Great Britain, with U.S. support, has preserved its colonial positions, provided a powerful impetus to the movement for peace and against the moves by imperialism in Latin America. There is a growth of contradictions in the relations between U.S. imperialism and some cir-

cles of the Latin American bourgeoisie, including the bourgeoisie of Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Mexico. U.S. prestige in Latin America has further plummeted. Resistance to Washington's imperial policy is growing, a blow has been dealt at the Organization of American States, and there is once again talk of establishing a regional association without the participation of the United States.

Finally, in Central America, neither U.S. military, financial or political support for fascist regimes, nor the punitive operations carried on under supervision of Pentagon advisers have slackened the popular struggle. The fight against racism and colonialism in Namibia and South Africa is also proceeding with ever greater force.

In these conditions, imperialism and reaction are trying to compensate for the failure of their plans by escalating the brutality, unheard-of atrocities and terrorism. The mass massacre of civilians has become part and parcel of present-day "small" wars. This was driven home by Israel's fresh aggression, which is, in effect, a policy of genocide³ against the Palestinians and Lebanon's civilian population. During the Second World War, civilians made up 50 per cent of those who suffered from military operations, in the course of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam the figure had gone up to 70 per cent, and in Lebanon in 1982 — all the way to 90 per cent. The Palestine refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut bore witness to the barbarous crimes of the ruling circles of Israel. A statement by the CC Political Bureau, CP Israel, declared: "The massacre which ranks on a par with the criminal acts of the nazis during the Second World War was perpetrated on the orders of responsible Israeli persons,"⁴ with the tacit consent of the United States.

Israel's barbarous acts in Lebanon, South Africa's in Angola and Mozambique, the aggressors' repeated violations of the territorial integrity of other states and the methods used in the process have aroused profound public indignation throughout the world. India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has justly described them as contempt for the rules of international law.⁵ If an international tribunal like the one set up in Nuremberg after the Second World War to try the crimes of the nazis were in existence today, the shadows of many thousands of women and old people who died in the ruins of Beirut and of the children incinerated by U.S. phosphorous bombs would file past the judges, while Reagan and Weinberger would be in the dock alongside Begin and Sharon. The racist Botha and the Salvadoran killers would also be there!

A look at the map of the world shows that most of the "hot spots" are in areas rich in natural resources, lying at the intersections of the main transport routes, ensuring economic ties between states and continents or at strategically important points. And this is no coincidence, considering their role in the global strategy of imperialism. The United States wants to exercise complete control over developing countries with important raw materials. Imperialism has started small wars in the "hot spots," thereby threatening humankind with the prospect of a world war. All of this tends to multiply the dangers posed to life on the Earth by the knots of extreme tension on the political map of the world.

Such a threat is not a new one for history. In the 20th century two world wars were sparked off by outwardly minor events. The assassination at Sarajevo⁶ ignited the flames of the First World War, while the Gleiwitz incident⁷ gave fascist Germany the pretext for invading Poland, so starting a chain reaction which led to the Second World War.

Today, a worldwide conflagration could flare up from a provocation in any part of the globe: technology has shrunk space, while the mutual political, economic and military obligations of various states are most intimately interlaced. Another novel factor is that the development of military technology has led to a situation which Lenin anticipated in this lifetime, when he said that "not only would a war between advanced countries be an enormous crime, but it might be that, in fact, it inevitably would undermine the very foundations of human society."⁸

In order to ward off the threat of a devastating nuclear war there is a need for broad joint action by all those who truly cherish peace.

As for the "hot spots," one cannot hope for some kind of voluntary change in the aggressive nature of imperialism, which is now most explicit in the policy of the Reagan administration in the United States. In the light of the facts, one must recognize that there are realistic conditions in the world in which the threat posed by imperialism can be tangibly reduced, its choice of forms of struggle limited, and it itself made to retreat from the policy of aggression in settling international contradictions. Among such factors are above all world socialism, the international communist and working-class movement, and the national liberation forces. There are also the broad circles which want to preserve peace and security, and which include members of different classes, ideologies, political parties and trends. The non-aligned

movement is an important force in the struggle for peace.

Let us recall that vigorous interaction and cooperation between those who want a revolutionary renewal of the world, national liberation and a broad spectrum of opponents of strength-solutions helped the heroic Vietnamese people to inflict a total defeat on the imperialist aggressor. The acts of the socialist states and of those who in various countries stand for peace, including realistically minded bourgeois politicians who realize the total futility of attempts to change the existing situation in Europe by military means, made for the success of the Conference on European Security and the signing of its Final Act at Helsinki. This produced an international-law document setting forth agreed norms and principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and of a peaceful settlement of controversial issues at the conference table. But the reactionary forces are now trying to scrap this historic document and to sharpen international tension further. This is exemplified by the Reagan administration's plan to deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

In the present disturbing situation no task is more vital for all the opponents of war, regardless of national or racial origin, ideology or political views and preferences, than to help avert a nuclear holocaust.

Although the parties we represent work where tension has reached an extreme pitch and may at any moment lead to fresh armed conflicts we look to the future with hope. This does not, of course, imply any underestimation of the danger which springs from the aggressiveness of the class enemy. The communists' historical optimism springs from their Marxist-Leninist analysis of the actual situation and the trends in its development. The forces fighting for peace are capable of staying the hand of those who are toying with the nuclear danger.

We are profoundly convinced that the conflicts in the existing "hot spots" can be settled in a non-military way and the situations resolved only through consistent and united efforts of the peoples. Here it is natural, of course, that when internal class battles break out in this or that country and when a struggle for national liberation is under way, the exploited and oppressed or those under attack by an aggressor have the right to use every form of defense of their interests, including armed struggle (whenever they are compelled to resort to it by fascist and fascist-military regimes). We,

Marxists, regard revolutionary and national liberation wars as just wars.

But even here, we feel, the steps taken by the progressive forces involved in conflicts, which are aimed at their negotiated settlement, deserve the utmost attention and broad international support. In the present situation, we believe that it is highly important and timely that Nicaragua is prepared to negotiate with Honduras, which the United States is pushing into a fratricidal war, that the Salvadoran patriots are willing to sit down at the same table with representatives of the government to discuss a political solution of their country's problems, that the Argentinian people want the question of the status of the Falklands (Malvinas) settled within the UN framework, that the PLO has constantly expressed its desire to participate in an international conference on the Middle East and that the other Arab peoples want to see the crisis there justly settled by peaceful means, and that SWAPO has consented to the holding of direct, free and democratic elections in Namibia.

The USSR has been giving active support to efforts for a peaceful solution of controversial international problems. In reply to a message from Venezuela's political and public leaders, Leonid Brezhnev wrote: "We support the proposals and initiatives of all states seeking a political solution to controversial problems on a just basis at the negotiation table." This approach is also shared by the other countries of the socialist community. In its documents, the CP Cuba CC, for instance, has repeatedly pointed to the imperative need in the course of the past year for a persevering struggle for peace, and for a settlement in the globe's "hot spots." Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CP Cuba CC, says: "We are not in favor of wars. We are in favor of peace, in favor of solutions. We are well aware of what the consequences of a war would mean to the world and the danger of war really does exist. We are in favor of settlements, and we have repeatedly said this in relation to the various trouble spots. We are in favor of settlements for the war between Iraq and Iran, for the Middle East, for Central America, for Angola, for South Africa. Therefore, our attitude is not that of promoting conflict. However, no imperialist threat or aggression will make us step back as much as half an inch."⁹

The strategic line of socialism, clearly expressed in the Peace Program proclaimed by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU and elaborated by the 26th congress for the 1980s, is not aimed at military preparations, but at peaceful cooperation, at checking the arms race, and going on to disarmament, at

strengthening peace and security in all the regions of the globe through a deepening of mutual trust among states with different social systems. It is a line of peaceful intercourse among countries and peoples, of honest observance of the rules of international law, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. It accords with the most profound aspirations, interests and hopes of the revolutionary and progressive forces carrying on the struggle in our regions.

A political settlement in the "hot spots" is a component part of this global strategy of socialism. It is the way which life itself dictates. The objective conditions and the activation of the socio-political forces standing for peace give the hope that in the years ahead it will be possible to advance along this way.

The communists of our countries and our friends and fellow-communists in the other fraternal parties have to work in different conditions. But we have common goals and common concerns. The main one is to ensure the triumph of the cause of peace, justice and social progress. Today, in response to the attempts by imperialism to create "hot spots" all over the globe, to increase tension within them and ignite conflicts, the communists are working to unite all the anti-war forces so as to ring the globe with a network of bastions of peace.

1. *Whence the Threat to Peace*. Second Edition, Supplemented. Military Publishing House, Moscow 1982, p. 91.

2. Various periodicals around the world have noted how unrealistic it was for Israel's ruling circles and the Reagan administration even to entertain such a prospect in the first place. Thus, shortly after the bloodshed in September, *Monde diplomatique* wrote: "The PLO enjoys a prestige in the world arena that few other national liberation movements enjoyed even at the height of their struggle." The PLO has been recognized by 117 states, and in more than 100 states it has conventional diplomatic status, and observer status at the UN. At a meeting of the EEC Council of Foreign Ministers at the end of September 1982, even these countries came out in favor of the PLO's participation in talks on a Middle East settlement.

3. The December 9, 1948 Convention says that genocide means any act committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. (See *The Crime of Genocide. A United Nations Convention Aimed at Preventing Destruction of Groups and at Punishing Those Responsible*. Art. 11. Published by United Nations Office of Public Information. OP1/489-73-00880-35M.)

4. *Al-Ittihad*, September 23, 1982.

5. *Patriot*, September 23, 1982.

6. The assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Ferdinand, in the Bosnian townlet of Sarajevo on June 28, 1914.

7. The nazi provocation on the night of August 31, 1939, when SS men used a group of Polish-speaking criminals dressed in Polish uniforms to stage an attack on the radio station in the German town of Gleiwitz close to the Polish border.

8. V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 422.

9. *Granma*, Weekly Review, Havana, August 8, 1982, p. 4.



Party work: questions of effectiveness

Konrad Naumann
SUPG CC Political Bureau member,
First Secretary of the Berlin Regional Party Committee

The 10th congress of the SUPG in April 1981 has become a landmark in the formation of a developed socialist society in the GDR. The party's programmatic aim of achieving the unity of economic and social policy and the economic development strategy formulated by the congress for the 1980s have full support from the communists and the rest of the population of our Republic. The highest party forum set some difficult tasks to which the working people have responded with tangible economic achievements, higher labor productivity and quality of workmanship. Realization of the congress decisions is making new and higher demands on the work of the party organizations, which have to exert a "mobilizing influence on the people's thoughts and conscious acts for socialism."¹ That is how we view the problem of effectiveness of party activity today.

That is also the starting point in their work for the communists of Berlin, the capital of the first peaceful, socialist state on German soil. They have been making a considerable contribution to the implementation of the program for building a developed socialist society as mapped out by the congress, so helping to strengthen the positions of socialism in Europe and to promote the formation and assertion of the working people's socialist and national-state consciousness.

Lenin said that "capitals, or, in general, big commercial and industrial centers . . . to a considerable degree decide the political fate of a nation."² With Berlin specifically in mind, which Ernst Thaelmann described as the "chief center of the German revolution," one must also mention its specific role in the contemporary international class struggle, a role which is determined by the results of the Second World War and the geographical location of the capital of the GDR.

Berlin is an outpost of the socialist community in Europe. It has a 45-kilometer border with West Berlin. Here the struggle for peace and détente and against the imperialist line of confrontation directly involves the need to give resolute rebuffs to the nationalistic and revanchist attempts on the part of the authorities

of the FRG and of West Berlin to meddle in the GDR's internal affairs. It is in our capital above all that the GDR exercises its role as a solid and politically stable bastion of socialism, as the bulwark of peace in Europe and a reliable part of the socialist community.

Berlin is the country's major economic center, turning out 5.5 per cent of its industrial output, more than 10 per cent of its construction, and 16 per cent of its electronics and electro-technical products.³ It has some of the most important engineering plants. It is the center of scientific and academic institutions (with more than 30,000 scientists, engineers and technicians, a university, five other higher schools, 18 technical and secondary specialized schools). It is a city of art, with numerous theaters, museums, houses of culture and clubs.

Even a short description of the historically rooted, objective place of the GDR's capital in the development of the socialist society gives an idea of the main features and lines of activity of Berlin's party organization. It has concentrated its main efforts on further increasing the economic potential of socialism, making ever more active use of the advantages of the socialist relations of production as a basis for constantly improving the working people's living and working conditions.

Let me cite a few figures. In themselves, they cannot, of course, give a full picture of socialist construction but the message of figures is a convincing one. They are all the more interesting since, as Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG CC, Chairman of the GDR State Council, says, the work of the communists and other working people of the capital is a reflection of the successes and achievements of our whole state.⁴ These results also show how effectively the Berlin party organization has succeeded in mustering the people for tackling major tasks in socialist construction and in exercising political guidance of complicated social processes.

Since the foundation of the GDR, the industrial output of the capital has multiplied more than 10-fold. Compared with the first year

of the past five-year period (1976), central-subordination combines in Berlin have increased their production results by 30 per cent. The share of certified high-quality products has gone up from 17 per cent to 25 per cent, and export products by 40 per cent. The growth of the industrial potential is based above all on a purposeful modernization of equipment. Nearly one-third of all the machines have been installed over the past five years, and this has made it possible to increase labor productivity by 52 per cent over 1970.

Such achievements would have been impossible without the steady rise in the Berlin working people's skill standards. In 1981, 800 in every 1,000 employed persons had complete occupational training, 137, a higher education, and 158, a specialized secondary education. Most of the men and women under the age of 35 have graduated from a 10-year polytechnical school.

The Berlin working people's economic successes have made it possible to improve markedly their material and cultural conditions. Take the housing question, which we believe to be of great political importance. In the 1970s alone, more than 100,000 new flats were commissioned and over 46,000 modernized. Construction is effected on the basis of the complex approach: 155 schools, nursery schools and creches for 34,000 children, and old people's homes to accommodate 8,700 have been built, and 129 school gyms, 13 swimming pools, 85 marketing centers, 22 café clubs and 14 everyday services centers opened.

The Berlin working people's incomes have been going up steadily. They are now on average twice as high as they were in 1958, while the prices of the basic consumer goods have, on the whole, remained stable, rents and urban transport fares, and electricity, gas and water charges remain low. The average working class family spends 4-6 per cent of its budget on housing, while 20-25 per cent goes on food.

We attach much importance in the provision of everyday services to artisan enterprises, commission and private retail trade, private restaurants and cafés. Our society has a need of them, they are supported by the state, and in the GDR have a guaranteed future. The measures taken to promote artisan cooperation and private shops and enterprises have justified themselves. The capital now has 159 artisan co-operatives employing roughly 12,000 men and women (one-half of them are in building). Besides, there are another 4,500 private artisan enterprises. The capital has about 2,000 private shops, marketing foodstuffs and manufactured goods, chemicals and perfumery. Some 375

small private restaurants will seat 23,500 people. The labor of private butchers, bakers, hairdressers, tailors, shoemakers, watchmakers, opticians, masons and locksmiths helps to improve the provision of goods and services to the people. It was stressed at the 10th congress of the SUPG that their activity goes to benefit the socialist society.

Much has been done for the recreation, health improvement and medical treatment of the working people. Every year, they are provided with more than 20,000 places for treatment at sanatoriums free of charge (in addition to annual holidays). From 45 to 50 per cent of the accommodation goes to workers, and roughly 50-60 per cent to women. In 1981, more than 300,000 people spent their holidays in trade-union rest homes, while the GDR travel agency and the young tourist agency issued more than 84,000 vouchers for travel in the country and 127,500 for travel abroad. Every year, 160,000 children of Berliners spend their holidays in Young Pioneer camps and other places of rest. One Berlin inhabitant in five goes in for sport, and virtually all the children and teenagers take part in annual spartakiades.

Positive changes are also in evidence in the sphere of culture. Let me note, for instance, that from 1976 to 1980, the attendance at clubs, houses of culture, concert halls and museums has noticeably increased. In that same period, book sales went up by 79 per cent, and the sale of recordings (discs and tapes) by 77 per cent.

Never before has such marked economic, social and cultural progress been achieved, never before has so much been built in Berlin, never before have people worked so efficiently as they did in the early 1980s.

Still, we believe that these achievements, especially in the economic field, are inadequate because one has to reckon with the operation of some negative factors: the sharpening of the international situation because of the imperialist line of confrontation, the impact of the economic crisis of capitalism, and the movement of prices on the international raw material markets and marketing outlets.

The new conditions of reproduction and development of socialism in the GDR which are characteristic of the 1980s, have not radically altered our fundamental goals, but they do introduce correctives into our work in realizing our economic strategy, the formulation of many concrete tasks, some notions of proportions and pace, and also, quite naturally, the criteria of efficiency in assessing the results in the economic field, the crucial area of revolutionary action by the party as a whole and by every communist. Since the prices of fuel and raw

materials on the world market have gone up to a greater extent over the past several years than have the prices of manufactured goods by means of which the GDR, in virtue of its natural conditions, has to pay for its imports, there is now a need to display exceptional thrift with the available stock of fuel and raw material resources, labor-time and labor-power. There is a need to produce more consumer values with smaller material inputs and to enhance the economic efficiency of production, so as to make it possible to improve supplies to the population, to meet the national economy's growing requirements and to expand exports even in these difficult conditions.

That is why in directing the economic sphere, the Berlin party organization has devoted special attention to realizing the economic strategy mapped out by the 10th congress for the 1980s. Its essence is intensification of production, a dynamic boosting of the economy through scientific and technical progress and enhancement of the quality and efficiency of labor. Those are the prerequisites for the steady growth of living standards in the country. The solution of this major complex problem is our common cause, and it is making growing demands on our people's knowledge, and their skills and readiness to act.

Scientific data and practical experience show that the main way to that goal runs through scientific and technical progress. A special meeting of the party's regional activists in Berlin in May 1982 discussed ways to marshal all the resources at our disposal so as to attain the greatest scientific and technical results precisely in the capital and to bring the most important sectors of production up to the highest world standards. We have all the potentialities for doing so. What do I have in mind?

Twenty per cent of the GDR's research and development potential is concentrated in Berlin: almost 35,000 persons working in this sphere, a large number of strong scientific and technical collectives bringing together experienced scientists and technicians with creative young technicians, engineers and economists. Add to this another 120,000 Berlin innovators and rationalizers in production, and 300,000 skilled workers, and you have a large and capable labor army which can cope with the formidable scientific and technical tasks of the current decade.

We have arranged close cooperation with the Soviet Union's large-scale scientific and technical forces. This is the cornerstone for the stable development of our economy including growth of the production strength of Berlin's industry and science.

Great potentialities for using the achievements of modern science and technology are latent in the high skill standards of the working people.

The whole of our recent experience confirms that, like any other type of activity, scientific and technical activity must be assessed in accordance with concrete economic results. It is not the number of scientific papers, not gross or percentage indicators that determine labor efficiency, but factors like the real growth of its productivity, the recoupment of asset inputs, economies in raw and other materials, foreign exchange earnings from exports, release of manpower for other lines of production and improvement of the people's living and working conditions. It is the solution of these problems that we urge primary party organizations to tackle in the first place. After all, our grass roots units are the chief organizers of the effort to implement the SUPG's line.

The shaping of a developed socialist society is a process of profound change which is effected consciously, creatively and in accordance with the objective laws by the working class, the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and by all the other working people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. Accordingly, the capital's party cells are bending their efforts to organize creative work in every sphere of social life and to create conditions that would help to develop the working person's capacities to the utmost to enable every man and woman to display themselves more fully as a personality in the socialist society.

We regard this as a guarantee that new and more complex tasks will be fulfilled through the joint efforts of the communists, state bodies, friendly parties, trade unions, and social mass organizations through the concentration of forces on the main problems, well-considered use of the available potentialities and resources, and the broadest development of mass creative initiatives. Our motto "I am involved in planning, work and management" is not a mere goal, but to a considerable extent is already a part of living reality. This will be seen from the trade-union organized socialist emulation campaign, the movement of innovators and shock-workers in Berlin, and the ever broader actual participation by the working people in the democratic management of production.

Labor freed from exploitation produces a great many valuable initiatives whose purpose is to work ever more productively and efficiently. Most working people at the capital's enterprises and institutions are vying with each

other for the title of "Socialist Labor Collective" and are taking part in the movement known as "Work, Study and Live the Socialist Way." More than 50 per cent of Berlin's production and labor collectives have joined in the initiative which originated at one building combine: "Good Results Every Day." Over one-third of the workers in Berlin's industry are innovators and rationalizers of production. Behind all our successes, which are making a tangible contribution to the GDR's economic and social progress, and to the development of the socialist consciousnesses of the masses, is vigorous activity by the communists and their constant ties with the people.

In our mass work, we seek to use the rich experience of the best Berlin workers and strive to have their frame of mind and action become the socially accepted standard. The party's systematic support of the front-ranking workers' movement also helps to raise the role of the working class as society's chief political force.

The working people are ever more broadly involved not only in industrial management but also in government, in the democratic direction of the society. As everywhere else in the GDR, five parties and large mass organizations, which are members of the National Front, are working closely and in concert with each other in the capital. Council deputies are elected by the people and work for the people. (Let us note that 46 per cent of the deputies of the Berlin City Council and 56 per cent of the Regional Council are workers.) Over 4,000 citizens take part in the work of commissions and activist groups in people's representations, 22,000 sit as people's assessors in courts of law, on arbitration tribunals and conflict settlement commissions in residential areas, at enterprises and offices. Twelve thousand Berliners work on state and social control groups of the workers' and peasants' inspectorate. In addition, 8,000 men and women act as worker trade-union controllers and members of control posts of the Socialist Youth League.

All of this is socialist democracy in action and it shows that under socialism the working people cease to be an object of state policy and become its subject. Our social system does not require ignorance or blind fatalism on the part of the people, as imperialist domination does, but conscious social activity on the part of every citizen, profound knowledge and full awareness of purpose.

Of crucial importance for the steady strengthening of trust between the party and the people is the style of work of the people's representations, and of all the other state bodies. The party requires that the communists

who work on these take a considerate and responsible attitude to the citizens' concerns, remarks and proposals, and make uncompromising efforts to overcome the remaining formalism and callous bureaucratic practices. We must constantly adapt the content and style of state leadership to the new demands of life and to the citizens' growing requirements. We believe that it is necessary to expand the forms of the working people's involvement in the administration of the state and qualitatively to improve the activity of all the democratic consultative bodies.

The communists of Berlin have good reason to take pride in their achievements — they are evident. But even more remains to be done. As Lenin said on one occasion, "socialism is not a ready-made system that will be mankind's benefactor." It is constant struggle of the proletariat as it advances "from one objective today to another objective tomorrow *for the sake* of its basic objective, to which it is coming nearer every day."⁵ That is also the spirit in which we see the shaping of the developed socialist society, as a dialectical process which brings profound changes, achievements and also problems and contradictions, in which the new constantly emerges, while the old, the obsolete is eliminated.

As this process runs on, ever greater demands are made on the party, on the quality and effectiveness of its activity. How are we to enhance the results of our efforts?

We believe that the ways and means already at the disposal of party organizations do not so much need to be quantitatively increased as qualitatively perfected.

With the growth of the SUPG's role as organizer of socialist construction, the need to enhance the activity of each party member is ever more pressing. After all, party work involves people, and it is shaped by the efforts of every communist. A real communist is a political fighter who shuns passive contemplation of the scene. Say, plan targets are not being met at some combine and scientific and technical achievement are introduced too slowly. If such cases do not instantly evoke a response from party members, one cannot speak of any effectiveness of party work, because it means that an atmosphere of every party member's high responsibility for the common cause has yet to be created in that party organization. It was stressed at the 10th congress of the SUPG that the success of our efforts largely depends on "how the communists carry the party's word to the masses, how they show themselves in the vitally important sectors of the struggle, how well they know about the attitudes and opin-

ions of the people, and to what extent they support everything that helps us to advance."⁶

In this context, we would like greater returns from the system of training and retraining personnel. Theoretical, political and economic education must not serve to produce dogmatists but revolutionaries with an active stand in life, who are capable of sorting out the dialectics of events with sophistication and profound insight, consciously fighting for the interests of the working class, strengthening the relations of trust between the party and the people, and setting — in more than rhetoric — a personal example of dedication in work and concern for the common cause.

When discussing the problems of effectiveness of party work and the extent to which it accords with present-day demands, we also deal with the question of criteria in assessing its results. We believe that the main thing is to have effectiveness determined not in accordance with the number of measures, meetings, rallies and resolutions, not in accordance with the vent of energy, however great this may be, but in accordance with the progress that is achieved in the concrete sphere of activity of each organization. Of course, production indicators, meters, tons and liters used in assessing economic efficiency cannot simultaneously provide indicators of the effectiveness of party work. The party's extensive politico-ideological and organizational activity as a whole and of its individual units, function-

aries and rank-and-file members defies direct measurement. Nevertheless, it is quite visible, it is expressed in the political stand taken by people, their frame of mind, their consciousness and, above all, their deeds. For instance, growing production results help to some extent to judge, even if indirectly, about the effectiveness of the communists' effort.

Still, how is one to measure more precisely the quality of the work, the mobilizing influence of party organizations which was discussed at the party's 10th congress? What are the most reliable criteria of the effectiveness of their activity? These questions, we feel, deserve attention and serious study. After all, only correct criteria help most definitely to say how far we have advanced and what kind of real contribution to this advance has been made by this or that party organization.

We are going through a difficult and responsible period. Relying on the wide experience of the CPSU and other ruling fraternal parties, the communists of the GDR and the rest of the people are firmly resolved to translate into practice the line of the party as determined by the 10th congress. In these efforts, in internal and foreign policy, we, the communists of Berlin, constantly feel that we are at one with the working class and all the other working people of our capital. And we have been trying to do our utmost to work together with them in successfully conducting a policy of peace for the benefit of the people and for socialism, and in tackling the lofty tasks set by the party.

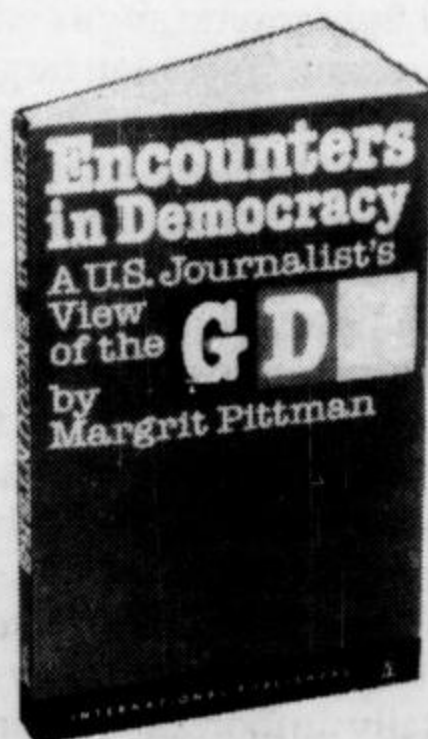
Encounters in Democracy **A U.S. Journalist's View of the GDR** Margrit Pittman

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Editorial Note: Comrade Naumann has raised some important questions in assessing the quality of the party's work and the criteria of its effectiveness. WMR intends to continue the discussions of these matters on its pages and invites leaders, cadre workers, activists and rank-and-file members of the fraternal parties to join in it. What is your measure in assessing the effectiveness of party work? What do you take as the indicator of success, of advance? How do you work to enhance the results of concrete measures effected by the party in the various fields of activity? WMR is prepared to publish both major studies and short letters from readers on these problems.

1. *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der SED*, Berlin, Bd. 1, S. 137.
2. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 258.
3. Here and elsewhere, 1981 data. — Ed.
4. See E. Honecker, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1977, Bd. 4, S. 309.
5. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 46.
6. *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der SED*, Bd. 1, S. 137.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

FOR A FITTING PLACE IN SOCIETY

Marianne Konze

Board member, German Communist Party

Q. The Communist Party has recently submitted for discussion the draft of a special program under the heading "For a Democratic Women's Policy — Principles and Demands of the GCP." What prompted the communists to start precisely at this time a public discussion of problems worrying women?

A. First, let me say that ever since the GCP was founded in 1968 all of its program documents stated our stand on how discrimination against women in the FRG could be diminished and abolished in accordance with the Fundamental Law. The special program enunciating the Communist Party's stand and demands was adopted on March 8, 1975, International Women's Year. Later, this program was enlarged. It has now been revised and updated in accordance with the obtaining situation and the present level reached by the women's movement. Allow me to point out the distinctive features of the movement's present stage.

New processes and phenomena have in recent years appeared in the social conduct of women throughout the capitalist world, including our country. By and large, women have grown more critical, exacting, and active. This is to be observed everywhere — at the place of work, at the place of residence, and in all public movements, including the peace movement. They have become more willing to join organizations. Never before have there been so many women in trade unions and political parties. Lastly, there now is a broad democratic women's movement in which are represented the most diverse views on the reasons for discrimination and on the aims of the struggle.

This increased activity by women and their higher level of organization are due to specific economic and socio-political reasons. In the FRG the constitutional principle of equality between men and women is in fact not applied in practice. The effects of capitalist crises are felt most acutely in all spheres of life by women, married and unmarried. Thus, depending on the economic situation women are employed in production to the needed extent, but in time of crisis they are the first to lose their jobs. There is

a shortage of childcare institutions, services, and so on. Impingement of women's interests and the humbling of their dignity are to be observed also in family and personal relations.

The high unemployment rate coupled with the ideological campaign designed to retie women to the household and the kitchen are contributing to a revival of conservative ideas about the role of women in the family. Women are angered by the fact that the huge material wealth created in our country is not used for the good of factory and office workers, of children and elderly people. More, precisely they are the targets of the appeals to economize. Houses stand empty while, at the same time, there is a housing crisis and rents have reached usurious proportions; there are mountains of food but the cost of living keeps rising; unemployment among teachers is running high, while classrooms are overcrowded. Women are called upon to join in political activity, but many of them are falling victim to the Berufsverbot. In short, there is a host of problems and it is not surprising that women are no longer inclined to accept their condition.

And further. The vitalization of the women's movement in the capitalist countries is due not least to the dissemination of fact-supported information about the different status enjoyed by women in the socialist world.

Q. Would you go into some detail about the participation of women in the peace movement in the FRG?

A. The struggle that women are waging for their rights is closely related to the struggle for peace and disarmament. We can see that because of the armaments build-up, much that has been achieved in the social sphere and in education is in danger of or already being abolished. The preservation of peace, the program states, is the condition for the continued existence of humankind and our planet's inhabitability. Realizing this, a growing number of women are demanding a shift from increasing armaments to extending the system of social insurance and to action to end hunger and undernourishment, and to halt the destruction of the environment. They are opposed to the plans for enlisting women into the Bundeswehr, protesting against our society's further militarization, and militating against war ever again being started from German soil. This protest is bringing mothers and housewives into

the peace movement, into the civil initiative committees.

Q. What answers does the GCP special program give to the questions being raised in the ongoing impassioned debates in the women's movement?

A. Of course, the GCP special program does not offer substantive replies to all the questions touched upon in the debates, but it gives the main thing, namely, the Marxist approach to the problems worrying women. Attempts are being made to get the women's movement to accept the artificial theory of confrontation of the sexes, depict social collisions as conflicts between men and women, and reduce the causes of discrimination mainly to distinctions in the level of consciousness.

With the spread of neofeminist views and the mushrooming of autonomous and feminist groups, ideological debates have commenced over what mechanisms of suppression are obstructing the equality of women: the mechanism of capitalist society or of "male society"? Feminist groups are questioning or completely rejecting the possibility of cooperation with organizations of the working-class movement. It is obvious that acceptance of views of this kind can lead the women's protest movement into an impasse.

The communists reveal the reasons for the double oppression and growing exploitation of women and map out immediate and longer-term tasks of the women's movement. Further, we have given special attention to interests common to the women's and the working-class movements, whose coupling is, in the view of the GCP, increasingly vital and can ensure the success of the struggle for equality. Isolation harbors the threat of failure.

Q. What aims of the women's movement receive priority in the program and why?

A. The program stresses the indivisible link between the struggle of women for their rights and the preservation of world peace. The crucial factor in the struggle for the equality of women is to ensure their right to work. The attitude to this matter is the criterion of how sincere everybody is who talks of equality and emancipation.

The main accent in the program is on giving women a guaranteed right to work, to advanced professional training oriented on the future, to social insurance, and to equal pay for equal work, and on building a large childcare network. We hold that active participation in trade unions is of great importance to working women, to the entire movement. A higher level of organization among women in trade unions, and larger representation of women in pro-

duction councils, personnel councils, and among trade union representatives create real possibilities for improving the conditions of the work and life of women.

In the FRG women have for many years comprised more than 50 per cent of the registered unemployed, although their proportion in the total number of employed is only about 37 per cent. While we understand that the capitalist system is unable to guarantee equality, we nonetheless feel that by pooling their efforts with those of the working class, women can win the rights and alleviation promised to them long ago.

Q. How would you explain the fact that women form a large segment of the GCP membership?

A. Indeed, 40 per cent of the members of the German Communist Party are women. And this at a time when many women in the FRG are increasingly distrustful of the party-political groups represented in the Bundestag, believing that in them no effective struggle can be waged for equality. What then attracts women to the German Communist Party?

Many come to us from democratic and social movements after realizing that the diverse organizations, groups and circles pursue specific aims while the GCP champions the common interests of working people. Moreover, they have become convinced that while it fights for current demands it does not lose sight of more long-term aims, of the socialist future, and this accords with their interests.

Or take another factor of no small significance: women see that the GCP combines the struggle for equality with educational work among its members. Equality cannot be achieved without surmounting the influence of class society on the relations between men and women, and between parents and children. Hence the striving of GCP members to shed their own obsolete notions, prejudices, and discriminatory thinking and behavior, and as far as possible give their own family life the new quality that they are championing. A party that does not ensure equal rights in its own ranks cannot successfully fight for the equality of working women in society.

REFLECTIONS

A broad political front of left parties and organizations, called Left Unity, was formed in Peru in January 1980. Its experience over the past three years and the difficulties and problems it is confronted with are discussed by Asuncion Caballero Mendez, member of the CC Political Commission of the Peruvian Communist Party.

With our society in deep crisis and chaos, favorable conditions are shaping for Peru's revolutionary, progressive, and anti-imperialist forces to take the initiative and dramatically extend their political and social influence. Here the central role must be played by the Left Unity, an alliance formed three years ago on the initiative of the Peruvian Communist Party.*

The LU has quickly demonstrated its viability, and its objective now is to step up its activity, to become a militant organization. We believe that the bloc will be an influential force only if it unites round itself all segments of the population dissatisfied with what the government is doing. This can only be achieved by a coalition that is strong, well-organized, and united.

How do we go about winning the masses to our side? What, generally speaking, should be the LU's immediate and long-term aims?

It will be recalled that the coalition was formed just before the elections that were to be held with the country's transition to a civilian administration. At the time unity among the left forces was crucial, notably to giving battle to the right bourgeois parties during the election campaign. After this the bloc preserved and continued to improve its organizational structure. The LU's electoral function has lost none of its significance, especially as the 1983 municipal elections are to be held shortly and the next general elections are slated for 1985. However, the rapidly changing political situation is making it clear that it would be a gross mistake to pin one's hopes on the elections and do nothing more, to make no effort to reshape reality. Further, we have learned that it is much more important to dispel any illusions that people may have about the magical effects of elections and conduct an effective day-to-day struggle to improve the people's condition, to secure the satisfaction of their pressing requirements.

The communists believe that one of the first steps in this context should be to set up consumer protection committees. Practically every day each of us goes to a shop or to the market, and it is no secret that hardly a week goes by without food prices rising. Profiteers take advantage of the shortage of goods to create an even greater shortage and brazenly increase prices. Small committees formed with the express purpose of protecting the population from the uncontrolled growth of the prices of prime necessities and combating profiteers will unquestionably have the vigorous support of

working people nation-wide.

But we should not forget existing organs. The left forces have a wide and very promising field of activity in them. These are, notably, the municipal councils, which are administrative bodies closest to the people. During the struggle for independence the municipal councils and the people's assemblies formed under their aegis played an exceedingly important part in reinforcing the resistance to the Spanish colonialists. Today these bodies are captives to the crisis. In many cases they have no funds even for normal work, to say nothing of satisfying the aspirations and needs of the population. Hence the conflicts with the central authority. This is precisely what can prompt the municipal councils to remember their glorious past and become centers mobilizing the people in defense of towns and their own rights. Because of the rigidly bureaucratic system of administration in our country, it cannot be expected that without the active support of the people the municipal councils, regardless of who is elected to them, will be able to stand up to higher authorities. And this is where reliance on the people can be effective. This has been proven by the recent actions of the residents of Chimbote and Trujillo, in which even members of the ruling party joined.

I have mentioned only some of the sectors in which the LU coalition can and should operate. Success will depend on the breadth of the alliance, on the number of left parties involved, and on how fully the people are mobilized.

There is thus a lot of work before the left forces in Peru, and the conditions are becoming favorable for struggle. Why then have we spoken more of what should be done rather than of what is already being done? In this context it would be appropriate to mention at least some of the problems and difficulties of unity.

The fact that a coalition of left parties has been formed does not mean that long-standing and sometimes very serious differences on ideological, tactical and other questions have been surmounted. Alongside the Communist Party, which consistently champions proletarian internationalism and Marxist-Leninist theory, there are in the LU organizations advocating a "deepening of national Marxism." Some claim they intend to build "national socialism." All of Peru's left parties without exception declare they are fighting for socialism, and of these at least eight proclaim they are followers of Mariategui.* But to justify

*See Carlos Nunez Anavitarte, "An Effective Lever of Our Strategy," WMR, No. 4, 1980. — Ed.

*José Carlos Mariategui (1895-1930), founder (1928) of the Peruvian Communist Party and its first General Secretary. — Ed.

their revisionist philosophy and reject the universal character of Marxism-Leninism, which is the only true theory of society, some scholastic ideologists use Mariategui's well-known pronouncement that Peruvian socialism will not be a carbon copy.

We try to overcome these disagreements in a frank exchange of views. The Communist Party regularly organizes theoretical seminars and debates, to which it invites representatives of all left parties and especially those that are members of the LU. We discuss ideological and practical questions such as the positive and negative aspects of an armed struggle, the tactics for the upcoming elections, and the elaboration of an action program for the municipal councils.

Differences among the left forces are not the only factor fettering the coalition. In my view, a significant shortcoming is also the fact that our movement has no clear-cut program. Every struggle has some definite aim, and this aim is stated in a program. At inter-party meetings we have time and again brought up the need for such a program. Apart from everything else, it is needed to give an orientation to the people, to acquaint them with the tasks that must be tackled. In this context a program would be of special value to people living far from the centers of the nation's political life.

Some members of the LU believe that the coalition should become a more formal organization with its members holding membership cards. This is not acceptable: we now have the willing cooperation of many uncommitted people, far from all of whom would want to bear the burden of rights and duties linked to official membership of one organization or another.

Today, when the question of a socialist revolution is not on the agenda, a struggle is being waged for a people's democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. Under its banner there is room for members of the petty and even middle bourgeoisie and progressive military. This movement, at least in the beginning, does not necessarily have to be called revolutionary — much too often we use this definition out of place. As I see it, we should first form a wide patriotic front of struggle for true national independence. This struggle can attract all patriotic sections of Peruvian society, especially today when denationalization is proceeding at a rapid rate.

José Carlos Mariategui dreamed of seeing a rejuvenated Peru, but before this could be a reality, he wrote, there had to be new main-springs and these had to be coupled together to

take the country to national independence. I believe that what our party's founder had in mind is obvious to everybody and can induce large segments of the people to take the most determined action. There is no necessity here to *speak* of revolution. Revolutions are accomplished by *action*, not by words, and those people become revolutionaries who take part in such action.

IN BRIEF

CYPRUS

This year's drive for donations to the fund of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) brought a higher sum than expected. Party members and supporters contributed 250,000 Cyprus pounds.

DENMARK

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark passed a resolution to hold the next party congress on May 12-15, 1983.

ECUADOR

The first-ever festival of *Pueblo*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador, has been held in Guayaquil. Book, newspaper, painting and drawing exhibits were arranged in the town's municipal park. The concerts by Ecuadoran and foreign performers were attended by thousands of people from Guayaquil. There were many delegations from the various provinces.

FINLAND

The CPF has held a conference on "Labor and Peace" in Helsinki. Over 300 representatives of the leadership and district organizations discussed a wide range of questions related to two basic subjects: "The Party's Efforts to Ensure Employment" and "The Tasks in the Struggle for Peace."

GREECE

The municipal elections brought communists to the office of mayor in 47 towns (in 1978 the number was 32).

MADAGASCAR

The Malagasy public now has its first ever opportunity to read Lenin's works. Bookshops are now selling the booklets *On the State* and *Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*, and also a volume of Lenin's works on the women's question.



"Mass culture" or culture for the masses?

Marxist International Discussion

Culture is a significant theater of the battle of ideas characterizing the life of the modern world. Belles lettres and art, the entire range of folk art, the mass media, and the various forms of leisure are areas in which countless incompatible, including conflicting, ideas, value orientations, and moral attitudes come into collision. At the same time, culture is a most powerful medium of influencing people, an effective instrument for winning people to this or that view of philosophy. In this context, Marxist scholars focus on the complex, contradictory phenomenon known as "mass culture" that emerged and spread quite quickly in the 20th century, particularly in the latter half of the century.

The term "mass culture" is used in Marxist studies in a dual sense. It is used, first, in connection with the theories and concepts of "mass culture" advanced by bourgeois sociology. Marxist criticism has unveiled their untenability, demonstrating that the bourgeois-sociological concept of "mass culture" is unacceptable not only because in it the word "mass" is a synonym of cultural trash, of bad taste, of estrangement from true cultural values; works of genuine culture are by their essence and social function necessarily designated to meet the spiritual demands of the masses. The basic flaw of bourgeois concepts is that they misrepresent the actual content of the process of disseminating culture among the masses (take the assertion that culture has "floundered" or is in "crisis" as a consequence of its fusion with the requirements of the "masses," or that the humane element in man has been destroyed with culture's conversion into a "mass" product). Bourgeois sociologists are trying to conceal the class orientation of mind manipulation by the culture media in the capitalist world, and also the class contrasts in the content of the cultural products in mass circulation.

Second, in international Marxist literature the term "mass culture" is sometimes used also to record the actual processes and phenomena observed in culture. In this case it

is that some forms of culture are acquiring a mass character — by the mode of production and dissemination, the proportion of the population embraced by them, and the extent to which they are accessible to and assimilated by the different social and age groups of the population. Of course, the way culture blends with the masses has a class content of its own: it depends on the nature of the social system and — in capitalist society — the interests of the classes directing this process. In this context the phenomena of mass culture are by no means confined to, for example, characteristics relating exclusively to bourgeois culture, which predominates in a capitalist society.

The attitude of the communists and other progressive people to phenomena of culture was discussed at a round table on the subject "Ideological Confrontation and Mass Culture" sponsored in Sofia by *World Marxist Review* jointly with the National Culture Research Institute of the governmental Committee for Culture and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. It was attended by Marxist scholars, party functionaries, and journalists from Argentina, Bulgaria, Denmark, the FRG, and occupied territories of Palestine, Poland, South Africa, and the Soviet Union. At the round table the term "mass culture" was used primarily in its second meaning.

The following is a resumé of the discussion.

1. What is the role of "mass culture" in the present-day battle of ideas? What is its social essence? Where are its boundaries? Is it any single, special form of modern culture or a conglomerate of forms and processes spelling out humankind's material and cultural development?

Marxist-Leninist theory, said Hannes Stutz, GCP Board member and head of the GCP Board's Science, Education and Culture Department, offers a profound analysis of the class character of culture, in particular of the functions of bourgeois culture that contribute to the preservation of imperialist domination. In accordance with this general approach about

10 years ago we in the FRG were still talking quite frequently about "imperialist mass culture" when characterizing the predominant culture in our country. Of course, it is indisputable that in our country there is a "mass culture" serving imperialist aims. It features revanchist, militarist, and neofascist views enunciated through the mass media with their huge circulation and audience.

However, already then it was seen that in political practice there were difficulties of various kinds linked to this interpretation. In debates and joint actions, notably with young people, white-collar workers, and people in the creative professions in the mass media, we found that we were often interpreting "imperialist mass culture" much too broadly, including in it all the forms of culture predominant in the country, with the result that we were giving grounds for regarding it as all-embracing, static and indivisible. This might give rise to the mistaken belief that until radical political changes were put into effect the progressive, anti-imperialist forces stood no chance against imperialism on the cultural front, and that therefore in this area the realization of the interests of the working class had to be delayed.

In reality, however, the production and dissemination of imperialist culture as the dominant one is a complex and contradictory ideological and political process. The basic conflicts of our time also affect this sphere of society's life, which is a major theater of the struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of imperialism. Therefore, in our political work we now try to differentiate between the predominant culture as a whole and that segment of it that has become particularly widespread. The task is to apply Lenin's theory of two cultures — the theory that underlies our cultural policy — creatively to the social conditions prevailing in our country. "The elements of democratic and socialist culture," Lenin noted, writing of bourgeois society, "are present, if only in rudimentary form, in every national culture, since in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism. But every nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form, not merely of 'elements,' but of the dominant culture."*

In resolving the question of the watershed between democratic, socialist elements and tendencies of culture, on the one hand, and the predominant culture, on the other, we find that

their boundaries do not always coincide with the framework of the various schools, genres and styles. Everything depends on content. This watershed is sometimes seen even in individual works, television and radio programs, or the output of one and the same artist.

The watershed is thus in some sense also an indication of the current correlation between the democratic and reactionary forces in our country. These forces are in constant confrontation, the results of which depend to no little extent on the results not only of the economic and political but also of the ideological struggle on the international and the national scene, on the practical way this struggle is organized directly in culture itself.

In terms of its social nature, said Naim Ashhab, CC Political Bureau member of the Palestinian Communist Party, "mass culture" represents diverse ways of linking culture and the masses. This springs from two extremely important historical circumstances: first, the emergence of the masses on the scene of militant social activity and their conversion, under the leadership of the working class, into a significant factor of present-day socio-political life; second, the appearance and development of advanced technical means of creating and disseminating culture. Further, all forms of culture may be reactionary or progressive, since they are created and disseminated in society by different social forces.

Speaking self-critically of our experience, it must be admitted that hitherto we have given inadequate attention to "mass culture," underrating its significance in the class struggle or simply declaring many phenomena as stemming solely from bourgeois influence. Such was the case with, for instance, pop music, which won a large following among young people. Pre-occupied as we were mainly with purely political work, we did little in the way of fostering literature, the theater, painting, and the modern information media. Of course, our potentialities in this respect are much smaller than those of the ruling class. However, this underestimation of the importance of culture must be resolutely eradicated. The main thrust of this work must be directed toward promoting progressive modern art and literature and making wide use of traditional forms of folk art. Further, in popularizing culture among the people it is crucial to take into account the complex dialectics of the process by which culture acquires a mass character: the popularizing of the finest works should not be accompanied by a lowering of the criteria of the standard of art.

The thesis that there must be a differen-

*V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p.24.

tiated approach to phenomena of "mass culture" was supported also by *Leonardo Paso*, CC alternate member of the Communist Party of Argentina. Under present-day imperialism, he said, the sphere of culture is, on the whole, permeated with acute class and ideological contradictions. It is, therefore, vital to distinguish, in the first place, the two fundamental types of culture mentioned by Lenin. The culture of the ruling class, predominant in the cultural life of bourgeois society, is aimed at correspondingly indoctrinating the masses, inculcating conformist, individualistic thought patterns, and diverting the people from various forms of the class struggle. This culture is opposed by a people's, democratic, genuinely mass culture being created by and for the people and developing the finest national traditions. As the experience of Argentina shows, these two cultures are in constant confrontation. While giving bourgeois culture every support, the forces ruling the country are using the most diverse means to restrict and harass democratic culture. Snobbism, cosmopolitanism, and the ideals of the consumer society are the points of departure used to attack even folklore, in which the government encourages elements reflecting the prevailing way of life and seeks to stamp out expressions of social protest.

The concept "mass culture," said Professor E. Nikolov, Ph.D., Director of the National Culture Research Institute of the governmental Committee for Culture and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, figures in the subject of our round table. However, one cannot help questioning the credibility of this concept in terms of logic and, hence, the possibility of making effective use of it.

As I see it, any culture represents a process of, on the one hand, the objectification of the human "I," a process of expression in the products of a person's consciousness, of his attitude to the world and himself and, on the other, the assimilation by man of this "I" in culture, an assimilation that gives an impetus to a further active expression of "I." In this process the most important thing, of course, is not its quantitative characteristics but the content of the spiritual and material values created and assimilated by people. Therefore, by its content culture can be neither "mass" nor "non-mass," although, needless to say, at this or that stage of their development the different forms and genres of literature and art reach the masses to a varying extent. It has already been noted here that, in accordance with Lenin's theory, in culture we must distinguish, above all, its social, class content.

Moreover, in the culture of present-day soci-

ety there are many diverse and sometimes substantially differing forms and processes attracting large numbers of working people. Can all of them be given the blanket name "mass culture"? What would this then mean?

As regards the concepts "culture of the people" and "culture of the masses," their content is quite clear and unambiguous. But it is quite another matter that we should not make ideological clichés of them, should not attribute solely a positive content to them (in contrast to bourgeois mass culture). Depending on specific conditions, notably, the development level of the social consciousness, the people's culture may have not only positive features.

The "mass culture" concepts of bourgeois sociologists were criticized by Professor Y. Zamoshkin, Ph.D. (USSR). What makes their approach to a phenomenon methodologically untenable, he said, is that, among other things, they do not take into account the entire spectrum of links between culture and the masses in capitalist society (let alone in the world as a whole), the entire sum of symbols, values and norms that acquire real shape in the spiritual world of the people, in their way of life and activity. Bourgeois sociologists disregard the fact that culture is professionally produced and disseminated by innumerable social institutions, organizations, and groups with different class, ideological, political and other characteristics. Nor do they see the process taking place in countries with different destinies and cultural traditions.

The term "mass culture" was coined in bourgeois sociology's critical analysis of modern capitalist society. Bourgeois sociologists are unanimous in stressing that there is now a special kind of culture that is, allegedly on account of its "mass character," low on aesthetics and caters for primitive, vulgar tastes. Moreover, they argue that the cultural level of the masses is undeveloped and that this makes it possible to disseminate this sort of cultural fare. However, there are considerable differences of opinion. Some regard the negative characteristics of the mass consciousness as the result of the outpourings of the bourgeois mass media and other channels disseminating inferior cultural products. Others, on the contrary, contend that the consciousness level of the masses is primary, and that it is precisely this level that is responsible for the innumerable negative phenomena in modern culture. However, all proceed from one and the same pattern, which places a high, "elitist" culture at one (positive) pole and a "vulgar," "mass culture" at the other (negative).

In this pattern the term "mass culture" is invariably an ideological stereotype expressing a negative emotional impulse. This fosters all sorts of élitist, anti-people concepts and feeling, even among the creative intelligentsia of capitalist and developing countries. As a result, sociologists (of whom some are, regrettably, Marxists) cannot see the distinctions in the content of the processes now taking place at the juncture of culture and the masses. If this stereotype were demolished it would be possible to go deeper into the problem.

To see a mass character as something inevitably bringing down the level of cultural values and coming into conflict with "high" culture is a specifically bourgeois approach, said Professor Girgin Girginov, Ph.D., member of the BCP Central Committee. Culture is a complex social phenomenon and the approach to it should therefore be concrete and differentiated.

Bourgeois sociologists distort the true picture of capitalist society's social structure, asserting that it has brought to life a classless community, an element of which is the "average," "mass" person. They invariably portray the masses as grey, faceless, and incapable of creative activity. The Marxists advance a fundamentally different understanding. By no means idealizing the masses, they link the latter's characteristics to the prevailing socio-economic and socio-political conditions and speak of them as of an active historical subject participating not only in the consumption but also in the creation of cultural values. It would thus be wrong to give "mass culture" a limited interpretation, to identify it solely with the trashy products of bourgeois culture.

In our sociological literature, said the Polish scholar, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, G. Wysznewski, the concept "mass culture" is sometimes used to denote a set of phenomena typical of a considerable portion of present-day bourgeois culture, namely, the standardized system of cultural values forced upon the working people by the ruling classes of the capitalist countries. These values are linked to an understanding of life in which easy, primarily consumer, existence and conformism, are set above initiative, participation in activity, and creative effort. This characteristic of mass culture applies equally to the bourgeois content and form of the disseminated models of culture tailored to fit in or coincide with kitsch (bad taste, primitivism).

The concept "mass" reflects rather the quantitative, "technical" aspect of the development of modern culture. This aspect of the concept of "mass culture" is also examined in our sociological literature. I am referring to the

steadily growing participation of advanced technology and the mass media (press, radio, television, and so on) in bringing cultural values to the people. Of course, such phenomena are implicit in socialist culture as well, but in bourgeois society their spectrum is much wider, embracing everything else that contributes to the broad dissemination of culture and determines its interaction with the masses.

When we consider the questions before us, noted Candidate of Philosophical Sciences I. Stefanov, an official of the BCP Central Committee, it is important to bear in mind that the "mass culture" concept has undergone extensive evolution. As a result, it is questioned by many bourgeois sociologists themselves. The point is that for some time its initial content (reflecting the steep quantitative growth of cultural output under conditions marked by the existence of a gulf, implicit in capitalism, between so-called classical culture and the masses) has been obviously coming into conflict with the actual cultural processes in capitalist countries. This was seen notably in the fact that with the unfolding of the scientific and technological revolution and the growth of the professional and general cultural level of large sections of the population, the boundary between "high" and "mass" culture was in many cases eroded to the extent that it could hardly be defined, in the fact that in culture there appeared a growing number of phenomena that could not fit into these hard-and-fast patterns. On the other hand, as we have noted at our round table, it was found that various elements of culture massively disseminated in capitalist society should be assessed variously: not only negatively, critically, but also positively.

The main indication of any form of what is now called "mass culture" is that it is inseparable from the mass media, for they are the channel through which it exercises a mass influence. This means that we cannot attribute to this concept many cultural phenomena not directly linked to the press, radio, and television even if they have a mass character. Such is, for instance, children's art, which has made much headway in socialist society, or folklore, although, like children's art, it is often used in the process of giving culture a mass character. I feel that the boundary of the concept of "mass culture" should be explicitly defined.

It would be similarly desirable not to go to the other extreme, said John Nkosi, representative of the South African Communist Party. In particular, it would be hard to subscribe to the view that children's art does not belong to the sphere of "mass culture." The latter does, after

all, embrace not only the mass media but also music, painting, and sports, and in all these cases children are a large part of the audience.

It was agreed that debatable questions related to the interaction between culture and the masses have to be discussed, with the accent mainly on the requirements and problems of the work of communists in this area.

2. Features and tendencies of the development of culture under capitalism and some alternatives to bourgeois forms of mass culture.

Speaking in the most general terms, said *Leonardo Paso*, we can say that bourgeois culture's principal goal is to adapt people to the system of social and national oppression, divest them of the spirit of criticism, and stamp out their inherent creative skills and abilities. Socialism, on the contrary, sees its main goal in developing the individual all-sidedly.

With capitalism in general crisis there is also an acute cultural crisis in all the countries of the old world. It is expressed, in the first place, in the people's limited access to national and world cultural values, in the truncation of the culture passed on to the people to bring it into line with the interests of the ruling classes, and in the muzzling and suppression of democratic, folk culture.

We feel that the struggle against these tendencies determines the main directions of the activities of progressive forces and, at the same time, gives an idea of the alternatives to bourgeois forms of culture in present-day capitalist society. In particular, the Communist Party of Argentina is taking resolute steps to counter bourgeois patterns of passive consumption with the active participation of the masses in promoting culture, notably in developing various forms of folklore. Many progressive Argentines believe that folklore can effectively counter the cosmopolitanism preached in culture by the ruling classes and spiritually unite large numbers of people.

One of the hallmarks of cultural development under capitalism, said *E. Nikolov*, is that the processes of creating and disseminating culture are brought into the sphere of commodity-money relations and that works of literature and art have been turned into objects of capitalist purchase and sale. This has many negative consequences to the destinies of culture, whether we mean the work of its creators, who have to adapt themselves to the market situation, or the quantitative and qualitative characteristics figuring in the market of artistic (and anti-artistic) values, or the mechanism of their mass consumption.

John Nkosi spoke of the Eurocentrism in bourgeois culture. It is not hard to see, he said,

that this phenomenon was generated by the traditions of the age-old colonial policy pursued by capitalist powers, a policy that strongly influenced the thinking and actions of millions of people in Europe and North America, including large sections of the working class. However, world culture cannot really develop without assimilating the entire range of forms and values created by humankind, including the peoples of the former colonies. I am referring not only to the very highly developed ancient civilizations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America but also to the diversified, rich modern culture of the peoples of these continents.

In any assessment of the entire range of negative phenomena in the bourgeois mass culture of present-day capitalist society, it must be seen that from the angle of the ideological struggle in the world the central place is held by undisguised or covert anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. This is especially the case with the cultural output inspired and controlled by the imperialist forces in the USA. The struggle against this sort of domination is a key direction of activity not only of political organizations and parties but also of all the progressive forces in literature, science, and art championing the interests of the working people.

In the Arab East, *Naim Ashhab* said, bourgeois culture gives people, among other things, a sense of dependence, chiefly dependence on religion. At the same time, patterns of the culture of the capitalist world with all its notorious attributes — cult of crime and violence, individualism, and so on — are widely disseminated. Cosmopolitan values are sown in order to deform the patriotic spirit and feeling of the people.

In the FRG today, said *Hannes Stutz*, there is a real danger of the military-industrial complex taking over direct control of the mass media. Members of monopoly capital have realized that in the life of society these media are as important as the levers of traditional state power, and for that reason are doing everything to gain direct control not only of the press, which has long been dominated by the Springer and Bertelsmann concerns and their ilk, but also of radio and television broadcasting.

In this connection the question arises of whether in these conditions it is at all possible to fight successfully for democratic positions in this area? We believe it is possible. It will be recalled that Adenauer failed in his attempt to permit the concerns to operate a private television broadcasting facility. Ten years later an analogous fiasco overtook Franz-Josef Strauss, who planned to open a television station for the concerns under the aegis of the Bavarian CSU.

Of course, we harbor no illusions about the class character of radio and television broadcasting in the FRG, despite their formally recorded legal independence of the monopolies. Today, with political contradictions growing increasingly more acute at home and abroad, these mass media are the mainstay of big capital's tactical and strategic campaigns. Whatever their organizational structure, the main content of radio and television broadcasting will remain unchanged as long as a fundamental change does not take place in the balance of political forces. However, having this aim in view it is important to strengthen democratic positions on the cultural front already today. We regard the maintenance of the legal status of radio and television as public facilities as a major element of the struggle to strengthen these positions.

The development of new and better means of cultural production and popularization of art values, said *Allan Friderisia*, representative of the Communist Party of Denmark, holds out considerable promise of enriching the cultural life of the people. But the main thing remains, unquestionably, the issue of whose interests technological progress will serve. Who will have control of advanced technology? For instance, video-recordings may be even more effectively abused for mind manipulation than conventional studio television. For that reason the struggle between democratic, socialist culture and bourgeois culture has ever more sharpened. In this context it is more important than ever that the culture of victorious socialism, including the culture disseminated by socialist mass media, should become widely known in capitalist countries so that it would win the minds of the working people and thereby counter bourgeois influence more effectively.

The significance of promoting and expanding international exchanges of art values was accentuated at the round table. Intimately familiarizing the population of capitalist countries with the basic trends of present-day anti-imperialist culture propounded by socialist society and progressive national liberation forces, with democratic, socialist elements of culture in the capitalist countries themselves is a highly effective alternative to the influence of imperialist ideology. Of course, this does not mean bracketing together the diverse manifestations of cultural life. The main thing is to ensure the anti-imperialist unity of the entire global spectrum of elements of socialist and democratic culture in the face of the danger overhanging the world.

3. What distinguishes the interaction of cul-

ture and the people under socialism? How does this process develop?

Socialist culture, *Girgin Girginov* noted, is aimed at molding the harmoniously developed, active and creative individual working consciously in all areas of society's life, an individual who does not confine himself to the satisfaction of so-called direct, day-to-day interests. In Bulgaria we have, for example, a National Program for the People's Aesthetic Education. It has been adopted to resolve two inter-related tasks: to acquaint the people with the entire sum of national and world cultural values; second, to draw the people into the process of active creation of new artistic and other values. This will translate into reality the program's two formulas: "culture for all" and "culture for each." This means not only enabling each person to acquire a genuinely scientific world view, not only cultivating aesthetic requirements and tastes in people, but also giving them the corresponding knowledge and skills, providing the conditions that would allow people to show all their creative abilities.

G. Wysznewski spoke of the problems of promoting the socialist cultural revolution. In tackling these problems it is necessary to take into account all of society's new and traditional forms of producing and disseminating culture, all the elements and conditions of this process. Further, culture must be seen not merely as a means of filling leisure time but as an effective factor shaping the socialist way of life.

Hence, in ensuring interaction between culture and the people, existing tastes and requirements should not only be used as the point of departure but also meaningfully helped to improve and develop. Thus, the process of giving culture a mass character should, in our view, include an advance:

- from passive assimilation of accidentally encountered cultural values to a conscious and active selection of these values;

- from contact with values which require no particular effort to understand, to contact with values requiring a certain (and rising) level of conscious participation by the consumer;

- from individual participation in cultural processes to cooperation with cultural institutions, to participation in a public cultural movement;

- from consumption of culture to various forms of creative activity.

In analyzing the prospects for the development of socialist culture, said Professor *B. Grushin*, Ph. D. (USSR), it is important to take into consideration not only positive trends and phenomena. Socialism's achievements in pro-

moting the culture of the people are well known. They are convincingly borne out by, among other things, statistics that record a steady growth of the system of public education, the continued expansion of the network of mass media and film distributing agencies, the growth of the printings of books, and the growth of the number of people attracted by museums, and so on. However, it is also important to see that the interaction between culture and the people has some negative aspects. For example, there are problems linked to the circumstance that bourgeois mass culture can quite easily cross national state frontiers. As a result, the people of socialist countries have more or less broad contact with works of literature and art and the thought and behavior patterns inherent in the capitalist world and disseminated by bourgeois (including undisguisedly anti-socialist) mass media.

However that may be, said I. Stefanov, where socialist society is concerned prominence is acquired not by negative but by positive aspects of culture. Historically, they inevitably prevail in the process of bringing cultural values within reach of the working people. This is no loose "mass culture," but genuine culture for the masses. Under socialism, it was declared at the round table, the dissemination of culture is in no way accompanied by a lowering of its level,

by an impoverishing of its values, by a standardizing of people's requirements. As regards negative aspects, they are eradicated not spontaneously but as a result of the communist parties' guidance of cultural development, of their ideological and educational work.

This discussion reaffirmed the need for further theoretical analyses of problems of modern culture by Marxist social science. The purpose of these analyses should be to produce a better understanding of the social nature, content, and forms of the mass processes taking place in humankind's cultural development; a picture of these processes from a systematic, composite approach taking into account their complexity, their contradictory character springing from the difficulties of closing the historical gulf between culture and the working masses; and a knowledge of the basic character of the modes and effects of the interaction between culture and the masses under the fundamentally different socio-economic and socio-political conditions of capitalism and socialism. This is vital to the Marxists, the communists, for formulating a meaningful and effective socio-cultural policy that can yield tangible results in the ideological struggle against bourgeois influence and in the cultural education of the people.

The arduous road to unity

A key task of the liberation movement in Latin America is to achieve popular unity. The following is a collective interview with left leaders of Venezuela: *Jesus Faria*, General Secretary, Communist Party of Venezuela (CPV); *Hector Mujica*, CC Political Bureau member, CC CPV; *Americo Martin*, one of the leaders of the New Alternative coalition; *Segundo Melendez*, National Organizer of the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR); *Jesus Angel Paz Galarraga*, General Secretary, People's Electoral Movement (MEP); *José Vicente Rangel*, independent MP, candidate for the Presidency of the Republic; and *Julio Escalona*, General Secretary, Socialist League. We think their opinions of the potentialities, difficulties and prospects of left unity in Venezuela, opinions marked by a polemical spirit, will help our readers see clear in the problem and perceive the dynamics of current Venezuelan politics.

Q. What are the problems involved in uniting the Venezuelan left?

Jesus Faria. The sixth congress of the Communist Party (August 1980)¹ came to the conclusion that the democratic forces of the country could regroup and that all who sought not only further progressive gains but deep-going social changes could be induced to cooperate. We had every reason to look ahead with optimism. In 1979 a National Coordinating Committee of the Left (CNI) comprising all left parties came into being.² Shortly afterwards, the CNI scored its first success in municipal elections by winning nearly 19 per cent of the votes on a joint list. In 1980, the left succeeded despite serious political and ideological differences in reaching agreement on working out a joint program and putting up a common candidate for the presidential elections due in December 1983.

Afterwards, however, implementation of the adopted decision came up against difficulties, primarily as a consequence of attempts by the leaders of some organizations to impose their conditions. Teodoro Petkoff, one of the leaders of the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS),³

proposed that in drafting the final version of the program, the program of the winner of the primary election of a common candidate of the left be used as the basis. We think this proposal runs counter to the agreements approved by the Coordinating Committee (and hence by the MAS as well). Yet we had agreed that a common program binding on all should be approved prior to the election of a common candidate and that he would, of course, have no right to come out with estimations contradicting the spirit or individual provisions of the program. Otherwise the primaries would be like a raffle, with each party "playing" its own policy and principles. To facilitate agreement as far as possible, the CPV put up no candidate of its own. It joined the People's Electoral Movement (MEP)⁴ and other organizations in taking a stand in favor of Rangel (who, incidentally, had twice sought election on MAS lists) even though we differ both with him and the groups supporting him.

We communists try to show maximum tolerance but insist on unfailing respect for agreements. Some questions of principle, program or methodology should be settled by the CNI unanimously, by consensus. Whenever anyone proposes changing the terms of cooperation, the others are entitled to accept or reject it. The CPV is occasionally charged with undermining unity but it firmly resists attempts to reduce it to an unprincipled grouping ready to take any step to avoid being regarded as opposing cooperation.

In short, the difficulties are many but then there are not a few hopeful factors. Objectively there exists a common platform for left unity in the shape of opposition to a bourgeois regime based on a bipartisan system — the ruling Social-Christian Party, COPEI, and the social reformist opposition party, AD. We all stand for the downfall of the power of imperialism, oligarchy and monopoly, foreign and domestic alike, and for steps to extend the working people's rights and improve their condition. We are also agreed on the need to provide jobs for those who have lost them, end inflation, and solve for the people the problem of education, medical care, social insurance, housing and food. We join together in campaigns of solidarity with peoples in struggle, advocate the transformation of Central America and the Caribbean into a peace zone, champion the prevention of a global military catastrophe and resist the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and arms race.

José Vicente Rangel. Nominally, I belong to no party. But, of course, I cannot stay out of political struggles. Nor am I indifferent to the

country's problems and conflicts. Right now fighters for the socialist future of Venezuela are working to close their ranks. As the effort to reach mutual understanding within the CNI has failed so far, we have advanced what we call the New Alternative,⁵ a program envisaging the solution of the main problems of the country and acceptable to the majority of progressives. It is geared to both the next election campaign and the subsequent period. Unity of all our forces is most important. However, today's left organizations are unable to resist such serious opponents as AD or COPEI even jointly, let alone severally. This means the chief task today is to campaign among workers, peasants, the middle strata, marginals and specialists who still support the defeated policy of the two parties or even have a direct share in its implementation.

The revolution has an enormous social reserve. Five per cent of the population get over 40 per cent of the national income while 95 per cent must content themselves with the rest. It is among this overwhelming majority that active work must be carried on. If the left succeeds in bringing its program home to the people and in putting up a common candidate equal to expressing the interests of a substantial part of the population, the people may be expected to make the policy of the left their own and to follow it.

Some MAS leaders claim that left unity is impossible. They have a right to do so. But I think that to constantly stress existing differences and see nothing but reasons for discord is by no means the best way to further the process of achieving unity, to advance a real alternative to the regime and draw the people's victory nearer.

Segundo Melendez. To the MIR,⁶ left unity has always been a burning issue ever since the Venezuelan revolutionary movement began to revive. It will be recalled that the movement was defeated in the mid-60s.⁷ Anyone who analyzes the present situation is bound to conclude that the biggest problem is the disunity and mutual isolation of revolutionary organizations. The task is, therefore, to bring about unity. If the left does not form a united front before the elections it will not only lose the campaign but forfeit its prestige among the masses.

We consider that the growing crisis is bound to lead, and very soon at that, to large-scale class collisions. It follows that revolutionaries must prepare to use the situation in the people's interest. There are those among us who hope for a "radiant future" to be brought about by gradually improving the existing system, with

revolutionary and non-revolutionary forces participating in government (according to the so-called power quota). I think all that is a naive illusion and those who entertain it apparently do not seek real socio-political changes. They simply want to find themselves among the powers that be so as to govern the country along with them under a system established long ago.

Americo Martin. Speaking of the trend toward stronger left unity, I wish to point out that it is not a question of "surface" cooperation, which has taken the form of a coordinating committee, but of a vast process with a historical promise. What I mean is the consensus of opinion embodied in the New Alternative and the nomination of Rangel. We have a common program basis and a common policy line. In other words, we have much deeper roots than the provisional alliances formed in our country during election campaigns. True, we have yet to achieve the unity of all the left forces involved in politics, nor can we expect it to be 100 per cent. Nevertheless, to carry out major social projects, we do not have to wait until all revolutionaries come to terms.

Those to whom the message of the New Alternative is directed include working people as well as small and medium employers. Monopoly domination constantly threatens them with ruin. Yet they constitute an appreciable force. In the capital alone, 72 per cent of enterprises are small or of medium size; they employ 44 per cent of all workers and produce 26 per cent of all manufactured goods. Middle landowners supply 60 per cent of farm output. It would certainly be unreasonable to expect them to adopt the "socialist faith." This is why we stress that the New Alternative is a program for the whole nation and that the issue of power, which Rangel has rightly raised, can only be settled in collaboration with forces unassociated with the left.

Jesus Angel Paz Galarraga. Deep-going social changes are unthinkable unless supporters of social progress unite. In any case, they cannot be effected by peaceful means, which is what the Venezuelan left belonging to the CNI has chosen. The differences existing among its members must and can be overcome. To exaggerate them is to misconceive our revolutionary process.

The factors preventing further cooperation may tentatively be divided into two groups. I would call the first group important. Every party has its idea of how the social struggle should develop, what class should lead it and who its allies should be. Nor should we discount the distinctions in the approach to international problems, primarily to the countries

where socialism is a reality. I would also include in this group differences over the definition of the chief enemy. Some see him in the capitalist system and so emphasize internal problems. Others see him in imperialism and so insist on coupling anti-imperialist with anti-capitalist struggle. All these aspects differ greatly in content and have numerous shadings, and this makes it possible to settle differences stage by stage.

The second group may be said to comprise secondary, subjective factors, primarily the bid of certain leaders for absolute leadership. Parties and party leaders ought to renounce their ambitions for the sake of unity. After all, political intransigence today may have to be paid for dearly afterwards. Let nobody regard me as a pragmatist if I say that life imposes compromises. Whether we like it or not, we cannot achieve anything without unity.

Julio Escalona. The Socialist League⁸ maintains friendly relations with all of the country's left organizations. Each of them declares that it is pursuing socialist aims. This makes it possible to end confrontation and disunity and reach agreement. Indeed, we differ on issues of both tactical and strategic action, yet our common ideals cause our roads to meet, prompt joint actions in the trade union and student movements, and so on.

I agree that the Venezuelan left is at a stage of renaissance. All supporters of socialism should form a solid alliance. We are willing to remove every obstacle to it.

Some Venezuelans allege that the left is incapable of joint action and lacks all experience of cooperation. But this is a manifest lie. As far back as the early 60s, it achieved truly solid unity. The CPV and MIR reached close mutual understanding. Today the left forces, which differ in their estimation of the defeat in the armed struggle, also disagree on the direction in which political battles should be fought.

I believe those who pin all hopes on activity in legal conditions because they have lost faith in armed struggle are wrong.

Hector Mujica. Speaking generally, there are supporters of a "narrow" and a "broad" unity of the progressive forces. The former are composed in turn of those who consider that mutual understanding is only possible within the radical wing and those who take an even narrower approach to the issue by trying to unite solely Marxist-Leninists. I consider that a mistake. Broad unity is more promising because it provides for the participation of not only the workers and peasants but some groups of the domestic bourgeoisie opposed to imperialism as well as members of the middle

strata, the clergy and the armed forces and intellectuals. I feel certain that such unity is a requisite of qualitative changes in society.

It is necessary to campaign among the people to win over the majority of the nation and deprive AD and COPEI of the support of the masses. Otherwise we will hardly be able to break out of the vicious circle of bourgeois "representative democracy." I believe the members of the Coordinating Committee, which is far from perfect but is functioning nevertheless, are coming to realize the importance of this approach. Rangel is absolutely right when he says that the ideas of socialism must reach all social forces, including those that cannot at the moment be classed as left-wingers.

It must be remembered that Venezuela's revolutionary organizations have not yet recovered from the blows delivered to them during the armed struggle. They are still too weak and are, moreover, rent by useless controversies. Why is that? I think it is only because the majority of the left is infected with parochialism and sectarianism. We do not yet quite realize that we are not operating on the moon but on earth, before a public who knows very well what is what. And this public comprises as many as six million voters.

Q. How would you define the Venezuelan revolution? What is your view of the country's future?

Melendez. Questions relating to the nature of the revolution or the character of the party have turned out to be particularly painful for us. After all, it was differences over those questions that split the MIR. I had always regarded the MIR as a Marxist-Leninist organization. However, this definition found opponents inside the MIR. They consider that the theory of the Venezuelan revolution should only be worked out on the basis of Marxism and that Leninism has nothing in common with national reality. The faction that they formed insisted on excluding the concept of Leninism from the ideological platform of the MIR. When it met resistance it broke away and founded its own party using the same name. Subsequently it joined the New Alternative.

We see Leninism as a Marxism carried forward, as the Marxism of our epoch. It is obvious that neither Marx, nor Lenin could have had the last word in this steadily developing theory. None but present-day revolutionaries can advance it so as to apply it in new conditions. But no matter how Marxism-Leninism is carried forward, its fundamental tenets will always be valid. What we mean by revolution is the taking of power by the working class to establish its dictatorship and set about building a socialist

society. It is in the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat that the roots of the fundamental differences between the "old" and the "new" MIR lie. Our opponents expect to arrive at socialism by gradually extending the existing democratic system. They cannot understand that bourgeois democracy is entirely different from proletarian, socialist democracy. You can never carve the latter out of the former. Socialist democracy can only be built on the ruins of bourgeois democracy, nor can this be done without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Martin. Until recently, spokesmen of the MAS contended at every step that theirs was the only force knowing the road to socialism and equal to leading the people to it. Yet public opinion polls, numerous rallies and other political actions have failed to confirm that. Nobody can insist any longer, not even MAS members, that theirs is the chief, let alone the only, left force of the country. Their slogan, "MAS and socialism," is wrong in both form and content. First of all, it is at variance with the left forces' aspiration to fight jointly for socialism, and secondly, it automatically excludes all who are dissatisfied with the prevailing order, all who long for change and are willing to make common cause with us but refuse for various reasons to call themselves socialists.

We propose a different formula, namely, the broadest possible unity of left and progressive forces. It is futile for any one group to seek predominance. Our aim is to lead the whole constellation of revolutionary parties to power, meaning also the forces that accept the program of the left without really belonging to it.

Paz Galarraaga. The platform of the People's Electoral Movement makes it possible to win the support of a wide spectrum of advocates of radical social changes. At this stage we declare for the formation of a democratic popular government that would pave the way for the transition to socialism. As regards the long-term outlook, that is, socialist objectives, the left forces have much in common in this respect too. What are the points of coincidence?

Our program says that Venezuelan socialism will be a creation of the people and have deep national roots. It will be based on progressive scientific thought taking account of Bolivar's ideological and theoretical legacy, in particular his concrete anti-imperialist position. Underlying our electoral platform are the principles of freedom, respect for human rights, sovereignty, independence, non-alignment, public ownership of the means of production, except those of small and medium producers, and of course, the right to own articles in personal use.

Rangel. The formation of a single left party seems unlikely in the short term. This makes the policy of establishing a broad front the most reasonable today. Unity of all adherents of progress would considerably accelerate the social development of the country.

Some argue that the left is faced with a choice between socialism of the Soviet type (or "totalitarian" socialism, as some make it out to be) and anti-Soviet socialism. Reality is different.

The Communist Party has never submitted any "model" of socialism for discussion. As regards the organizations that back my candidature, they have always insisted that Venezuela needs deep-going, democratic, pluralist socialism, with the masses participating extensively in government.

What is going on among the left has nothing to do with ascertaining pro-Soviet or anti-Soviet attitudes. It is merely opposition on the part of a minority to the spirit of unity marking virtually all progressive parties at the grass roots.

Escalona. I think it is perfectly natural that Venezuela's left organizations differ in their vision of the future of our society and relations with the countries of existing socialism. Sometimes differences assume a bitter character but not as much as to be an insurmountable obstacle to joint action.

The Socialist League is of the opinion that the rise of a single left party is out of the question in the near future. The important thing today is to find a way of overcoming differences that would make it possible to use the vast variety of experience gained to date for organizing joint resistance to the common enemy.

Venezuela is a country dominated by imperialism, and so the chief task at this stage is to cast off this yoke. Obviously, this task must be tackled not only by fighters for socialism but by the broadest possible sections of the democratic public that will join the anti-imperialist, patriotic front.

Mujica. The sixth CPV congress stated that growing social contradictions are bound to resolve themselves into an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic and popular revolution offering a socialist perspective. Debates on the type of socialism needed for Venezuela are out of place at the moment. Indeed, for the time being, it can only be a question of breaking up the AD/COPEI bipartisan system, bringing about far-reaching economic changes and really democratizing state power institutions. In short, the task is to lead Venezuela to a stage at which it can set out to build a new society. I have never tried to impose on members of the Coordinating Committee any "model of social-

ism" as being applicable to Venezuela. Revolutions cannot be exported, any more than forms of government. The communists are positively against including in a common program any attacks on socialism in the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam or other countries. In spite of difficulties, socialism has tremendous achievements to its credit and goes on making steady headway and perfecting itself.

To identify the policy of socialist countries with that of U.S. imperialism and criticize existing socialism in the name of a "different" socialism existing solely in the imagination of its authors means justifying divisive activity to say the least, or even dissociating from the common struggle in favor of defending spurious principles.

The anti-Soviet activity of the MAS is aimed, first of all, at provoking the Communist Party to step out of the Coordinating Committee. In spite of that, the communists seek mutual understanding with all truly left forces. Theorizing on anti-Soviet lines has nothing to do with the sad reality facing our people. It is foreign to the workers, to the unemployed, to all oppressed people. I would like to cite what I think is a revealing example. At a meeting held in the town of Petare after the ejection of tenants in five neighborhoods of the Sucre district, the municipal councillor, a member of the MAS, began his speech by cursing Marxism-Leninism. This prompted a woman who had lost her home to shout angrily: "So that is who's thrown us out!"

Q. What are, in your opinion, the most suitable forms of struggle and paths of revolution in Venezuela?

Rangel. I am no partisan of making an absolute of any revolutionary path. I see the issue as purely tactical. If a broad popular movement can be unfolded and if we can carry on our policy by legal means, these possibilities should be used. But if the situation is ripe for armed struggle, this opportunity should not be scorned either. To treat one path as the opposite of any other is as useful as beating the air. The choice must be made according to the given situation. We know by experience that an armed uprising may fail just as well as an election campaign if mistimed. In today's situation, the best path is probably strikes and active participation of the masses in elections. I do not think the situation will change drastically in the years ahead.

Melendez. The Left Revolutionary Movement is convinced that the requisites of taking power through elections are lacking at the moment. Even so, we attach great importance to elections because they involve the overwhelm-

ing majority of the nation. Consequently, the left must use elections for expanding its sphere of influence. Participation in elections would make it possible to establish contacts with the masses, who possess a revolutionary potential, and hasten their transformation into a real force capable of effecting a fundamental reorganization of society.

Martin. Salvadoran revolutionaries have already answered the question about the path of revolution — the armed struggle is intensifying in their country. But we cannot be as sure as that in the case of Venezuela or, for that matter, many other countries of the continent. There are objective contradictions between the demands for unity and for revolution. The fact is that unity is impossible without breadth and flexibility. On the other hand, a revolution narrows the range of political allies when it unfolds in a real way, for many of them desert supporters of resolute action.

The left in the 60s only counted on armed struggle without doing anything much to extend the range of supporters or expecting help from them. The results of that policy are well known. In 1960 the MIR had 100,000 members and 10 years after, a mere 70. We are now following a different course by trying to bring all progressive forces into the search for a way out of the impasse in which the country finds itself. Whatever the subsequent trend of development, this line is clearly necessary if we are to prepare for variant actions.

Paz Galarraaga. There is no revolutionary situation in Venezuela today and objective conditions for armed operations are lacking. The most promising course is political struggle by the masses and participation in elections. Those who imagine that the path of revolution is charted by decree and once and for all are very wrong. To be sure, you can refuse to join in elections on the pretext that they cannot produce the results you want. In that case all you can do is to take up arms, which in the present situation would undoubtedly lead to failure, or you can follow the example of certain intellectuals by poring over books in a library in search of theoretical proof of the indefensibility of any other path and thus try to justify your inaction. But in politics the winner is he who acts and not he who confines himself to barren theorizing.

Escalona. The most thankless thing in any situation is to indulge in predicting. There was a time, I am sorry to say, when we diverted our energies to arguments over paths of revolution with comrades from other countries, above all with those who affirmed that society could only be transformed by peaceful means. We no

longer do so. Experience has shown that no matter how well a theory is thought out, it is only practice that can end debates. Still, when one thinks of this and recalls that Latin America has always been a hinterland of U.S. imperialism, one comes to the inevitable conclusion that a peaceful revolution is unlikely on our continent. There are many reasons for this. One of the more important of them is the highly strategic value of Venezuela for U.S. imperialism (which the country owes in no small measure to its vast oil resources).

Mujica. Lenin pointed out that revolutionaries must not rule out beforehand any one of the possible variants of struggle. There are no hard and fast rules in this respect and every form is chosen according to the given time and situation. Scientific socialism accepts no dogmas, and so no form of struggle can be rejected beforehand. Without exploring a given situation, it is hard to judge whether the party or any other revolutionary contingent was right in taking up arms or, on the contrary, in going to the polls. All roads lead to Rome, it was said in the past, but now all roads may be said to lead to revolution. However, let nobody imagine that it will come like a gift from heaven. To bring it nearer, we must work day after day.

Faria. The Communist Party has used diverse forms of struggle. We had to operate underground for a long time and carried on an armed fight for several years. Today we are operating in conditions of legality. Needless to say, we communists did not fight by ourselves — operating along with us were other left organizations, and even progressive members of the armed forces. In late years the CPV has been faced with the urgent task of drawing the masses into the struggle, of "tying" tactics to the situation as it shaped. A lot of time will pass before the party fully restores its forces and learns to distribute them unerringly. This is no easy process but the experience we have gained is invaluable and we always draw on it.

Communists are optimists by ideology and education. We trust in the possibility of uniting the left. However, unity must not necessarily encompass all the organizations now on the Coordinating Committee. If, say, the MAS does not wish to join in it this does not at all mean that our hopes were unfounded. Adherents of the New Alternative, the MEP, Communist Party and other organizations will act together in any event. This will in itself be a victory for all who are fighting against imperialism, for democracy, irrespective of whether we win 300, 200 or even fewer thousands of votes. What matters as far as the future is concerned is that the CPV has found allies in the struggle

against anti-Sovietism — they are Rangel and his followers.

We are going through a process of training and steeling an efficient revolutionary army. It is a protracted, sometimes barely perceptible process. Progress depends on many conditions that will ultimately become critical and lead to an explosion. And then the revolutionary wave will set an enormous force in motion, all those who today support COPEI and AD although they have no reasons of principle for doing so.

Unity is possible. This idea is gaining popularity among democrats and patriots, among all supporters of social progress. Every attempt to disunite the left is counter-revolutionary. Let the various parties and movements and their leaders speak up.

1. See Radames Larazabal, "From Analysis to Conclusions," WMR, No. 12, 1980. — Ed.

2. For details about the Venezuelan left and the CNI, see Pedro Ortega Diaz, "Joint Work," WMR, No. 3, 1981. — Ed.

3. The MAS was founded in 1971 by a group of leaders expelled from the CPV for a right opportunist deviation. It describes itself as a socialist organization with a democratic trend and enjoys some support among the middle strata, intellectuals and students. The sixth CPV congress classed the MAS as a left force although opinions varied. "Regrettably," Faria pointed out, "reality fully bore out the

fears of doubters. The activity of the MAS does not warrant its being called a left movement. But neither is it rightist, of course. What prevents it from being left is above all the violent anti-Sovietism of some of its leaders." Ed.

4. Formed in 1967 by a breakaway wing of the Democratic Action (AD). Its founders define it as a democratic, anti-imperialist, revolutionary and socialist organization. It is affiliated to the Socialist International like AD and has a following among the middle strata and some groups of workers and intellectuals. — Ed.

5. Political platform and virtual coalition of several progressive groups and independent left leaders. The forces comprising it have come to terms with the CPV and the MEP on joint support of the candidature of Rangel, an independent MP backed by numerous organizations. — Ed.

6. Left Revolutionary Movement, founded in 1960, following the withdrawal of a large group from AD. It expresses the interests of sections of the petty bourgeoisie, workers, intellectuals and students. The party was split into two wings till the middle of 1982; they used one name and were known by the names of their leaders, Moises Moleiro and Americo Martin. Segundo Melendez belonged to the Moleiro wing. — Ed.

7. The reference is to the defeat suffered in the armed struggle of the 1961-1967 period. The struggle involved virtually all left forces, including the CPV. — Ed.

8. The Socialist League sprang up on the basis of a group which had withdrawn from the MIR. It considers itself a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization and enjoys influence among students and marginal population groups in some cities. — Ed.

Reaganomics: the economic and social consequences

Victor Perlo

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"Reaganomics" is a term that has come to stay in the political lexicon. It is the economic policies of U.S. imperialism carried out by a government representing, mainly, the most adventurous, aggressive, chauvinist and greedy sections of the financial oligarchy. This clique, riddled with corruption and inner conflicts, is fanatic in its fear of the international working class, in its hatred of the working masses of the United States, in its dread of socialism.

The "supply-side"¹ economic theories associated with Reaganomics are but a doctrinal cover-up for a set of crude, direct, aggressive economic and political policies and practices. These may be summarized as:

— the unrestrained offensive of monopoly capital against the rights and interests of the working class, Afro-Americans and other oppressed minorities — extending increasingly to broader middle sectors;

— the very rapid militarization of the economy; and

— the sharpened economic warfare against socialist countries, against the Third World, and against rival imperialist states.

Reaganomics has clearly worsened the economic situation in the United States and, indeed, in the entire capitalist world. The "back-to-back crises" of 1980 and 1981-1982 in the United States have done much to prolong the world capitalist crisis of overproduction into the most persistent and intractable period of stagnation, inflation and unemployment since the 1930s.

The anti-people offensive

The offensive against the working class takes place on both the industrial and the governmental levels.

Monopoly employers, emboldened by the

existence of mass unemployment and by overt governmental assistance, are imposing worsened terms on unions — so-called “takeaways;” decertifying — i.e., ending all dealings with unions; and directly slashing wages and eliminating health and safety measures affecting also the majority of workers who do not have union contracts.

The huge modern conglomerates, with hundreds and even thousands of plants in tens of industries and with access to billions of dollars in capital, ever more frequently shift output from strong, unionized areas to low-wage sanctuaries in the United States and abroad. These giant corporations can sacrifice whole plants if necessary to maintain the upper hand against militant segments of workers, scarcely feeling the cost in their total operations. They have even been helped by some trade union officials, who have capitulated to employer pressure despite rank-and-file readiness to fight back and win.

The racist edge of the employer offensive is apparent from the unrestrained application of the “first to be fired” rule against Afro-Americans, from the abandonment of all pretense of adopting corrective measures to compensate for past discrimination — that is, of affirmative action.²

The budget of the federal government assists the employer offensive by radically slashing the social spending that would uphold the condition of the workers and prevent any further increase in unemployment. The budgetary axe has fallen on spending for housing, education and health services, unemployment benefits, food aid for the poor and for schoolchildren, public works and training programs that could provide jobs and fulfil social needs. Now old age pensions are the remaining frontline target.

Never has there been such a shift of the tax burden away from the capitalists and their corporations to the laboring masses. Workers have higher social insurance deductions, higher state and local taxes to compensate for reductions in federal aid, and, if the plans of big business and the Reaganites are carried out, they will soon be saddled with additional federal taxes.³ The 1981 legislation included a very radical slash in taxes on the rich and their corporations.

Using the “getting the government off the back of business” slogan, the administration is eliminating health, safety and environmental regulations, and is reducing enforcement activities to insignificance. The Justice Department not only refuses to enforce civil rights and other democratic legislation but, in court, sides

with violators. The Reagan cabal unsheathed its claws against organized labor when it smashed the air controllers union. It showed its racist venom in its brutal treatment of Haitian refugees and in the mass roundup of super-exploited undocumented workers.

At the same time, the administration increases regulations demanded by the capitalists for their profit. Thus, it has set up price supports for domestically produced sugar to benefit a handful of large growers. This will cost consumers billions of dollars in higher prices. It has activated various systems of subsidy for exports, and restrictions on imports. And it has made available billions in subsidies to banks and other financial corporations to take over bankrupt savings and loan associations (mortgage banks destroyed by the crisis).

What is the cost of Reaganomics to the U.S. workers?

A reduction of 15 per cent in average real after-tax wages of employed workers since 1978. Such a decrease is unprecedented in the history of the United States.

Over 11 million workers officially counted as fully unemployed, with many millions more partly unemployed (6.6 million) or labeled “discouraged workers” (1.6 million), not counted because they no longer make the hopeless trek to employment offices.

More than 20 per cent officially unemployed — 25 per cent actually — among Afro-Americans, and more than 50 per cent among Black youth.

Double digit inflation, which started in 1979, as the main vehicle for driving down real wages and providing superprofits to many corporations in the face of a declining volume of business.

Massive evictions of workers, either because they are unable to keep up payment on their homes or, if they live in New York and other large cities, because landlords want to renovate their apartments to provide luxury housing for the rich — the “gentrification” program.

Reappearance of charity “soup kitchens” for the unemployed who have used up their unemployment benefits and for others driven to the verge of starvation.

White-collar and professional workers, largely immune in previous post-war crises, are now also being laid off by the thousands. Small business bankruptcies are far above any previous post-war rate.

The basic measure of the exploitation of labor — the rate of surplus-value in manufacturing — has increased non-stop, from 148 per cent in 1953, to 195 per cent in 1960, 227 per cent in 1970, and to 290 per cent in 1980, the latest year

for which these statistics are available. During recent years this rapid rise has been compounded by an increase in indirect exploitation — through extreme price differentials against workers as consumers and through the transfer of the tax burden from capital to labor. As a result there is a dramatic contrast between the absolute reduction in the living standards of the majority and the rapid rise in the incomes and conspicuous luxury consumption of the rich, even in the midst of economic crisis.

Corporate cash flow profits after taxes (reported profits plus adjusted depreciation allowances) jumped from \$102 billion in 1971 to \$207 billion in 1976 and to \$342 billion in 1981 — the increase continuing in the crisis years 1980 and 1981. Over the last five years, the rate of profit on common stock equity of manufacturing corporations was at an all-time high for as far back as such records go (to just before the First World War). Dividend and interest payments increased 43 per cent during the last two crisis years and almost 300 per cent in the past 10 years.

The executives who control the large corporations and take for themselves and their associates the dominant positions garner a bonanza from the ocean of surplus-value even before the remaining profits are reported. "Executives' Pay Goes Up, Up and Away" was the headline on a *U.S. News and World Report* article telling of a 13.4 per cent rise in top officials' salaries and bonuses in 1981.⁴ Twenty-six of these men received more than a million dollars each and "what's more, the income of many executives is as much as 10 times larger than their salaries and bonuses. They get assorted extras such as stock options and stock-appreciation rights not counted in our survey," the article adds.⁵ Incredible amounts are shared out with associated law firms, accounting firms, and advertising and promotion outfits. These perquisites, along with "inside" information, the ability to manipulate stock transactions, tax loopholes, expense accounts, etc., are all a part of "the profits of control."

Tax swindles added \$87 billion to the take of the capitalists in 1981, according to estimates of Roscoe L. Egger, Jr., the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, over and above the even larger legal loopholes at their disposal.

The multimillionaires in the high levels of the Reagan administration imbue it with the stink of their corruption. The Secretary of Labor, Raymond Donovan, not long ago was under Grand Jury investigation for alleged pay-offs to thugs and murderers who helped his construction company avoid union wages, the means by which he accumulated millions.⁶ The

Attorney General, William French Smith, who is responsible for prosecuting tax swindlers, engaged in a particularly outrageous personal tax avoidance since he has been in office; and Vice President George Bush crudely used his position to thwart attempts to halt major tax evasions by drug companies in which he owns much stock and holds a directorship. And President Reagan himself was forced to pay \$20,000 for the phoney "business expenses" he claimed on his California ranch residence. The violation must have been blatant indeed to induce the Internal Revenue Service bureaucracy to dare publicize the President's cheat.

Militarization and the economic situation

U.S. imperialism's preparations for global aggression have an immediate, primary impact in an explosion of military spending unprecedented for peace-time. Successive escalations by Carter in 1980 and by Reagan in 1981, and again in 1982, have resulted in outlays headed for \$500 billion — half a trillion dollars yearly — by about the middle of the decade. And, it is barely four years since military spending first passed the \$100 billion mark.

This has important economic consequences. Conservative economist Michael E. Levy said: "The sheer magnitude of this triple escalation in national defense is staggering ... Total obligational authority ... is scheduled to rise by \$82 billion, or 46.5 per cent, over this two-year period (ending in 1983 — V.P.); for defense procurement of weapons systems, the proposed two-year rise in obligational authority is nearly \$42 billion, or 87.5 per cent ... The Council of Economic Advisers noted with some concern, 'real purchases of defense durables ... will grow at an estimated rate of 16 per cent annually between 1981 and 1987. This exceeds the 14 per cent annual rate of increase that occurred during the 3 peak years of the Vietnam buildup.'"⁷

At the same time, Murray Weidenbaum, head of the Council of Economic Advisers,⁸ counts on military spending to spark recovery from the economic crisis. However, while providing a bacchanalia of revenue and profits for the arms contractors, it has provided very little in the way of additional employment. The inflationary consequences, the reduction in government spending for social needs that accompanies the military buildup, and the high interest rates to finance government borrowing for the arms race have all contributed significantly to the current crisis in the economy. Under these circumstances, very rapid spurts in armament orders, as in the second half of 1980, can provide only a temporary jog to

economic activity. An even bigger spurt has been under way since the end of 1981, but statements of administration and private economists indicate a lack of confidence that it can accomplish even as much as the 1980 episode, and they conjecture whether it will contribute to the prospect of repeated recessions and prolonged stagnation.

The military policy of U.S. imperialism is one of the major destabilizing elements of the world capitalist economy, and the harmful effects threaten to become much more acute unless a halt is called.

Under extreme U.S. pressure, most NATO countries and Japan have also been rapidly increasing military outlays, worsening their economic and financial situation.

In each of the six leading imperialist countries, military spending accelerated during the 1970s.⁹ In three of them (Italy, Great Britain and Japan), the rate of increase nearly tripled, and in each there was a corresponding, or even more rapid, acceleration in inflation. This correlation is, of course, far from accidental.

Armament sales to Third World countries, primarily by the United States and its NATO partners, multiplied five-fold during the decade. Reaching \$40-50 billion per year, this contributed heavily to the overindebtedness and superinflation of many of these developing nations.

Recognition that arms orders do not mean jobs is spreading in the ranks of the working class. The International Association of Machinists,¹⁰ which leads in the number of workers employed in armament production, is the most active large trade union in the struggle for peace and for shifting from military to civilian production, which would provide more jobs for its members.

It must be said that the U.S. economy exhibits many of the features of a war economy, but without the large-scale mobilization of manpower, production of ammunition and replacement of destroyed weapons which are a part of an actual war situation. Thus it lacks the drop in unemployment that is characteristic of an actual war status, but is afflicted by most of the negative economic and financial features of a war economy:

— from 1979 to 1981, inflation was at an annual rate of over 10 per cent, although it has temporarily slowed as commodity stockpiles attain maximum liquidation;

— massive budget deficits, now officially predicted to go as high as \$200 billion per year, are creating panic among economists and bankers, who demand more cuts in social

spending and more increases in workers' taxes as a counterbalance.

— ailing housing and automobile industries, the two customary victims of war, are at the lowest sustained level, relative to population, since the Second World War.

Economic warfare against socialist countries

The Reagan administration has sharply intensified its economic warfare against the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries. In addition to the old excuse of preventing the Soviet Union from purchasing militarily useful items, Pentagon Chief Caspar Weinberger and his followers now openly state that their desire is to weaken the Soviet Union economically in every way possible so as to make it unable to keep up with the U.S. arms race, leaving it helpless before Washington's aggression.

This drive is doomed to failure, but it does add economic strains on the Soviet economy, while doing even greater damage to the well-being of American working people and to the stability of the U.S. economy.

Washington restrictions have virtually banned sales of industrial goods to the USSR, have shut off normal air transport and markedly reduced business, cultural and scientific contacts. In the Western Hemisphere, despite proposals of many groups, including business interests, to resume relations with Cuba, the administration has tightened the blockade on the socialist island.

The Reaganites are strongly pressuring their NATO allies to break off trade with the Soviet Union. They went all out to get West European countries to cancel the gas pipeline deal, the largest single set of contracts to date in East-West trade. The objective is not only to hurt the USSR, but also to prevent West European countries from strengthening their own economies and becoming more competitive through trade with the socialist countries. Then there is also the desire to open up new markets for the crisis-ridden U.S. coal industry, and also to preserve markets for the U.S.-owned international oil companies.

Reagan's pipeline campaign has proven to be one of the most clear-cut fiascos in the history of U.S. economic warfare. The U.S. representatives were left to make maudlin pleas for a token gesture — which went unanswered. Gone, clearly, are the Marshall Plan days, when U.S. imperialism could dictate economic policies to weakened West European capitalism and exert direct police power over trade in West European centers.¹¹

Super-monopoly contradictions

The atmosphere of wide-open profiteering encouraged by the administration has led to a frenzied process of centralizing capital, to an orgy of speculation, to financial extremes among sections of capital — superprofits in some sectors, gigantic losses and billion dollar crashes in others.

With no significant anti-trust enforcements in effect, the most powerful monopolies are buying up weaker companies in mammoth transactions that cut across customary business lines. The biggest steel and chemical trusts — Dupont and U.S. Steel, respectively — each spent billions to buy major oil companies, while oil giants are buying retail combines, coal and copper companies, and data processing concerns. Major banks are being bought out by even larger banks at twice their book value. To ease the way for these transactions, top officials and key shareholders of the companies taken over are given "golden parachutes" — in effect, millions in personal pay-offs.

But some losers in the fierce struggle of the billionaire corporations are going to the wall. Braniff, one of the large airlines, recently went into bankruptcy. The very next day, a Wall Street house went under, unable to pay \$160 million in interest on the many billions it borrowed for bond speculation. International Harvester heads the list of prominent industrial corporations on the verge of failure. Brentano's, the venerable bookselling firm, went bankrupt. Small business firms and farmers are failing by the tens of thousands.

A special feature of the financial contradictions in the United States is the super-high rate of interest. Since the autumn of 1979, the prime rate¹² has been almost continually in the 15-20 per cent range, a situation unprecedented in the history of U.S. capitalism. Long-term bond and mortgage rates are now in a similar range.

The inflated interest rates are partly a consequence of the huge demand for borrowed funds in order to finance the swelling federal deficit, to provide cash for corporations being pressed by creditors in the crisis, to supply funds to the oil companies for fresh investment and to manufacturing concerns for modernization in the face of Japanese competition, to assure the billions needed for corporate takeovers and for stock-market speculation.

But that is not the whole story. For, according to statistical tabulations, a combination of domestic savings and the tens of billions in foreign funds becoming available should be

able to meet this demand. A significant role is played by ultra-right economist Milton Friedman, whose monetarist policies are being followed by the Federal Reserve Board. These policies deliberately keep the money supply lower than the normal needs of an economy in a period of inflation. The purpose is to force a slowing down of industrial activity with the laying off of workers and the weakening of their unions, so as to provide a basis for slashing wages and increasing the rate of exploitation of labor. Undoubtedly monetarism has done much to prolong and deepen the economic crisis and has helped employers cut real wages.

However, the contradictory aspects of this cynical offensive have emerged as the profits of many big corporations finally started downward decisively in the first quarter of 1982. At the same time, there are many direct profiteers from the excessive interest rates. But by now more capitalists may be losing than gaining from the high interest rates. Virtually the entire \$800 billion mortgage banking industry (savings and loan associations and savings banks) have exhausted their capital, sustaining huge losses as the interest they pay on deposits exceeds the interest they receive on mortgages granted years ago at more moderate rates.

There is mounting pressure on the Federal Reserve System from U.S. bankers, including Chase Manhattan, the former employer of FRS Chairman Volcker, sections of U.S. industry, West European capitalists, and some trade unions to increase the money supply and bring down the rate of interest. It remains to be seen how much damage will be done by massive financial failures before the financial crisis reaches its climax and is overcome.¹³

Cyclical prospects

The weakening of the world capitalist economy is deep-going. It occurs in an era of overall decay and deterioration, part of the general crisis of capitalism which, as Lenin said, cannot be overcome except by socialism.

However, within this framework, cyclical development will continue. Capitalism does retain reserves. There will be a recovery from the present crisis of overproduction, but its expected timing has been repeatedly set back. Hopes of some revival in the second half of 1982 are based on a certain actual and pending improvement in mass consuming power, resulting from a temporary slowing of inflation and mid-year reductions in tax withholdings from workers' paychecks and increases in pension payments. Many saw the first noticeable upward movement in automobile sales in a year, and in the so-called leading indicators.¹⁴

These are as yet isolated and small signs that may prove to be no more than fluctuations in a continuing depression.

The complex knot of contradictions afflicting the U.S. economy offers poor prospects for the extent and duration of any recovery. Even Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan, who was chairman of Merrill Lynch, the largest stock exchange firm, fears that the recovery will be weak and will soon be followed by a renewed recession.

Deep pessimism is revealed in an interview with a half dozen U.S. capitalists and their most loyal economists in April. For example, Herbert Stein, erstwhile chief economist for Richard Nixon, stressed the need to reduce the inflation rate: "It will take three years, probably, and the economy will be sluggish and unemployment high during that period. I see no way to avoid it." Charles L. Schultze, chief economist for Jimmy Carter, said: "Even under the best of policies, we have to expect a relatively painful period of at least three years while we pull down inflation."¹⁵ All of the recommended "remedies" would put further burdens on the working people.

The fight-back by millions

The political situation in the United States is explosive. Reagan has fallen in popularity more than any previous president in such a brief period. Workers and oppressed people are demanding jobs, food and housing, decent living and working conditions. Polls show overwhelming majorities against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Never has there been such a will to struggle for peace, for escape from the danger of nuclear annihilation.

There is growing recognition of the connection between the war danger and the economic and social calamities afflicting the people. Many trade union leaders actively helped mobilize their members for the massive peace demonstration on June 12, on the occasion of the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament.

The AFL-CIO top leadership has moved from its traditional passivity to sharp criticism of official economic policies and calls for significant concessions to the working class. However, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland vitiates this with continued support of the anti-Sovietism and arms buildup of the administration. But opposition to this betrayal of the most basic interest of all workers is spreading within the labor movement. Thus, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, at its latest meeting, came out for ratification of SALT-2.

The Communist Party USA, at its second

extraordinary conference, held in Milwaukee in April, proposed an Economic Bill of Rights that points the way to the kind of program that is destined to become the platform of struggle for tens of millions of Americans in the period to come.

The Communist Party's document set forth an emergency program, including:

- jobs or income for all persons over 17;
- public works programs to provide 15 million jobs at union scales;
- comprehensive social insurance, medical and health care;
- strict affirmative action and anti-discrimination enforcement;
- the financing of the program to be effected, in the amount of hundreds of billions of dollars, by taxing corporations, by transferring funds from the military budget to social needs, and by slashing interest payments to the bankers.

1. In contrast to the traditional Keynesian methods of state regulation of aggregate demand, supply-side economics seeks to stimulate private-sector production activity through purposeful reduction of taxes, mainly by slashing corporate taxes and so to increase the supply of goods and services. The hope is that this will speed economic growth, make the economic mechanism more efficient and reduce inflation. — Ed.

2. Affirmative action is the policy and practice of taking special measures to overcome many decades of discrimination against Afro-Americans and other minorities, and also against women, to bring them up to the general level of the white majority in terms of work opportunities, advancement to higher skills, education and wage levels, etc. — Ed.

3. Such taxes were approved by the Congress in August 1982. — Ed.

4. *U.S. News and World Report*, May 24, 1982, p. 59.

5. *Ibid.*

6. A special investigator later cleared him of any charges for "lack of evidence." — Ed.

7. *Challenge*, May/June 1982.

8. Weidenbaum and other "supply-side" economists have resigned from the Reagan administration since this article was written. — Ed.

9. Great Britain, Italy, the USA, the FRG, France and Japan. — Ed.

10. Operates in the United States and Canada. — Ed.

11. The West European governments concerned and also Japan refused to accept the Reagan administration's unilateral ban on deliveries of equipment for the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline and rejected the U.S. sanctions against companies honoring their contracts. As the conflict gained in acerbity, the White House was forced, on November 13, 1982, to announce the lifting of the ban. — Ed.

12. The interest charged by commercial banks on loans to their "prime" customers. — Ed.

13. Since the end of the summer of 1982, the FRS has lowered the interest rate on several occasions, and this was followed by cuts in commercial bank rates and a stock exchange boom. But many economists doubt that this could lead to a real economic revival. — Ed.

14. An index designed to signal in advance the onset of the next phase of an economic cycle. — Ed.

15. *U.S. News and World Report*, April 6, 1982.

Important factor in social struggles

Alain Zoughebi
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SPECIALIZED WORKERS CLAIM THEIR RIGHTS

Last year's summer holidays in France were preceded by numerous social struggles. Worthy of special note among these were the victorious strikes called in the Paris area, at the Citroen and Talbot automobile plants owned by Peugeot, a powerful private monopoly group.*

The struggles left a deep imprint on the social climate in the first half of 1982, for they emphasized the significance of the link between activity at the grass roots, the workers' effort on the shop floor to take their destiny into their own hands, and the opportunity they now have to rely on the support of a left government which includes communists.

At the government level, the strikes made it possible to demand of the employers, who have taken an aggressive stance and tried to place themselves above the law, respect for legislation and the people's will expressed in the elections on May 10, 1981.

Politically the strikes were a test of strength. It confirmed that where the movement encompasses an adequate number of workers it can break resistance to progressive changes, no matter how strong at first sight, and win new important positions in that way.

Yet a year ago it would have been hard to imagine that actions of such proportions could take place at Citroen's plants.

Indeed, Citroen is a bastion of the syndicate of owners of the metallurgical, metal-working

and mining industries, the strike force of the National Council of French Employers. The system set up at these plants in the late 50s was intended to control the workers and make them serve the employers' interests; it was based on force, including physical force, and intimidation through cutthroats, spies and hired bandits. This organization reached its heyday, if it may be called that, after major social disturbances in May and June 1968.

The Aulnay-sous-Bois plant (Seine-St-Denis Department), which went into operation in 1974, was to have served as a model for all the enterprises of the monopoly. It is a super-modern plant and 4,500 of its 6,500 employees are SWs, mostly immigrants. It is worth stopping to think of the deep-lying motivations of the Citroen management, which recruited — undoubtedly with the approval of one-time ruling politicians of France — cheap labor in countries where human rights are all but ignored, such as Turkey or Morocco, and which gives in to any blackmail, any pressure.

It was only FCP and CGT organizations that were able, thanks to the courage and devotion of active workers, to resist the system of coercion in force.

The clashes that occurred when, in 1975, the management's commandos attacked communists selling lilies of the valley in the area of the plant on the eve of May Day, were used as a pretext for a ban on all demonstrations at the plant gate. The management had a second fence put up 200 meters from the first as a cordon sanitaire.

At the same time it resorted to bribery and questioning, unlawfully transferred workers from one job or plant to another, reduced jobs, had activists called up anonymously in their homes, staged racist actions and humiliated workers in every way. The story of "gifts" which one of the chiefs of the translation services made workers present to him on his return from holiday is well known today.

The workers could no longer tolerate such tyranny and so stepped up the fight in defense of their dignity and freedom. The strikes at the Citroen, Talbot and Renault plants were indicative of the SWs' desire to bring about a change

*The strikes (which followed a similar action at one of Renault's plants) were a milestone in the contemporary French labor movement. The workers showed great tenacity; the strike at Citroen's plant lasted five weeks (from April 23 to June 1, 1982) and that at Talbot's, more than a month (June and beginning of July). The strikes involved thousands of workers, primarily specialized workers (SWs), or the most disinherited section of the working class. Most of them (they perform operations on the production line requiring no particular skill) are immigrants from Africa, Turkey and Spain. By coming out in defense of their rights, for better living and working conditions and greater trade union rights, the SWs showed increased class awareness and furnished proof of being a militant contingent of the French working class. — Ed.

in their condition and their role on the shop floor.

This is a serious problem claiming the attention of our party, which proposes ways and means of solving it. Indeed, it is a question of the existence of millions of SWs whom the rulers of the country regard as beasts of burden fit for any hard work and who may be fired as soon as they stop providing capital with high profits.

The problem is nothing new as far as the French communists are concerned. In the early 70s our party came to the conclusion that we were faced with a big social problem. During the presidential election campaign Georges Marchais stressed the significance of the problem, going back to it both in his plan for struggle (which included 131 proposals) and in speeches to rallies. Speaking to SWs about their condition, he said: "Together with you, we say: that mutilated life, that hard and distressing life, a life which you are robbed of and which passes without being really lived, can no longer be tolerated."

The active and constructive effort of the communists, who make common cause with immigrant workers, is by no means accidental, any more than our participation in the recent struggles. What is more, the FCP position lays bare the crude anti-communist campaign over immigration carried on by other political forces in 1981. Our party and activists of the CGT, a class and mass trade union organization, and our representatives in elected bodies — MPs, mayors and general councillors — made a tangible contribution to these struggles that was widely appreciated among the workers.

The root causes of the auto workers' strikes go back to the production line with its parceling of work into the simplest operations and its gruelling monotony. The employers want the workers to produce ever more and faster so as to increase the profitability of capital per worker. But SWs today protest against labor organized in this way, for it is outdated and worn out in spite of the employers' efforts. The existing mechanism of exploitation of wage labor fails time and again. SWs demand to be heard, they want their problems to be examined at all social levels, primarily on the shop floor. They want to be seen as the full-fledged human beings and working people they are, to have a decent livelihood and time to live. They want to be respected and they strive for it. They have won the right to make demands. Their class struggle is a devastating reply to the executive who had the audacity to declare during the strike: "One doesn't discuss anything with slaves."

It is primarily the SWs — a section of the

working class — who want to work in a different way. The employers realize that they are up against a big problem which they cannot dodge but must try to solve if they do not want the situation in the enterprises to go from bad to worse.

The workers' current protest is a reflection of crisis in the production sphere itself. The intensification of labor, disregard of the experience and skills of workers and the lack of democracy result in growing organizational troubles, waste and a lack of interest in the results of work. Attempts to raise efficiency prove counterproductive.

The employers try to profit by the workers' creative capacity. They use an increasing number of devices to draw the workers into collaboration, such as "autonomous production teams," the system of "prize-winning" proposals or high quality production groups, that is, whatever may enable them to increase pressure so as to quicken the tempo of labor.

The Peugeot company also uses a relic of old times — the scandalous system of intimidation: the employers maintain a police force of their own, keep card indexes of suspects and spy on workers, above all active party members and trade unionists. However, this policy merely sets problems aside instead of solving them, as actions by SWs show, and tends to create new impasses. It is high time the employers fell into step with the hour. If such conflicts continue to go deeper, incurring the country and the enterprises themselves in the loss of tens of billions of francs the blame must be taken by the managers, who have neither understood, nor learned anything.

To change the situation, we think it is necessary to proceed in a different way. The problems in question are social, economic and humanitarian. They must be solved by meeting the SWs' demands, which are not at all excessive in comparison with losses due to the management's rejection of real talks.

Anything that is good for SWs would benefit all working people, all skilled workers, foremen, engineers and other specialists, and help establish new social relations in both the public and the private sector. Favorable changes in this sphere could help eliminate contradictions between SWs, skilled workers and specialists, contradictions which the employers foment and exploit to split the working people. Such changes would promote working-class unity.

If the workers were entrusted with greater responsibilities and had greater opportunities to influence the production process, the role of executives and the significance of their professional activity would grow accordingly. To ad-

vance in this direction is to further production, raise its social and economic efficiency and contribute to a new upsurge in the French economy.

There is a wide scope for effort which will certainly take time. But the problem of SWs must be tackled immediately if the obsolescent system of work on the production line is to be abolished in due course. What SWs have achieved so far by fighting is evidence of the possibility of progress in this direction. The point at issue is the organization of labor.

Some changes are in the making. In particular, the demand has been made that years-long experience of work be recognized, or, in other words, that the qualifications of SWs be raised. The prerequisites of achieving this aim can be created by using new technologies and up-to-date techniques and steadfastly promoting people, providing vocational training and rais-

ing professional competence.

Our party has never stopped working for this. As a result of devoted effort, the FCP has strengthened its positions, and the CGT, too, has gained greater influence. In the trade union elections of late June, the first free elections to take place at the Aulnay-sous-Bois plant, a former anti-labor citadel, the CGT won an impressive 58 per cent of the vote. It is fair to expect that this plant, at which the workers — Frenchmen and immigrants of various nationalities — have closed ranks, will never go back to the past.

The struggles mentioned on these pages and their outcome have shown to all who do not quite understand that the balance of political forces which emerged after May 10, 1981, offered the workers and their organizations new possibilities that also imply greater responsibilities.



Shift to the right in Bonn

Karl-Heinz Schröder
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The fall of the federal government led by Helmut Schmidt (October 1, 1982) and the transfer of power to a new coalition dominated by the CDU/CSU bloc gave rise to many questions at home and abroad about the reasons for the change. Conjectures are also made on the Federal Republic's policy in the years to come.

As for us communists, we, like other democrats, protested in statements, at rallies and in demonstrations against the Kohl/Strauss-Genscher collusion which had brought about the overthrow of the SDPG-led government. At the fifth plenum of the GCP Board, held the day after the new government was formed, we called for countering the right-wing coalition by forming a democratic alliance against the deployment of new U.S. missiles, for peace, jobs and the defense of civil rights. However, some democratic groups in the Federal Republic show a certain indifference to developments in Bonn, seeing the transfer of power as a mere change of masks. On the other hand, there are those who believe that the conservative parties' takeover of the key levers of state power raises new and, indeed, insur-

mountable obstacles to fruitful activity for peace, democracy and social progress.

It would have been hard to foresee just when the Schmidt cabinet would fall. In examining the causes of the change, however, it is worth recalling the conclusion drawn by the GCP Board in the report submitted by its Chairman, Herbert Mies, to the sixth party congress, which met in Hannover in May 1981 under the motto "Everything for peace. Defend democratic and social rights." "We are faced with an unstable political situation in which serious or even drastic changes may come about at any moment in the alignment of forces in parliament and the government camp," the report said. "Nor will the dominant and ruling circles fail to use tactical devices and maneuvers in order to mislead and reassure the people and the democratic forces. All in all, it is a situation fraught with new dangers but also offering us new chances. We must bear both in mind."

Developments proved this estimation correct; the fifth plenum of the party Board described their meaning as follows: "The removal of Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the

election of Helmut Kohl to this post do not, of course, signify the end of an 'epoch.' But it is perfectly clear that the SDPG's loss of its position as leading government party marks an important change in the development of the Federal Republic."

The previous coalition, led by the SDPG, was based on the consent and support of primarily that part of the big bourgeoisie whose position was more or less realistic and moderate in the early 70s. The present government, led by the CDU/CSU, is backed for the time being by every section of the big bourgeoisie but the decisive influence is undoubtedly exerted by its more reactionary wing.

To be sure, the social-liberal coalition was disrupted at the insistence of FDP politicians, such as Hans-Dietrich Genscher or Otto Lambsdorff, whose party scored the best results in decades during the the latest Bundestag elections by promising to form a government together with the SDPG. But they treacherously and shamelessly broke their electoral promise. As for the deep cause of the break-up of the coalition, it lies in something else. It consists, our party stated, in the crisis of a policy which vacillated between détente and confrontation, between lip-service to peace and insistence on the notorious "double decision" of NATO concerning the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe, between promises of social reform and the dismantling of social gains — a policy whose makers tried to retain the masses' confidence in the government while defending the interests of capital and carrying on the arms race.

The changes in Bonn are evidence of the abandonment for a time of the attempts made at the turn of the 70s to adapt our country's state monopoly capitalist structures to new national and international conditions with the aid of the social democrats and by the mostly reformist methods typical of them.

That period saw stepped-up efforts to allow West German imperialism greater freedom of action on the international scene. Among other things, they expressed themselves in a so-called new Eastern policy, that is, the conclusion of treaties on cooperation and good-neighbor relations with socialist countries, on the one hand, and the replacement of the abortive doctrine of "rolling back socialism" by a policy of "eroding" countries of the socialist community "from within," on the other. A further indication of these efforts was the bid to win a dominant position in Western Europe and the EEC, pursue a more autonomous policy toward developing countries, and even show greater independence with regard to the United

States while at the same time stressing loyalty to the alliance.

In domestic policy the sights were raised to reforms in the education system and the health services and participation in the management of enterprises, environmental protection and other activities to make West German big capital more competitive and preserve "internal peace." State monopoly capitalism was to be updated through reform. The concept of a "German model," which emerged at the time, revealed the close interconnection of a reformist domestic policy and definite foreign policy objectives.

Although social democratic ministers claimed that they could govern the capitalist state better than anybody else, power is now in the hands of a right-wing coalition. This means that a reactionary reversal has begun, with the result that social democratic variants of government are being replaced by conservative concepts of adjusting state monopoly capitalism to the new situation created in the early 80s: the economic crisis and the policy of confrontation in the world arena. Due to mounting pressure from mass movements for peace, the interests of the working class, and environmental protection, the SDPG leadership and the government led by it were unable to implement the big bourgeoisie's far-reaching reactionary political plans consistently and to the full. Thus the change of government showed again that monopoly capital only leaves power in the hands of social democrats and liberals for as long as they can guarantee it profits and the attainment of its home and foreign policy goals. "Today an attempt is being made in Federal Germany as in the United States and Great Britain," said Herbert Mies at the fifth plenum of the GCP Board, "to ensure by dismantling social and democratic gains the extensive arms build-up envisaged by the NATO decision and endangering world peace. The formation of the Kohl/Genscher government is a mirror reflection of this."

The right-wing coalition has been in power for a relatively short time, and yet it is obvious that the change of government amounts to a serious turn in our people's life, for it forebodes a further swing in government policy to the right as well as a real danger of a sharp shift to the right in every sphere of politics and public life generally. The emphasis in domestic policy is put on undermining social gains and curbing democracy.

As far as the working people are concerned, the reactionary policy of the right-wing coalition makes itself felt most directly in the economic and social spheres. With the backing of a

majority secured through parliamentary stratagems, it has pushed through a state budget for 1983 providing, in particular, for cuts in allowances for children and in appropriations for education, a worsening of the condition of pensioners, larger insurance deductions to the pension and unemployment funds, a reduction of unemployment relief, a higher value-added tax, and so on. Altogether the working people will be deprived of 14 billion marks in social relief this year alone. This is called a "respite" in social security policy. Furthermore, there are demands for a compulsory wage freeze. Norbert Blum, the new Labor Minister, has declared cynically that since pensioners have been denied the pension rises that were due, workers, too, should "make sacrifices." At the same time, employers' associations encroach more and more on the workers' social gains, with the right-wing coalition showing its resolve to make the people tighten their belts so as to assure capitalist profit and the arms build-up.

The further reduction of the purchasing capacity of the masses which the right-wing coalition is implementing is by no means an obstacle to the rapid growth of unemployment. Official statistics sets the current number of unemployed people at two million; actually there are two and a half million. By 1985 their number may well reach the figure of three or four millions. As for job vacancies, they fall short of 100,000.

The financial crisis of the capitalist state is going deeper. The overall deplorable state of the economy and the burden of arms spending, which is growing fast under the coalition, have the most adverse impact on the federal and municipal budgets. In 1970 the federal and state governments paid 15 billion marks in debts and interest; in 1981, payments exceeded 100 billion marks. It will be readily imagined what the capitalist "red pencil" policy (policy of cutting social expenditures — Ed.) will be like in, say, 1986, when the federation and the states are faced with the problem of securing as much as 170 billion marks for the same purpose. While the burden put on the working people's shoulders is steadily growing, the monopolies are granted enormous tax reductions and favorable conditions for investment which enable them to speed capitalist rationalization of production, destroying more jobs in the process.

The foregoing indicates, as the report to the sixth plenum of the GCP Board (Dusseldorf, November 13-14, 1982) noted, that "the working class of the Federal Republic . . . finds itself in new conditions of struggle. Until as late as

the 70s the ruling class could 'take with both hands,' so to speak, and had considerable freedom of maneuver for social concessions. The means at the disposal of the traditional trade union wage rate policy were sufficient to win notable improvements without struggle, by negotiation. This situation is a thing of the past. Today a sustained class struggle is needed to defend even social gains already there. The well-trodden path of social partnership now leads solely to greater unemployment and more social dismantling. It follows that life itself demands of the working-class movement a new policy line opposing class struggle from below to class struggle from above."

It is indicative that as early as the end of October and the beginning of November 1982, the trade unions launched struggles "against the policy of social dismantling," "against the insanity of arms race," and that over half a million wage and salary earners joined in these struggles. Schoolchildren and students took to the streets en masse to protest against the reduction of financial support for students and attempts to finalize in this way the educational privileges of the rich. Parents demonstrated against the sharp increase in Kindergarten fees. Tenants and pensioners fought in defense of their rights. Tens of thousands of young people use new forms of struggle in demanding to be enabled to learn a trade. The fact that the movement against massive layoffs and plant closures, for the right to work, is gaining in scope is most noteworthy.

On the pretext of safeguarding "internal security," steps are to be taken to restrict the right to demonstrate, enact harsher laws on foreigners, tighten the Berufsverbot system, and so on, thereby greatly worsening conditions for democratic struggles. This, too, marks a change in the development of the Federal Republic.

In foreign policy, a further shift to the right finds expression in unquestioning acceptance of Reagan's policy of confrontation and arms build-up. Kohl's government declaration called support for the U.S. policy "the foundation of German foreign policy and security." It described the alliance with the United States and NATO as "the centerpiece of German state interests." The right-wing coalition expressed its "unqualified" agreement with the decision to station new U.S. missiles in Europe. Although the declaration spoke of a desire for "real détente," dialogue and cooperation with socialist countries, it also contained allegations amounting to interference in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, repeated bat-

tered nationalist phrases about the "open German question," and so on.

During official meetings which Kohl and some of his ministers had with President Francois Mitterrand of France and the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, as well as during the Chancellor's November meeting with President Reagan, attention focused on the problems of building up armaments, strengthening NATO, deploying U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons in our country and other West European states, and bringing the Federal Republic even more actively into the anti-communist "crusade" announced by U.S. imperialism. The right-wing Bonn coalition has repeatedly made clear that the NATO decision on missiles will be carried out no matter what, and that work on building missile launchers in the Federal Republic will begin as early as the spring of 1983. It has left no room for doubt that it supports Reagan's stance at Geneva, Vienna and Madrid.

In view of this trend of development, our party points out that the security of our country will hinge most directly on whether or not new U.S. nuclear missiles are sited here. We consider that the workers and working-class movement of the Federal Republic must harness all their energies to preventing the implementation of the NATO decision mentioned above. This calls for a further expansion of the peace movement and its combination with the working-class movement as well as for numerous initiatives on the shop floor. Also needed, especially now that the SDPG/FDP coalition has fallen apart, is stronger support of the struggle for peace on the part of social democrats and the SDPG as a whole. The social democrats now have additional reasons for this. Contrary to the calculations of the SDPG leadership, who had imagined that Reagan might search for solutions on the lines of a policy for peace, the U.S. posture at Geneva betrays, as social democrats in the Federal Republic and elsewhere see it, a desire for the exact opposite of preventing the deployment of missiles. Whereas many social democrats proceeded from the doubtful assumption that the government of Chancellor Schmidt would insist on Reagan's achieving positive results in the missile talks, this certainly cannot be expected of the coalition led by Chancellor Kohl.

The results of the referendum on a nuclear weapons freeze held in ten states of the USA showed the real common interests of the peoples of the Federal Republic and the United States. It is also beyond question that the Soviet proposals for a commitment not to make a first nuclear strike, a freeze on nuclear arsenals, and the ultimate destruction of this weapon itself

offer excellent opportunities for talks on further steps toward disarmament and a reduction of the war danger. Peace supporters in our country are aware of this.

In November 1982, a total of more than 1,000 Peace Weeks took place in various West German districts and cities. They were organized by the most diverse forces fighting against the war menace, for disarmament, against the implementation of the NATO decision on missiles. There were important actions in December as well, on the occasion of the anniversary of the decision. During these actions as in the Peace Weeks that preceded them, the sponsors went on collecting signatures to the Krefeld Appeal against the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles, which has already been signed by more than three million West Germans. January 1983 will likewise be marked by actions in defense of peace. The slogans "No war ever again" and "No fascism ever again" will remind the participants of the lessons of Hitler's seizure of power 50 years ago. Preparations are under way for Easter '83 marches which are expected to become once again mass actions against arms build-up plans and the U.S. policy aimed at using the territory of West European countries as a theater of nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

It is essential to realize and continuously reveal the danger of a further drift, and possibly a sharp swing, to the right. In view of this danger and the fact that the working-class and trade union movement's ability to influence the government varies according to whether the government is led by the SDPG or the CDU, our party has repeatedly stated that it is not immaterial to communists who is ruling in Bonn. However, it is equally important to realize that the right-wing coalition government and its policies can likewise be curbed. If the freedom of action of the CDU/CSU could be restricted in the 50s and 60s, this is all the more feasible today.

The present balance of world forces is different. For all the problems which socialism has to grapple with, it is more powerful now in political, economic and military terms than ever before. There exists a military strategic balance between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, between the United States and the Soviet Union. Over the past years, the Federal Republic and socialist countries have established mutual relations that are based on international treaties and will continue in force. Today Third World countries in general and countries in the non-aligned movement in particular have greater leverage in the struggle for

peace and social progress than in previous decades; they are a force which the imperialists of the United States and other countries can no longer ignore.

The differences between the USA and West European countries, in particular over the gas pipeline deal signed by the West Europeans with the Soviet Union, suggest increasing inter-imperialist contradictions and a shrinking of the foreign policy options of crisis-ridden capitalist countries.

Another most hopeful development is the change in the real balance of forces in the Federal Republic itself. Extra-parliamentary movements, especially the movement against war and those formed to fight for specific social objectives are going from strength to strength as they assume greater proportions. The usual party "landscape" has changed strikingly. The old Bonn parties — CDU/CSU, FDP, and SDPG — must cope with a new situation. The GCP now has delegates in a number of municipalities, if not in many as yet. Members of other democratic groupings, such as the "Greens" or "Alternativists," have been elected to many local parliaments, including state legislatures. In view of discontent and protest against the insanity of arming and social dismantling, they may well be elected even to the Bundestag. The formation of new parliamentary alliances to the left of the CDU/CSU is a possibility now. The activity of the right-wing coalition runs counter to the interests of youth. Lastly, a sizable section of the Catholic and Evangelical church has stopped supporting the conservative parties' policies automatically.

It must be borne in mind that whether the above parties can form a government depends on the FDP now. Yet the FDP, having betrayed its electorate, is itself compelled to struggle for existence, and to try to assert itself as a party independent of the CDU/CSU as well.

The social democrats know that they must answer the challenge posed to them. They must do so not only because they were ousted from the government by foul means, but also because the right-wing coalition is intent on nullifying the numerous social reforms effected with SDPG participation. This could also make for greater resistance to the policies of the conservative cabinet.

In the circumstances, the GCP considers that it is particularly important to achieve unity of action by the communists and social democrats and form an alliance of all left-wing and democratic forces against the right-wing Bonn coalition. We see our chief task in bringing about such an alignment and in supporting its struggle against the siting of missiles, for peace, jobs

and democratic rights. We appeal primarily to social democrats and the SDPG as a whole. At the same time, we realize that it was the contradictory policy of the SDPG-led government that helped in decisive measure to create the prerequisites of the CDU/CSU takeover. However, to quote the fifth plenum of the Board, our party believes that "at present the important thing is what we can offer the working people, how all democratic forces, primarily the social democrats and communists, can and must rally together in the struggle against the right-wing coalition. . . We will support any political step of the social democrats meeting the interests of peaceful, democratic and social development of the Federal Republic, that is, the interests of the working people and democratic forces."

This is, now as before, our criterion in evaluating the social democrats' policy, past and present. It is for this reason that we communists welcome recent statements by some leading social democrats and our SDPG colleagues in the trade unions, who said that an end must be put to the insanity of arms race, and that no liquidation of the socio-political achievements of the past 13 years must be allowed. These include the legitimized payment of wages in the case of illness, the protection of tenants from arbitrary eviction, an extension of measures encouraging personal saving, state subsidies for rent and allowances for children, paid leaves for young mothers, and other social security measures. At the same time, the GCP says openly that attitudes of influential social democrats which retain negative aspects of the SDPG's earlier government policy are at variance with the interests of the working people, with the national interest. These social democrats intend, even now that they have been removed from power, to back the foreign policy of the right-wing coalition and certain measures which it is adopting to redistribute the national income in favor of big capital.

In discussing issues of this nature, it is very important to take account of the manner in which the government was changed and the demands flowing from this. The reprehensible methods used by Genscher and Lambsdorff gave rise to sharp differences and controversies. It is essential to determine whether so important a political decision of the FDP as its renunciation of the coalition with the SDPG and its switch to collaboration with the CDU/CSU should be submitted to the electorate for judgment; moreover, the various attitudes should be stated in explicit terms before the elections.

Pressure in favor of immediate mid-term elections, which all progressive left and demo-

cratic forces, including the GCP, demanded in view of the fall of the SDPG-led government, forced the right-wing coalition to set such elections for March 6, 1983. It is not clear at this writing whether the elections will actually take place. Many influential people doubt its advisability, evidently because the FDP risks failing to win enough votes to stay in the Bundestag. Besides, an alternative alignment, such as the "Greens" or an alliance of diverse democratic elements, might win seats in the Bundestag.

Be that as it may, our party and all other left and democratic forces insist on mid-term elections and are preparing for them. "In the event of new elections," says the statement on the government crisis released by the GCP on September 17, 1982, "the German Communist Party will put forward its candidates and adopt all requisite measures. The best solution would undoubtedly be joint action during new elections by all democratic and left forces, a democratic electoral alliance on the basis of a common electoral program. The GCP supports every step in this direction. Should an alliance of democratic and left forces come into being on the lines of partnership — an alliance in which the GCP could join as an equal member

— our party would be ready to withdraw its own lists of candidates."

The GCP position on elections is intended to help bring all democratic and left forces closer together and form a corresponding majority in parliament. The formation of this majority should not weaken but strengthen unity of action in extra-parliamentary struggles, as well as the democratic alliances that take shape in their course, and not weaken the peace movement but make for an upsurge in it. This also applies to manifold activities in defense of democratic rights and over specific social issues. Needless to say, our actions outside parliament, including those connected with the coming mid-term or other elections, should lead to a strengthening of the GCP as a Marxist party holding its inalienable place in society, a democratic ally, and an active factor in the struggle for a left majority.

We consider that to work in this way means operating as an independent force with a precise program criticizing capitalist society and containing socialist guidelines, a socialist alternative to the capitalist system shaken by crises, showing the highest degree of militancy, and being invariably geared to action. This was emphasized at the fifth and sixth plenums of the GCP Board. Of course, the party knows that an electoral alliance comprising the social democrats, "Greens," democratic socialists, and other democratic forces, including the GCP, is a strategic, long-range objective at this stage. Nevertheless, we have no reason to renounce this promising goal that will eventually become attainable.

The GCP is firmly convinced that the social democrats, socialists, communists, progressive liberals, "Greens" and "Alternativists," as well as politically uncommitted elements participating in democratic movements, already constitute the majority of the population and at the same time its socially most active part.

The new situation is unquestionably fraught with new dangers. However, it would be very wrong to overlook the fact that this situation also provides new opportunities for a speedier and broader unification of all democrats and left-wingers in an effective struggle against the right-wing coalition. The threat of drastic measures against our party calls for political vigilance and solidarity. At the same time, we must use the opportunities that offer now and will offer in the future to increase the role of the GCP as a unifying force irreplaceable in the struggle of the working people of the Federal Republic. Our task is to cope with dangers and make full use of the new opportunities.

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A result of the people's struggle

Felipe Rodriguez

CC member, Communist Party of Bolivia

Bolivia's communists have always been deeply confident of the strength of the working people and the revolutionary movement in their country. "It is a fact," the Political Commission of the CC CPB stressed immediately after General Luis Garcia Meza's bloody coup,¹ "that the country is 'barred' by tanks, planes, infantry, cavalry, artillery . . . that dozens of Bolivians were or are killed, and that thousands of men and women are arrested, tortured, exiled or persecuted . . . This is not to say, however, that the occupation government has consolidated itself. State institutions are functioning mechanically while Bolivian society is in a latent crisis that may lead to an explosion at any moment."²

And indeed, it was not long before a social explosion shook the country. It was a product of the policies of a repressive and corrupt regime that had dislocated the economy and doomed the masses to hunger by blindly following the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund. The people as a whole and virtually all political parties operating underground and adhering to a democratic, revolutionary and anti-fascist position came out against the tyranny.

Under their pressure the dictatorship, which the reactionary military had wanted to preserve for "at least 20 years," began to totter as early as a few months after it had seized power. Scandalous deals by the regime's potentates and their involvement in the affairs of a mafia trafficking in drugs gave rise to deep-going differences among the armed forces. The regime found itself in "diplomatic isolation," which tended to increase its political instability. In the circumstances, the military command in August 1981 relieved Garcia Meza of the Presidency of the Republic. The replacement of the dictator and the promise to restore political and trade union freedoms within a "reasonable" period of time were no more than an attempt to rescue the military regime and ease social tension. But this maneuver could not curb the élan of the working people, of the organized working class, particularly its most politically conscious and militant contingent, the miners.

There came a series of strikes, including large-scale civic strikes,³ as well as demon-

strations. The economic and political demands made by them and anger at the measures adopted by the junta at the bidding of the IMF led to an expansion of popular action against the tyranny, for an early democratization of the country. Trade union struggles, coupled with a political movement against the government, developed into a broad offensive of the masses which predetermined the crisis of repressive rule and the disintegration of the dictatorship, and forced the military back to the barracks. This paved the way for the execution of the sovereign will of the people, who had voted three times for the Democratic and Popular Unity (UDP) bloc.⁴

On October 10, 1982, Hernan Siles Zuazo and Jaime Paz Zamora, UDP candidates, were enabled at last to take office under the Constitution as President and Vice-President of the Republic.

The military clique did not at all relinquish power of its own free will, as certain quarters talking about a "democratic self-transformation" of the dictatorships of the continent's southern Cone would have it. The U.S. press occasionally alleges that the changes in our country were almost a result of the policy of the White House.

This invites the following comment: the United States, while regarding Bolivia's generals as less than reliable partners and at times even withholding part of its aid, backed Bolivian reaction as a whole, and did its best to prevent the accession to power of a left coalition involving the communists.

It was by no means willingly that reaction gave up its positions. This was a result of long years of struggle and untold sacrifice by the people, and at the same time, a result of the UDP's principled policy. The forces of democratic and popular unity formed their bloc early in 1978. It comprises the Left Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNRI), or the party of the new President, the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) whose leaders include Paz Zamora, the Communist Party, and several other organizations.

The UDP has never been solely an electoral coalition or temporary alignment pursuing aims of passing significance. It was conceived

from the first as a strategic alliance and a real democratic alternative to the regime at the given stage of history. The political declaration published by UDP in 1980 defined the bloc as a "popular, national, anti-imperialist and revolutionary front formed in the course of the people's sustained anti-fascist struggle and developed in the fight for mass democracy and its institutions, against the restoration of dictatorship in new forms and for a constitutional regime allowing Bolivia to achieve national liberation, independent economic development and real social justice . . . The UDP will not restrict itself to effort to restore nominal democracy but will seek effective democracy for national liberation under which the country will be led and its destiny shaped by the overwhelming majority of the population."⁵

The nature and composition of the new leadership of the republic are understandably conditioned by its base, the UDP coalition. The Communist Party holds two ministerial posts. The political base of the government has broadened with the inclusion of a representative of the Christian Democratic Party under an agreement between that party and the UDP.

As in the resistance before, so in the government now, the communists adhere consistently to the general principles and provisions worked out in common with their allies. In an interview with foreign correspondents Jorge Kolle Cueto, First Secretary of the CC CPB, stressed that with the formation of the UDP government Bolivia had entered a new stage of development. It is now essential to persevere in the process of democratic change broken off by military regimes. The communists can and must make a tangible contribution to the solution of the nation's problems, for they took an active part in the formulation of the left coalition's electoral program and declare firmly for its implementation.

Now what is the gist of the program?

The program calls for a planned economy serving the cause of national liberation, for the defense of natural resources and their utilization for the good of the country, a stronger economic role for the state, the promotion of diverse forms of cooperation in production, self-management, and joint management of the enterprises.⁶ The UDP also sets itself far-reaching social goals. The government intends to encourage the working-class and peasant movement, safeguard the rights of the Indian majority of the population,⁷ young people and children, and contribute to real equality for women. It plans a serious reform of the education system to make it national, anti-imperialist and truly scientific in content.

The foreign policy section of the program is based on the principles of non-alignment, national self-determination, mutual respect and non-interference. Bolivia is going to promote friendly relations with all countries, primarily those fighting against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and defending their national rights. The UDP favors a new international economic order and the satisfaction by peaceful means of Bolivia's legitimate aspiration for access to the ocean.

The people's government began to function in a dramatic situation, against the background of economic and financial turmoil. This state of affairs is due objectively to the inevitable failure of the policy of so-called "development in security" pursued in the 70s by the fascist dictatorship of General Hugo Banzer and his followers. Production had fallen off sharply and state enterprises were on the brink of bankruptcy. The external debt is so great that it cannot in effect be paid. Foreign exchange reserves are exhausted, inflation has gone very far and the dollar exchange rate of the peso has dropped to a tenth between April and September 1982. There is an acute shortage of necessities, and price growth has gone beyond tolerable limits. Nor is this a complete list of the hardships besetting the country.

To overcome these difficulties, the new government has adopted an emergency plan whose chief purpose is to protect the working class and other poor sections of the population from the ruinous effects of the crisis. Steps are to be taken to supply large population groups with foodstuffs and compensate the working people for the growing cost of living within the framework of the available limited resources. The plan is aimed at increasing employment, stabilizing the peso and financing the import of raw and other materials for industry. Siles Zuazo has said in this connection that there will be "a minimum living wage and worker participation in management . . . Defense of the national economy and the subsequent implementation of an independent economic social program must become everyone's concern, with the interests of the Bolivian people as the only form of dependence."⁸

The action begun by the authorities to rid the state apparatus of bribe-takers and persons involved in terrorism and drug traffic is very important.

The UDP and the government formed by it are in a position to surmount existing difficulties with the support of the masses. The left bloc can mobilize powerful forces, relying on the political consciousness and devotion of the working class and the people as a whole. The

UDP has the sympathy of the peoples of the world and enjoys active solidarity on the part of a wide spectrum of democratic political forces,⁹ Latin American and West European governments, the socialist countries, the non-aligned states and the whole of progressive opinion. Nor is this solidarity less important to Bolivia than material and financial assistance.

Latin America's dictatorial regimes follow democratic transformations in my country with undisguised distaste. They fear that the example of Bolivia may give a new spur to revolutionary liberation struggles. The reaction of certain U.S. quarters to these changes was markedly negative. The White House is trying to make relations with Bolivia conditional on removing the communists from the government. Nobody is surprised by this approach. The imperialists may well choose still tougher and more aggressive forms of interference in our affairs. The Bolivian people emphatically reject those brazen threats and actions. They deny the U.S. administration's right to decide who may or may not lead a sovereign country that is neither a colony, nor a protectorate of the United States.

The communist members of the cabinet represent the interests of the working class, among whom the party enjoys decisive influence. Communists play the leading role in the Bolivian Workers' Center, or the national trade union federation, the Federation of Miners and many other mass labor organizations. Led by the CPB, the working class made a decisive contribution to the anti-fascist resistance and the victory of the democratic forces. The party's prestige grew notably. Today the working class and its vanguard are a guarantee of fruitful activity by the government and of the process of socio-economic change under way.

This explains why reaction aims its main blows at the communists. We know by experience that behind anti-communist campaigns is always a desire to isolate the democratic and progressive movement. In our country, reaction would like to split the UDP in this way and divert it from its chosen path.

The progressive forces are aware that there exists a real threat of a reactionary coup. The oligarchy and imperialism are bound to try with the help of certain military quarters to stage a coup and reverse the situation in their favor. But we know that the balance of forces in the army has changed. Servicemen are more distrustful now of generals who pose as champions of legality and yet do all they can to strip the army of prestige, demoralize it and turn sections of army personnel into hangmen. The CPB pointed out in the past that the Bolivian

military has "sufficiently high moral principles and is dignified and patriotic enough to renounce confrontation with its own people and thus to avoid the risk of definitive discredit."¹⁰ As if to confirm these words, a movement of institutionalist army officers has sprung up in the country. Outraged by the criminal practices and anti-democratic policies of Garcia Meza and his underlings, they dissociated themselves from the dictatorship and became victims of repression in turn. Lucio Anez, now Chief of the General Staff, describes the situation in those years as follows: "We were discharged from the army, driven underground in our own country and persecuted even by our own compatriots."¹¹

On the basis of the mandate given him by the constitution, Siles Zuazo has replaced the leadership of all armed services. There is now a New Supreme Court of Honor of the Armed Forces whose duty is, according to General Villarroel Barja, the new Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, "to try and punish servicemen who in fulfilling their official functions have committed acts at variance with military ethics, tarnishing the prestige and honor of the Armed Forces."¹²

Nevertheless, some fascists still hold high posts to which they were appointed by the former regime. They are biding their time to hatch a conspiracy against the people's government. Making common cause with them are members of the international clan of drug traffickers, German nazis who have escaped punishment and neofascist-like terrorists from various European countries. They all had felt as snug as a bug in a rug, serving dictators in good faith, joining in repressive measures and forming paramilitary bands. Thus one of the primary tasks of the new regime is to destroy this criminal underworld before it has a chance to regroup and to commit itself to serving forces engaged in subversive, anti-democratic activities at home and abroad. The durability of the process that has begun will in all circumstances depend primarily on a further shift in the balance of forces in favor of the UDP, on how solid this unity proves itself, on the ability of the masses to counter putschist ventures.

We communists know that the conditions in which the ruling coalition is functioning are very difficult. The parties of the right, while unable to offer a real alternative, have declared a parliamentary war on the new government. Their MPs obstruct and boycott the effort of executive bodies and do their utmost to hamper the latter's measures. Although the right won much fewer votes in the elections than the UDP, certain provisions of the earlier electoral

law enabled them to secure the election of more deputies and senators.¹³ Parliament is a scene of continuous clashes which may develop into political battles before long.

The domestic situation confronts the CPB with the task of working for the all-round consolidation of the UDP and the people's government. This is necessary if the new government is to accomplish its program with support from the working class and other working people, that is, to restore democracy and achieve national liberation and social progress. We communists see this as our revolutionary duty.

To be sure, the transition from dictatorship to people's government was made possible by numerous factors. However, what has happened in Bolivia cannot be regarded as an accidental or isolated development. The trends and processes in evidence in our country are largely typical of other countries of the region whose people are fighting as resolutely as their Bolivian brothers and sisters against fascist violence and pro-imperialist dictatorships. This is why we have every reason to affirm that the events in Bolivia herald new changes in Latin America.

1. Military coup accomplished in July 1980. — Ed.
2. *Por un poder democratico, popular, soberano: desenmascarar, resistir y derrotar al fascismo. Rescatar y proyectar la democracia de masas.* Documento de la Comision Politica del CC del PCB, La Paz, September 1980.
3. Protest actions, often at the national level, involving the majority of the population irrespective of profession or social orientation. — Ed.
4. Reaction had contrived on more than one instance to prevent the people from expressing their will. In 1978 there was a coup by Juan Pereda Asbun; in 1979 the rightists, who had a majority in parliament, foiled the confirmation of elected candidates; in 1980 the election results were nullified by the Garcia Meza coup. — Ed.
5. *Declaracion Politica de la UDP.* Bases del Programa de Gobierno, La Paz, 1980.
6. By the state and the workers. — Ed.
7. As of 1980, the Quechua, Aymara and Guarani made up 60 per cent of the population, according to the National Institute of Statistics. — Ed.
8. *Presencia* (La Paz), November 1, 1982.
9. The Standing Conference of Political Parties of Latin America, attended by over 50 parties of 20 countries, resolutely supported the changes effected in Bolivia. — Ed.
10. *Por un poder democratico ...* (op. cit.).
11. *Presencia*, October 23, 1982.
12. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1982.
13. The UDP holds 57 of the 157 Congress seats. However, it is also backed by left and democratic groups outside it. — Ed.

Youth of the 1980s: outlines of a social portrait

Statistics indicate that more than half the planet's population is under the age of 25. In many countries the proportion of young people is 60 and in some cases 70 per cent.

What do young people think of key present-day problems? What stirs and worries them? This interests people of all generations. The future is, after all, in the hands of young people. They are the ones who will continue our revolutionary, communist cause as well.

The WMR Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements asked some leading personalities of the international communist youth movement and democratic youth organizations to answer the following questions:

1. What would you say are the most significant orientations of social activity by young people in our day? In this respect is there a difference between the 1960s-1970s and the beginning of the 1980s?

2. What aims are pursued by your youth organization on the national and international levels?

We publish the answers we have received.

FIGHTERS ARE CLOSING RANKS

James Steele

CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of the USA,
Chairman, Young Workers Liberation League

1. Only recently one of the favorite assertions of bourgeois propaganda was that no youth movement existed in the USA in the 1960s, and early 1970s. To show how absurd this assertion is, suffice it to recall the actions of young Americans against the criminal war in Vietnam. True, at the time many youth organizations dissolved without ever having gained strength, but nonetheless the social consciousness of many young people gradually matured.

Quite naturally, after the USA's defeat in Vietnam the youth movement as a whole acquired a different character. It began to focus more on social problems, chiefly the struggle against chronic unemployment, which has hit Afro-American youth the hardest.

With the commencement of the 1980s the character of the actions underwent further and, I would add, dramatic changes. It is my opinion that a noteworthy feature of the present youth movement in my country is the swift growth of activity by young men and women. Practically all the traditional and most widespread forms of youth activity — trade union, social, cultural, sports, and so on — are gradually acquiring a political dimension. New organizations are appearing, such as, for example, the grassroots action committees against the threat of a nuclear war and against Reagan's plans for intervention in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and other countries. This means that young people are more and more clearly realizing that different methods of struggle have to be employed. Nothing of the sort was to be observed before.

Further. We are witnessing a rapid radicalization of the aims of the youth movement. It seems to me that now, as never before, large sections of young Americans have a clearer vision of the close relationship between domestic and foreign policy, between anti-war actions and actions for social and economic rights, against racism. This process is most strikingly seen in the slogans under which young people demonstrate, for instance, "money for jobs, not for war," "Jobs in production, not in destruction," and so on.

Third, and last, I believe that the basic feature distinguishing the youth movement of the 1980s is that it is acquiring the character of mass actions. I'll confine myself to two examples. Half of those who were in the 500,000-strong demonstration of September 19, 1981, held on the initiative of trade unions, were young workers. Then on June 12, 1982, the most massive anti-war demonstration in American history took place in New York. There were more than a million marchers, and the vast majority of those who declared their unconditional support for the cause of peace were young people. All this is unquestionable evidence of the growth of their political maturity, their sense of responsibility.

What spurs this activity? Many things. But among them, I believe, we should accentuate the bitter disappointment of Americans over the aggressive orientations of the Reagan administration's domestic and foreign policies. The communists believe that favorable objective and subjective conditions are now taking shape for the formation of an all-embracing youth front of struggle against the White House's adventurist policies, for social and national equality, for the opportunity for all to work and study, for peace and anti-imperialist solidarity.

2. The 1980s are making new, larger demands of the Young Workers Liberation League. We have much to keep us busy. Although there has lately been a considerable growth of the League's membership, its influence and numerical strength still fall below the requirements of the youth movement and, consequently, cannot satisfy us. Of the entire sum of vital tasks, I would distinguish three.

First, the League is trying to restructure its propaganda and publishing activities and win a larger circulation for its publications. We believe that young Americans are becoming increasingly aware of the need for radical social changes and this creates a propitious atmosphere for the acceptance of progressive ideas, including the doctrine of socialism. Fewer people are succumbing to anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda. This makes it all the more important to give growing attention to the ideological struggle, not in abstract, theoretical forms, but in forms that would help young people to get explicit answers to the questions they are asking. In other words, ideological efforts must be combined with mass political actions.

Second, we have to resolve the very acute problem of educating cadre. The League is growing swiftly. It is being joined by young men and women with inadequate ideological and political training. The Communist Party USA is at present sponsoring discussions to determine ways of stepping up work among young people and reinforcing the League. I am confident that the party will help us resolve existing problems creatively, although I realize, of course, that this can hardly be done as quickly as we would have liked.

Third, there is the very important task of extending the League's links to other youth organizations in order to form a broad youth front of struggle. A feature of the youth movement in the USA is that it is inconsistent with the present party-political system and lacks an integral national structure. Let me explain: in European industrialized capitalist countries there are, as a rule, several leading youth currents of various orientation: communist, social democratic, Catholic, and so on.¹ But American youth organizations unite young people chiefly according to social status and profession. That makes it exceedingly important to organize the struggle at the grass-roots level, to set up forms, structures, and coalitions (for instance, young workers and campus and high school students) that would help to unite them.

The most crucial task today is to form an all-embracing youth front of struggle for peace, disarmament, and youth social and economic

rights. I believe the prospects for this are good today. There is growing understanding in the nation that the aggravation of social troubles is the direct result of the Reagan administration's unprecedentedly large military expenditures and its imperialist foreign policy. Young people are prepared to act against official Washington's militarist line, condemning its attempts to frighten the man in the street with the "Soviet threat" bogey. Unlike the preceding period, there is now the possibility of actively drawing young workers, students and unemployed youth, all young men and women subjected to racial and national discrimination, into the struggle for peace.

How is this to be achieved? I think the surest way would be to make creative use of the existing diversity of forms of struggle for youth rights, to unite them at the place of work, study and residence.

This is precisely how we acted last year in preparing the June demonstration in New York. At high schools, campuses, workplaces, and residential neighborhoods, in short, everywhere, signatures were collected under the League resolution declaring this or that youth organization, high school, or district a symbolic "nuclear-free zone." We worked in the same key on the eve of the November 1982 congressional elections, endeavoring to form a youth coalition against pro-Reagan candidates for Senate and Congress.

Or take another example. For the past several years, on April 4, the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, our League conducts various actions (marches on Washington, meetings with candidates standing for Congress, and so on). Last year, these actions were aimed chiefly at fighting racism and championing youth rights. The time has now come for enlarging the framework of such actions. It is our aim that in raising the problem of restructuring society more clearly these actions should become part and parcel of the movement for peace, for ending the arms race.

This year we plan to convene a national conference to draw up a political and legislative program, whose fulfillment would help to give effect to the striving of young Americans for peace, social justice, and equality. But we are not utopians and are well aware that this will entail considerable effort. We are encouraged by the fact that a growing number of young Americans are thinking in the same terms.²

1. Finland, France, the FRG, Sweden, and some other countries have, in addition to independent youth movements, national coordinating centers to which various political and non-political youth organizations belong. — Ed.

2. In the autumn of 1982 the League's National Council passed a resolution on the formation of a communist youth organization. "The nation and young people," declared James Steele in an interview with the newspapers *Daily World* and *Young Worker*, "are in need of a new type of revolutionary youth organization equal to the requirements of the new moment." — Ed.

DEFEND THE REVOLUTION, BUILD SOCIALISM

Domingos Francisco Bartolomeu
CC member, People's Movement for the
Liberation of Angola — Party of
Labor (MPLA-PT),
First Secretary, MPLA-PT Youth Organization

1. Within a few years young Angolans will mark the 30th anniversary of their vanguard, the MPLA-PT Youth Organization. Founded in 1956 simultaneously with the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as its section, it has made a tangible contribution to the people's armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. In 1961-1975 young people were the backbone of the guerrilla units and combat groups fighting for the country's freedom. Many leaders and militants of the youth movement died in battle or in prison.

However, even during that grim period for the Angolan people, the weapons of young patriots were not only hand-grenades and rifles but also hoes, hammers, school textbooks, and pieces of chalk. Acting under the party's leadership, the MPLA Youth Organization laid the foundations for a new life in areas liberated from the Portuguese colonialists, explaining the aims and policies of the liberation forces to the people, helping to wipe out illiteracy, organizing medical services, and normalizing economic activity. The militants gave much of their time to studying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the party's program guidelines. In short, during the years of battles for independence young people fought, studied and worked.

After the colonialists were driven out and the independence of Angola was proclaimed on November 11, 1975, our youth organization responded to the party's call and concentrated all its forces on repulsing the aggression of the South African racist regime that in alliance with the FNLA and UNITA* divisive groups attempted to strangle the new-born republic in its cradle.

*FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (National Union for the Complete Independence of Angola) are nationalistic puppet organizations used by imperialism against the lawful government of the People's Republic of Angola. — Ed.

The revolution held its own. The latter half of the 1970s saw our young people helping to rebuild the economy, organize a peaceful life, and put progressive social reform into effect for the benefit of the people.

To this day a key orientation of the social activities of young Angolans is to participate in national reconstruction, strengthen the republic's economic independence, and build a society based on the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, of scientific socialism.

The successes of the Angolan revolution depend in a large measure on the organization and discipline of the young people and their vigor in attaining the constructive tasks. With the experience of fraternal leagues in other countries to draw upon, we set about forming youth production teams to set an example in work and in a new attitude to labor.

In Angola considerable significance is attached to promoting the political and revolutionary consciousness of young people. In view of the high proportion of illiteracy, our militants in agitation and propaganda are focusing on oral forms of work. As part of the party's Fighting Angola radio program the Youth Organization's weekly broadcast is proving to be an effective channel for influencing young men and women.

In our country a vital part of educational work is to train young people to defend the nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Young Angolans have time and again displayed courage in driving racist invaders out of the country. But large areas of Kunene Province are still occupied by the South African military, who enjoy the patronage of imperialist circles headed by the USA. This is imperilling the peaceful labor of the Angolan people and undermining stability in the south of Africa. To defend the republic and safeguard the life of their countrymen is the patriotic duty of young Angolans.

2. For the MPLA Youth Organization the latter half of the past decade was a period of organizational consolidation. At present we have cells and youth committees in practically all localities where young Angolans work, study and live. One of the organization's principles is to be as close as possible to that section of young people that is still not in its ranks. We believe that it is necessary to end the political passiveness of some sections of young people, and to surmount their indifference to the processes taking place in the country. To this end it is vital that every young Angolan should know and understand the aims of the party and our organization.

The organization's first congress in 1981 was

an important milestone in its development. The congress scrutinized the formative period of the vanguard of Angolan young people and mapped out its immediate and long-term aims. It approved the General Directive for the Work of the MPLA Youth Organization based on the party's program documents and defined the fundamental principles and orientations of our work for the period up to 1986.

The organization now has over 80,000 members. Is that many or little? I would say that it is clearly not enough. Still, after long consideration we decided that for the time being we would not speed the enlargement of the organization but learn to work with those who have joined it and significantly raise the level of their political awareness and consciousness. The point is that by increasing the organization's membership we would inescapably encounter ideological and political difficulties. The main thing today is quality not quantity.

The cause of another problem, that of cadre, must be seen in the nation-wide illiteracy inherited by the republic from colonialism. To this day the MPLA Youth Organization has an acute shortage of literate political and ideological cadre, of trained organizers. True, the situation is gradually improving: a growing number of young militants are studying at national and provincial party schools. We are receiving generous assistance from the communist youth leagues of socialist countries. The training of cadre is difficult work but it is vital if we are to increase our organization's efficiency significantly.

On the international level young Angolans act against racism, apartheid and imperialism, advocate détente, peace and security throughout the world, and show militant solidarity with peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. We are worried over the rapid growth of the nuclear threat from the imperialist forces and demand an end to the arms race, which involves a senseless waste of resources needed by humankind.

EUROMISSILES ARE TARGETED ON YOUNG PEOPLE

Werner Sturmman
Board Presidium member,
German Communist Party,
Chairman, Socialist German Working Youth

1. With capitalist society in the throes of a crisis, the young people of our country are stepping up their fight for their rights, chiefly the right to work, against the elimination of jobs, for an improvement of the education sys-

tem. The unemployed youth movement has grown dramatically in the 1980s: youth trade union groups are acting more energetically, and more initiative is being displayed by democratic organizations, not least by our league, the Socialist German Working Youth (SDAJ).

The factories continue to be the main arena of struggle. However, an upsurge of the movement is to be observed also among school pupils. As an example I should like to mention the mass strike by school pupils in Hamburg, in which more than 80,000 pupils took part. They want a better system of instruction and vocational training and an end to the vicious "red pencil" policy (the name given to the limitation on subsidies to schools and the reduction of the teaching staff) in education. Social activity is on the rise among students as well.

We feel that all this is creating good prospects for consolidating the positive changes in the youth movement. I should like to emphasize that the rights that have been won must be protected daily under present-day conditions when big capital is openly pursuing a reactionary social policy. This is a specific of the present stage of the struggle of the working people, including young people.

2. Despite the growth of positive tendencies in the youth movement of the Federal Republic it has still to acquire the strength to effectively repulse the attacks by monopoly capital. Hence, a major aim of the SDAJ is to do everything to develop the independent activities of young people. On this basis we regard our league chiefly as an independent organization of young workers and students that helps them to unite in committees, civil initiative groups, debating clubs, and interest groups. Here it is important to avoid becoming a narrow circle of like-minded people, for this would lead to sectarianism. Ways must be developed of conducting dialogues and cooperation with different sections of young people.

League members are using other forms of work — they are holding "trials" of monopolies and convening congresses with the aim of combating exploitation, come out against the Berufsverbot, organizing political song concerts, and circulating leaflets, posters, newspapers, and journals.

Lastly, there are forms of struggle of a larger dimension — from the collection of signatures under appeals and petitions in defense of peace and youth rights, and mass actions in urban neighborhoods and at factory gates to big demonstrations. It is gratifying to note that in some sections of young people there has in recent years been a growth of militancy and of

readiness to stand up against pressure from the management of enterprises and educational establishments or from the police. This is a qualitatively new factor, which is to be seen most distinctly in the actions in defense of peace, the environment, democratic liberties, and housing rights.

I should like to mention one more important area of the league's activities. Today no issue can be considered in isolation from the plans for deploying new American medium-range missiles in the FRG. We should see, for example, the dependence between the movement for peace and disarmament and the possibilities for ending the negative social and ecological effects of the arms race on the working people, including young people. For that reason we and other political forces give priority to the struggle against U.S. nuclear missiles.

Differences of views on any other issues should not prevent unity among those who cherish peace. Our organization is doing its best to draw into the anti-missile movement large segments of young workers, including those who as yet are keeping aloof or are not very active.

A sharp discussion is going on among the peace fighters on some issues. This is a good sign. We advocate frank exchanges of views and information, the discussion of any problem that arises. The important thing is that discussion should neither obscure nor replace what is cardinal, namely, unity in the struggle against the deployment of American missiles. This attitude has been maintained as the foundation of the peace movement. We shall continue to act in this spirit. Never again must war begin from German soil.

FIDELITY TO THE TRADITIONS OF SOLIDARITY

Patricia Alvarado

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National Movement of
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1. The 1960s witnessed serious unrest among Mexican young people demanding the right to participate in political and public life. This protest was expressed in turbulent, spontaneous form, often erupting into violence. The powerful massive movement reached its highest point in 1968-1970, triggering a crisis among the ruling circles. The government had to satisfy the basic demands of young people, recognizing legislatively their right to independent participation in the nation's political life.

Young people were quick to use the new

opportunities. Several democratic youth organizations, including our National Movement of Revolutionary Youth, sprang up in the early 1970s. It was formalized legally in 1973 as a section of the ruling Institutional-Revolutionary Party. This gave young people the possibility not only of expressing their vital interests at a state level but also to have representatives in the government. For our movement the 1970s were thus a period of organization and political growth.

In the 1980s the content and orientation of youth actions underwent some change, going beyond the framework of specifically youth problems: they more often turn to the struggle for the country's genuine economic independence, for a limit on the influence of foreign capital, and the right of every Mexican to work, education, a higher cultural level, rest and leisure, and sports.

It gives me pleasure to note that most young people are free of "youth egoism." They respond sensitively to social injustice, discrimination and violations of human rights.

Mexican society, which is based on what in our country we call a mixed economy, is characterized by uneven development and glaring contrasts. This is making democratic young people fight, as far as possible under present conditions, for social justice, for the satisfaction of the food, clothing, education, housing and other requirements of the poorest sections of society. Young progressives want to see a reduction of the enormous gulf between the incomes of the rich and the poor and demand concrete steps to improve the condition of the disinherited. For example, illiteracy-abolition teams were formed on the initiative of the NMRY. As a result of the open, democratic style of work of these teams, this undertaking has won many ardent supporters. A much larger number of working people now has access to education.

2. The youth movement of Mexico is faithful to the traditions of solidarity with the struggles of other peoples (notably, the peoples of Latin America) for national liberation. In the early 20th century our country itself fought for independence. After the revolution of 1910-1917 it was in need of assistance and support. That is why we appreciate the significance and strength of international solidarity.

Mexicans take pride in the fact that they sided with the Republicans during the civil war in Spain, supported the movement led by Augusto Cesar Sandino, who spent some years in Mexico, and were in solidarity with the struggle waged by Fidel Castro, who likewise resided in our country for some time. I should

like to make the reminder that Mexico was the only Latin American country that maintained relations with revolutionary Cuba when the Island of Freedom was experiencing its most difficult period. After the lawful government of Salvador Allende was deposed our government broke off all relations with the regime in Chile.

In keeping with the traditions of our predecessors, we young Mexicans energetically advocate independence, freedom and democracy for the peoples of Latin America. This concerns El Salvador in the first place. Also, our organization supports the people of Nicaragua and categorically denounces the campaign of slander, intimidation and blackmail against the homeland of Sandino.

The National Movement of Revolutionary Youth takes part in many acts of solidarity with embattled peoples. In support of such acts we organize marches, protest campaigns, conferences and round table discussions. And, of course, we cooperate with representatives of other democratic youth organizations — of the United Socialist Party of Mexico, the Socialist People's Party, and the Mexican Working People's Party. Together with them we are preparing joint demonstrations, for example, in support of the just struggle of the people of El Salvador and in defense of world peace, and organizing various undertakings to acquaint young Mexicans with life in socialist countries. The lofty cause of the struggle for peace and disarmament, for the freedom and independence of peoples is thus bringing together young people of different political persuasions.

Marxist Philosophy at the Leninist Stage

L. Suvorov

How Lenin developed to a higher stage the philosophy of Marx and Engels, and an analysis of the current ideological struggle between Leninism and the various doctrines claiming to be Marxist.

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Notes and comments

FORGOTTEN LESSONS

In mid-November of last year, President Reagan announced the lifting of the embargo on deliveries to the Soviet Union of equipment for the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline. That marked the flop of yet another major anti-Soviet act staged by Washington as a symbol of the "tough" line with respect to the USSR which was proclaimed by some U.S. circles in their fight against détente and improvement of the international climate. But as the President's statement made clear, the White House wants the NATO partners to concert measures to restrict economic relations between the capitalist and the socialist countries as a substitute for the unilateral U.S. sanctions.

These attempts show that the reactionary forces in the United States are bent on making trade cater for their foreign policy goals. One should bear in mind that the futile resistance on the part of the U.S. administration to the building of the Soviet gas pipeline was only one element of a general policy aimed to undermine trade and economic ties between states belonging to the two different systems. A wide spectrum of instruments is used to back up this policy: financial and credit restrictions, discriminatory tariff barriers, extension of lists of "key goods" barred for export to socialist countries, and so on.

U.S. leaders have advanced the most diverse arguments in justification of such steps: first, they do not like this thing or other in the system in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, then, they are not happy with some Soviet foreign policy acts, then again, they scare the public with the growth of Soviet military might, which, allegedly, is based on industrial secrets obtained by Moscow from the United States.

These propaganda noises and the diversity of officially proclaimed motives are designed to cover up not only the attempts to discredit and undermine trade with the Soviet Union, but even more far-reaching intentions of the reactionary circles. Explaining the true meaning of the various sanctions mounted by the U.S. administration against the USSR, George Ball, Deputy Secretary of State under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, said that the architects of this policy were not moved by some transient or ever new motives but by "an unfocused wish to damage the Soviet system."¹

Ball recalled the manifesto issued by the neoconservatives rallied round the "Committee for the Free World," among whom, at one time or another, were some members of the incumbent administration. This manifesto called on Americans to reject the illusions of détente and to seize the historic opportunity to "try to break the Soviet hold on Eastern Europe," that is, to drive a wedge between the USSR and the other socialist countries. The main instrument of this policy, it said, would be the curbing of economic ties and the denial to the socialist countries of access to "Western technology." In this way, the United States "at no risk of military confrontation ... could further the process of disintegration from within that may mark the beginning of the end" of the socialist community.

The manifesto was, therefore, a long-term scheme of a strategic order. Considering that military methods are much too risky in trying to overthrow socialism, the emphasis was on other means, namely, "total economic war."

George Ball said that this policy, which some of the incumbent U.S. administration leaders had adopted, was "marked by hypocrisy, self-deception and an astonishing ignorance of past experience."

Indeed, the "tough" line advocates truly suffer from a lapse of memory. At any rate, experience — whether of the more distant or relatively recent past — has taught them nothing. The fact is that everything that they have been trying to invent today is already a part of history.

Let us recall that no sooner had the Soviet Republic appeared on the scene than it was subjected to an armed invasion coupled with an economic blockade. The United States broke off trade relations with it in 1917, and Britain and France, in 1918. In October 1919, the Entente's Supreme Council announced the total termination of every form of commercial ties with Soviet Russia. The idea was to strangle economically a country devastated by the imperialist and civil wars and the intervention, and to "punish" its people for daring to oust their exploiters and starting to build a new society without exploitation. At the time, Lenin said: "They are closing in around the Soviet Republic, they are trying to cut off our economic contacts with the whole world."² He said the blockade was the principal weapon in the hands of the imperialists for strangling Soviet Russia.³

This weapon was used once again 30 years later, in the cold war period. The leaders of the United States, which had waxed rich and grown strong as a result of the Second World War, expected the Soviet Union to be highly sensitive to economic pressure and blackmail, because of its tremendous manpower and material losses during the fascist invasion and the loss of one-third of its national wealth. Accordingly in 1949, they set up, among other things, the notorious COCOM, a coordination committee to control exports to the socialist countries, whose activity the United States is now once again trying to revive and expand. The Battle Act, passed in the United States in 1951, introduced numerous bans on the export of goods to the socialist countries. Trade between the states of the two social systems was reduced to a trickle.

But what did that policy achieve? Did it yield the desired results for its architects?

In a resolution of October 11, 1982, the European Parliament referred to past experience and rejected Reagan's call for an economic war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It declared: "Economic sanctions have proved to be thoroughly unsatisfactory as a means of achieving foreign policy objectives. Economic sanctions have a history of failure."

If the diverse sanctions, embargos and boycotts proved to be ineffectual in a period when the Soviet economy had been weakened by the wars thrust upon socialism, it is even more hopeless to try to contain its development by such methods today.

There is no doubt that when countries freely enter into commercial relations with each other, they expect to obtain some gain, so that the rupture of such relations results in mutual losses, and deprives the partners of the advantages they could have derived from their exchange of goods. The Soviet Union is no exception in this respect.

However, in an effort to hit out at the USSR's foreign trade ties, and calculating the harm this could do the Soviet economy, the economic warfare strategists try to prove that it will suffer more than the economic interests of the capitalist countries. For that purpose, the U.S. Department of Commerce issued in 1982 a special 200-page report packed with cooked data designed to prove that in the recent period the Soviet Union's growing imports from the capitalist countries have made it especially vulnerable to economic sanctions.

But the spread of such forgeries will not conceal the truth which is that the Soviet Union has all it needs to neutralize attempts to turn

international trade ties into an instrument of political pressure and blackmail.

The USSR and other socialist community countries have a great economic potential: they account for nearly one-third of the world's industrial production. They have leading positions in many areas of science and technology, including high-energy physics, mathematics, nuclear energy, laser technology, space exploration, electronics, microbiology, synthetic materials, notably artificial diamonds, the generation of energy from various sources and its transmission across great distances, etc. Let us add that 80 per cent of Europe's researchers work in the CMEA countries, a large part of them in the USSR.

The claims that scientific, technical and technological exchanges benefit the socialist countries alone are no more than a propaganda myth. Here is only one of the numerous competent testimonials to the fact. It comes from Gerard Piel, publisher of *The Scientific American*, the most influential U.S. scientific journal. Replying to charges from some government officials that the journal provided a channel through which the Russians had been getting too much secret information, he said: "I think they're full of prunes. We're not interested in military information, and we can't conceal the secrets of nature from anyone." He added that the Soviet Union was ahead of the United States in some fields: "We've been publishing articles by Soviet authors for years. I've just arranged for one article on the thermonuclear fusion by laser light and another on Russian continuous casting and rolling processes in steel and other metals . . . that make our technology look like the 1830s."⁴

The Soviet Union is fully capable of assuring itself of any hardware and technology it needs, notably that used in building and operating gas pipelines. The advocates of sanctions forget that the USSR already has gas pipelines in operation whose length adds up to three times the length of the equator, and which carry one-third of the world's gas.

The U.S. administration's futile attempts to isolate the USSR and other socialist countries economically have brought out the undeniable truth that nowadays it is impossible to cut the world in half and to fence off some kind of reserve zone with a free hand for U.S. imperialism. Economic ties which are objectively dictated by the development of the world economic system and by the international division of labor cannot be disrupted with impunity. The urge to upset these ties tends to boomerang on those who initiate such steps. In 1921, Lenin said: "As for the blockade, experience has

shown that it is an open question as to who suffers from it most, the blockaded or the blockaders."⁵ The loss of markets and of important partners and the rupture of trade ties, are not at all painless for the crisis-ridden economies of the capitalist states. Trade with the socialist community now ensures jobs for two million working people in Western Europe. Can the governments of the capitalist countries forget this when more than 30 million people there are unemployed, and when plants have to be closed down because of a lack of orders? Can they ignore the important sources of goods vitally necessary for their countries?

It is not surprising, therefore, that many people in the capitalist countries, including the United States itself, have criticized the sanctions and embargo policy. Even those who cannot in any way be suspected of sympathizing with the Soviet Union have pointed to the futility of such methods. Former U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown says: "I'm against all-out economic warfare against the Soviets. It won't work. . . You're not going to cause them to collapse even if you adopt all-out economic warfare. All-out economic warfare is more likely by far to disrupt our alliances than it is to destroy the Soviet system."⁶

The development of mutually advantageous trade and economic ties is an important means of equitable international cooperation and approximation of the peoples, a powerful factor of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The severance of these ties and the line of staging economic war cuts across the interests of all the peoples and is alien to peace and progress. The failure of Washington's anti-Soviet sanctions shows that this line has no future.

Anatoly Voronov

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BUSINESS AS USUAL?

Two revealing stories concerning bourgeois book publishing appeared in the world press recently.

One of them took place in the United States. A Texan lawyer, fed up with nursing his sick wife, made up his mind to get rid of her. He came across an advertisement for *How to Kill*, a series of five brochures by a John Minnery of Canada, in the magazine *Soldier of Fortune*. The brochures contain a business-like and detailed description of a vast variety of methods of killing people. The choice ranges from clubbing to "perfect techniques." *Newsweek* sees the principal merit of the manual in the great simplicity of the recommended methods.

As for the lawyer, who used one of these recommendations, he was arrested in time and put behind bars after a tumultuous trial. However, neither the court, nor the press condemned books like Minnery's, which anyone can buy.

This seems unthinkable, monstrous, fantastic to anyone who is unfamiliar with everyday life in capitalist society. But it is seen as a common occurrence by that society itself, which is based on the principle of "money at all costs."

The other story had strong repercussions in France. Alain Moreau, a publisher, put out a manual for his part, except that this one is intended for suicides. Its title is *Suicide, Operating Instructions*. Perhaps nobody would have noticed the book but for the fact that lying beside the dead bodies of three young suicides who had taken their lives independently of one another were copies of the manual. It appears that the book sells like hot cakes and has, indeed, become a bestseller. And it transpired that the three young men had been jobless and had lost all hope of finding employment.

The father of one of the suicides began to campaign among the public for a ban on the sale of the manual. He was backed by the communist Minister of Public Health, Jack Ralite, who called the book abominable. Meanwhile the publisher has been posing as a humanist. He says he has no qualms, for he was prompted by a desire to help prospective suicides take their lives in a "dignified" manner. Worse, he now has many defenders, who are talking about man's right to kill himself, a right which they say a "free society" should help exercise.

Evidently, it is much easier in bourgeois society to defend the "right" to death than to guarantee the right to a life which does not degrade human dignity, and above all the right to work.

Alex Willough



"Law and order" — British style

PAMPHLETS ABOUT THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

From the British military presence in Northern Ireland has come the saying: "If you don't know what is happening in Northern Ireland, you must have been watching British television, listening to British radio and reading the British press." It stems from the fact that many TV programs, books, magazines and articles concerning the crisis have been either censored, banned or delayed from appearing in the British media.

However, in both Ireland and Britain there are those who have been actively working to break through this virtual barrier of silence. For instance, in 1982 a number of pamphlets have been produced which look at different aspects of repression in Northern Ireland.

One of the groups involved is the British-based organization "Information on Ireland." They brought out a small pamphlet entitled *They Shoot Children*.¹ This publication examines the use of the supposedly "non-lethal" plastic bullet by the British army and the Northern Ireland police force (RUC). The reason for the title is brought forcefully home by the front cover, a picture of the corpse of 12-year-old Carol-Ann Kelly, who was one of seven fatally wounded with a plastic bullet in 1981. The facts go on to show that Carol-Ann was just one of three children to die that way the same year.² The British government can hardly claim to be unaware of the dangers involved in using this weapon, it has been part of the "security forces" armory since 1975.

This booklet, which is clearly directed at a British audience, performs a useful service by showing the stark realities of British rule on the streets of Northern Ireland. On a similar theme another pamphlet out last year was *The Rafferty File*.³ Its title comes from James Rafferty of Belfast, who in November 1976 was arrested and subsequently tortured by police. The victim tried to obtain redress, only to come up against a legal brick wall. The legal set-up is so constructed that it is virtually impossible to bring a charge against the police. According to the existing procedure, "the RUC investigate

complaints against themselves and then use that report to advise the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) on his course of action" (p. 6). This, the author goes on to say, "is perhaps the most ludicrous element in the legal apparatus governing complaints against the RUC" (ibid).

James Rafferty's complaint was rejected because it allegedly did not warrant prosecution. And so he decided to have recourse to a Police Act passed in 1970, under which a special tribunal could be summoned to investigate complaints against the police. Rafferty tried this with the support of a number of influential people. Even so, it took some four years of pressure before the tribunal actually met to consider his complaint, its only session ending in disarray when the police witnesses boycotted the proceedings. Yet in the 10 years since the Police Act was passed, thousands of complaints against the police had been made: "2,617 in 1972, 2,183 in 1979" (p. 13), not to mention other years. What is more, after the farce of the tribunal the police attempted to avenge themselves by charging him with murder.

Another pamphlet, *Rough Justice*,⁴ was produced by the "Workers' Research Unit" based in Belfast, who irregularly produce bulletins studying different features of Irish life.

This publication differs from the others already mentioned in that it scrutinizes a much broader area ranging from the repressive apparatus to labor law. Probably the most valuable aspect of this work is the many facts and figures showing the enormous impact that 13 years of political crisis have had on everyday life in the north of Ireland. Specifically, the pamphlet gives data on the offences committed in those years. Up to the outbreak of the political conflict in 1968, there were 16,294 known offences (one murder and three armed robberies). In 1972, or three years after the British troops moved in, the crime rate nearly doubled (376 murders and 1,931 armed robberies).⁵ The British government claims that the sharp upturn in violence in so short a period was purely of a criminal nature. This is a lie. The bulletin

rightly ties the increase to the mass movement for civil rights in 1968 and the coercive response of the then Northern Ireland government and subsequently to British terror. In other words, the background is political.

The situation did not ease but became still more complicated with Northern Ireland coming under the direct control of the British Parliament in 1972. In 1969 the number of prisoners was approximately 600; by 1978-79 the figure had almost topped the 3,000 mark (see p. 10). This ran parallel with the introduction of new emergency laws, such as the 1973 Emergency Provisions Act. The bulletin refers to the "conveyor belt system" of justice. This is an almost automatic process: a suspect is arrested, forced to sign a "confession" (subsequently accepted by the special non-jury courts as evidence), and sent to prison.

There is quite an interesting look at the courts which betray a definite bias, particularly when it comes to convicting members of the "security forces." Members of the RUC convicted of kidnapping a Catholic priest were given suspended sentences. A chapter entitled "License to Kill" documents the various cases where soldiers and policemen were acquitted of murder.

The booklet *Rough Justice* has its weaknesses. One of them certainly is the sympathy shown by the authors for the counter-productive military campaign of the Provisional IRA, which they see as "the struggle to liberate the 6 counties from British rule" (p. 9). They fail to recognize the harm done by the terrorist actions of the Provisional IRA to the liberation of

Northern Ireland. They ignore the demands of progressive opinion for democratic change in Northern Ireland. For example, a Bill of Rights is considered a "red herring," something the British government would find "impossible" to "allow itself to be bound by . . . to the extent of not being able to continue repression" (p. 37). Yet if a Bill of Rights were passed it would automatically remove the emergency legislation.

Even with this criticism, the booklet must be welcomed, like the others, as a useful contribution to the exposure of British imperialist policy in Northern Ireland. The authors get behind the facade and show the reality of Britain's current relationship to Ireland. This has not changed in the slightest since Marx's eldest daughter, Jenny, commented on it. *Rough Justice* quotes her as follows: "Theoretical fiction has it that constitutional liberty is the rule and its suspension an exception, but the whole history of English rule in Ireland shows that a state of emergency is the rule and that the application of the constitution is the exception" (p. 5).

Niall Farrell

CPI representative on the journal

1. London, 1982, 38 pp.
2. In April 1982, eleven children were killed with plastic bullets.
3. Published by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, Belfast, 1982, 17 pp.
4. Belfast, 1982, 84 pp.
5. In the 13 years of British occupation, 2,234 persons were killed and 25,465 wounded in Northern Ireland, according to the *Daily Mirror* (November 1982). — Ed.

The story of a staunch communist

Hollywood Red. The Autobiography of Lester Cole. Ramparts Press, Palo Alto, Cal., 1982, 448 pp.

Lester Cole has written the best account yet of the times and central issues in the American film industry which culminated in the Hollywood Ten, a group of screenwriters and film directors. Victims of the cold war McCarthyism, the 10 were blacklisted and jailed.¹ The book is an "insider's view" of Hollywood, focused on the struggle for trade union organization so as to improve conditions for the workers. Cole was a founder of the Screenwriters' Guild in 1933 and joined the Communist Party in 1934. In 1947 he was harassed for his convictions.

Hollywood Red is a forthright account of a

life of struggle and purpose. It is at the same time a warm and candid personal story. Lester Cole writes that in his opinion "there can be no separation" of the personal and the political. His world view began to take shape in the family — he recalls that his socialist father's advice could be summarized as "remember, son, however much they pay you, you will have earned more. That's what profit is — the part of your labor the boss keeps for himself" (p. 25). Cole has remembered; his own experience proved his father right.

The cold war witch-hunt caught Cole near the top of his profession with screen credits for 35 feature films, a highly respected writer for major studios.

As an "unfriendly" witness before the HUAC in 1947, Cole was cited for contempt of Con-

gress, jailed, and subsequently blacklisted from the film industry. He has never broken the blacklist against his name. This compelled him afterwards to sell his scripts to Hollywood only under a pseudonym.

"Those 'on the outside,' the historians and investigative reporters whose works comprise most of the literature on the Hollywood Ten, could not have known (although some pretended to) the feelings and thoughts of those who were cited for contempt, fought the convictions all the way to the Supreme Court, and went to prison after a 3-year struggle" (p. 8). The author also speaks, in a sense, for all of the communist or progressive workers who were victims of that repressive time and fought back and many of whom, like himself, are still in the fight. The illustration at the very end of the book shows the 77-year-old author on a picket line during a 1980 strike against a California television station. In April 1982, Cole was honored by the Screenwriters' Guild for his past contributions to that union.

To a new generation, *Hollywood Red* contributes clarity and conviction for today's battles against the Reaganites. Ronald Reagan's own reactionary role in Hollywood is also confirmed in Cole's book.²

Cole continues to write. He has been teaching

a class in screenwriting at the University of California (Berkeley) and reviews films for the press, including the communist *People's World* and *Daily World*.

It is an important measure of the present political climate in the United States that *Hollywood Red* has been widely reviewed in the press and discussed on radio and television, often with Cole present. Ninety-five per cent of this publicity is favorable to the book, acknowledging its "idealism," "indignation," "courage," etc. The reviewers and commentators make clear that Lester Cole remains an active member of the Communist Party USA.

Betty Smith

CC Political Bureau member,
CPUSA

1. John E. Rankin of the notorious House Un-American Activity Committee (HUAC) said in 1946 that the communists were carrying on propaganda in Hollywood and there was a plot to overthrow the U.S. government. The Committee cited filmmakers suspected of being communists or communist sympathizers. The first amendment to the U.S. constitution states that citizens have a right not to disclose their political, religious or philosophical convictions. Those cited by the Committee exercised this right but it did not save them from imprisonment. The HUAC existed until 1975. — Ed.

2. Reagan (then President of the Screen Actors' Guild) "became the industry's watch-dog, making sure that blacklisted actors could not work" (p. 326). — Ed.

Justified disappointment

Ferdinand E. Marcos, *In Search of Alternatives: The Third World in an Age of Crisis*, Manila, 1980, 154 pp.; *Marcos Notes for the Cancun Summit 1981*, Manila, 1981, 167 pp.

Both books reflect the stand taken on major issues of today not only by President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines, but also, to one degree or another, by many other leaders of developing countries, especially those whose countries are dependent in substantial measure on imperialist powers and who see this dependence as a heavy burden. It is interesting, therefore, to know what the Philippine President thinks of the present and future of his country and other countries that did not win freedom from colonial tyranny until recently, the impact of the international situation on them, and the changes he expects.

The first book is essentially an elaborate response to criticisms of the martial law regime¹ by foreign critics, based on information derived mostly from Filipino opposition elements.

President Marcos poses three problems

which Third World leaders taking over a nation in a state of disarray face in contemporary conditions: how to maintain an effective system of government, choice of economic ideology (or path of development), and the threat of another world war (see p. 1).

As Filipino communists have already clarified their constructive opposition to the martial law regime and assessed its performance in the documents of their last party congresses, we shall not touch on this aspect of the book any more. We shall deal with the latter two problems.

On the choice of economic ideology or path of development, the President observes that "... Third World leaders are increasingly disenchanted over 'Western' models of development, and more and more persuaded that the world economic system is premised on domination, and indeed on exploitation" (p. 11). He cites the increasingly strident condemnation of the world economic order made by Third World countries at various international forums to show that "capitalism

would seem to have fallen into ill-repute." He acknowledges that many Third World countries "have come to accept the socialist, specifically Marxist, critique of capitalism" (p. 12).

Assessing socialism as an alternative, President Marcos acknowledges that "the pace at which the Soviet Union has industrialized is, of course, impressive. This is precisely the appeal that socialism so strongly exerts on the peoples of the Third World" (p. 16). However, his subsequent statements show him to be still in bondage to the calumnies of imperialist and revisionist propaganda about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

On the basis of his meetings and talks with Third World leaders, the President claims that his view of the need to find an alternative to capitalism and socialism is widely shared. Among the terms used to describe the type of development envisioned by many Third World countries, he considers that "state capitalism" seems the most appropriate. The term implies three basic elements: "(1) strong government capable of planning and moderating economic activity; (2) an economy motivated by entrepreneurship; and (3) in the concrete conditions of the Third World, a nationalist orientation" (pp. 19-20).

President Marcos ponders with deep concern the eventuality of a new world war. If the war did come his country would be dragged into it, being linked with the United States by what he calls "traditional friendship." He points out that the USA was allowed bases on Philippine soil, and that the constitution was even amended to grant "parity rights" to Americans in the exploitation of natural resources. These actions earned Filipinos a reputation of puppetry among those "with whom we share a history of colonialism and a love of freedom." Disillusioned with the American response to Filipino gestures of friendship, he wonders: "... As we view the clouds of war on the horizon, we ask ourselves whether there is anyone now worth fighting for, other than ourselves" (p. 4).

The President recalls the Philippine experience of fighting for national liberation against foreign conquerors — Spain, the United States and Japan, to show willingness to stand up for hard-won freedom, which he asserts is true of other peoples of the Third World. Then he asks the question: "But will the cry for 'freedom' echoing now from the United States be so compelling as to enlist our allegiance in yet another war — a war that could destroy us all?" (p. 4). He answers his own question, declaring that "every Filipino that I know, every Asian who has any consciousness of human destiny, feels

that any sacrifice of his life and his family's life to a war that America will lead must first pass the test of integrity. After all, it is his one and only life: there must be a meaning to his self-sacrifice — something more than just to make the world safer for America" (p. 6).²

The President gives much space to criticism of the U.S. mass media for their bias and lack of objectivity in their coverage of the Third World, including the Philippines. He writes that they concentrate on negative sides of life in those countries and fail to give proper treatment to achievements and development programs. The President charges U.S. government agencies and mass media with interference in the internal affairs of the Philippines and even with attempts at destabilization. Thus his position is comparable in many respects to the criticism levelled at information imperialism by other developing countries, that is, at the activity of leading capitalist powers in the mass media.³

The other book was written just before the Cancun summit.⁴ It surveys problems affecting both developed and developing countries, the history of the so-called North-South dialogue, and expresses disappointment at its trend. It includes recommendations made by various international organizations and political leaders, including President Marcos himself, in connection with the dialogue.

"My attitude," he writes, "quite possibly reflects the cautious skepticism of many Third World leaders, who must surely often ask: What can be done that our best ministers have been unable to achieve?" (p. 1).

Such "cautious skepticism" is due to the author's personal long experience and his knowledge of the historical background preceding the Cancun summit, which the author calls a "history of frustrations." Despite such background, he believes that along with sound reasons for skepticism, Cancun gives cause for optimism.⁵

The idea of the "North-South dialogue" dates from the 1955 Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations, the President notes, but procrastination and suspicion, rather than mutual understanding, have been the outstanding mark of negotiations between North and South. "Progress toward real North-South co-operation has been extremely retarded, prompting intelligent citizens on both sides of the equator to take a gloomy look at further efforts to achieve communality among the nations" (p. 14). He chose to approach the relationship of developing countries and developed capitalist countries from a "non-class" point of view, which prevents him from distinguishing between allies and adversaries. In-

stead of pinpointing the exploitation of newly-free countries (otherwise called Third World, poor, South) by capitalist states, primarily by the major imperialist powers, the author often follows imperialist propaganda, which deliberately distorts the facts by equating the capitalist powers exploiting developing countries with the socialist states and by labelling them all as "rich" countries of the "North."

The President quotes one of the conclusions of the Brandt Commission Report, "The 1980s could witness even greater catastrophes than the 1930s," and also a forecast by the World Development Report, 1980s, published by the World Bank, "The world will divide even more sharply between the haves and the have nots." From these two reports, he concludes that "we are properly warned, so that we are on notice that chaos or extinction awaits us if the deficiencies and maladies described by the experts are not corrected before the world's economic system falls completely to pieces" (pp. 15-16).

Marcos notes that Keynesian solutions to economic problems were used till the 70s. But they proved useless against stagflation. He sees this as evidence of a new crisis of capitalism affecting the Third World as well and making one wonder whether the crisis is not chronic (see p. 28). He cites evidence of the crisis of capitalism, which shows that President Marcos and some of his advisers have a good grasp of the role of the major imperialist powers, primarily of the USA and its policies, in bringing about the current precarious situation under which that Third World country finds itself.

One of the chapters reflects the President's assessment of the role of the TNCs in developing countries. On the one hand, he claims that the transnationals have remedied these countries' economic stagnation, introduced new skills and fresh technology, and provided earnings from employment and exports, if not without a price (see p. 111). On the other hand, the President recalls that progressive opinion sharply criticizes TNCs for interfering politically in the internal affairs of sovereign host countries, bribing government officials, and so on. "... The TNCs have played a large role in maintaining the present division of the world into ... developed and developing countries" (p. 112).

Speaking generally, however, this part of the book is restrained in tenor. While stating that there is something both "good" and "bad" in the activities of transnationals, the author cannot bring himself to say outright which of the

two predominates. The reason is obvious: the Philippine economy is too dependent on TNCs and the U.S. corporations' leverage in it, too great. But where he cites the experience of India and some Arab countries, and treats the political and cultural effects of transnationals' activities in developing nations, it is obvious that the negative effects predominate. Moreover, the author correctly defines the dividing line between the advocates and the opponents of the adoption of a code of conduct for TNCs setting limits to their activities. The advocates are those who wish to exercise full sovereignty over their natural resources and pull their economy away from economic dependence. The opponents are those who want to maintain the predatory status quo, that is, the imperialist powers. Doubtful about the outcome of the contest of wills through dialogue and negotiations, the President poses another alternative as being open to the developing world, namely, unilateral and resolute action by the governments of host countries. True, he is wary of such action and so warns against going too far (see p. 120).

In an Epilogue, President Marcos touches on the sensitive issues of nuclear war and the relationship between economic issues and war. "... The advancement of nuclear strategy and weaponry has fundamentally changed the nature of security. Limited nuclear war cannot be assured to remain limited. Military and strategic considerations make escalation inexorable ... The same can be said of the issues that divide the North and the South that are now called international economic issues. They are starting out in economic terms but actually deteriorating into matters of survival which may ultimately end as causes for war" (p. 166).

It will be seen that both books are relevant to the problems agitating the Philippines and other developing nations. Critics of the President, who correctly see a gap between his rhetoric and his performance, will tend to dismiss the books as useless rhetoric. I disagree. I think that in the difficult struggle for peace, genuine political and economic independence and social progress, the working people and other patriotic and democratic elements of the population can use the positive that is contained in the books under review. One wishes President Marcos, who is concerned with saving his country, realized for his part that this cannot be done without the people.

José Lava
Political Bureau member, CC,
Communist Party of the Philippines

1. Imposed in 1972 and abolished in 1981. — Ed.

2. The Philippines' disillusionment can hardly have diminished after the President's official visit to the USA in September 1982. He said much in his numerous interviews about friendship between the two countries, and displayed anti-communism. Nevertheless, his talks with Reagan produced no appreciable changes in bilateral relations, contrary to Marcos' expectations. Washington refused, in effect, to lift discriminatory curbs on Philippine exports to the USA which greatly injure the Philippine economy. Yet the White House secured a prolongation of the agreement on U.S. bases. — Ed.

3. Concerning information imperialism, see "On the Way to a New International Information Order," WMR, No. 10, 1982. — Ed.

4. Conference of heads of state and government of de-

veloped capitalist and developing countries, held in the Mexican town of Cancun in October 1981. — Ed.

5. The Cancun summit, at which Washington called the tune, did not live up to expectations. The developing countries wanted the leaders of the capitalist countries to answer explicitly specific questions about stabilizing prices for raw materials and foodstuffs and putting an end to the protectionist policy against their commodities. But Reagan dismissed these issues by resorting to generalities and a hazy appeal to meet developing countries half-way. He recommended them to continue the policy that had created many of their economic problems, which have, moreover, deteriorated in the present situation. The U.S. diktat also expressed itself in the Cancun summit failing to adopt a binding final document. — Ed.



Toward the 25th anniversary of the journal

TO OUR READERS

World Marxist Review will mark its 25th anniversary this year. The collective periodical of communist and workers' parties has been developing successfully for a quarter of a century now. It has won a large international readership that goes on growing. What is this readership like? What do our readers derive from the scientific thought of fraternal parties constantly presented by the journal and from the information it supplies? What do readers in various countries expect of it?

The answers would probably be interesting to yourselves just as they would be to us. This prompts us to invite every one of you to express your opinion on the journal by answering, say, the following questions:

— When did you first take WMR into your hands and why? In what circumstances? Who acquainted you with the journal? How long have you been a reader? Have you ever met people who have been reading the journal since it was founded?

— What was the most significant or noteworthy event in your life or in that of your comrades, your party branch (if you are a member), the party as a whole or the country since you began to read WMR?

— Do you ever discuss with friends or acquaintances any subjects dealt with by the journal? Have you ever felt like arguing with the author of an article? What articles do you find particularly interesting? How does the

journal benefit you? Is there anything that you would like the journal to include? What would you wish it to be like?

We are looking forward to your letters. You are free, of course, to answer any of the above questions as you wish and to write about yourselves what you think would be suitable. Your letters will help the journal's international collective in its work and in extending and strengthening contacts with its readership. You can judge of the importance of our readers' opinions by the following letter from Venezuela, which, incidentally, prompted us to publish this appeal.

THE IMPORTANT THING

Dear Comrades,

My name is Pedro Abarca. I am a member of the General Council of the United Center of Workers of Venezuela (CUTV) and Chairman of the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Other Employees of Lara State.

I have been a reader of your journal for more than 10 years. Every year I satisfy myself more and more that it offers its readers — both communists and members of other democratic organizations — high-standard and topical material on ideology, politics and party building. The clarity of its criteria, the fact that it tackles specific problems, and the first-hand information it furnishes make *World Marxist Review* an ideological and political manual

for all who have decided to devote their lives to the working people's cause.

One day I was invited to a forum on worker participation in management. Before the forum convened I studied some articles published in *World Marxist Review* over a period of two years. This proved very helpful. As it happened, many of those who took part in the forum had no idea at all of the Marxist approach to the problems under discussion. The participants, especially intellectuals unversed in Marxist theory, were deeply impressed by what I told them. Perhaps they were surprised to hear it from a worker. My modest experience suggests that the journal is a unique and highly effective instrument of exposing various reformist concepts imposed by the capitalists and their ideologues.

Your journal invariably concerns itself with so decisive a problem of today as the struggle for peace, the prevention of nuclear catastrophe. The consensus of opinion in the Venezuelan trade union movement is that the struggle for the working people's interests is inseparable from the defense of peace. I would like to tell you about an event showing the attitude of our working people to the issue of war and peace, which I think is one of the main themes of *World Marxist Review*.

The eighth CUTV congress, held a year ago, decided to organize a National March for World Peace and Workers' Demands in the industrial areas of the states of Carabobo, Aragua and Miranda and in the Federal District. Preparations began immediately after the congress. When the day came the participants met in a Carabobo park, 30 kilometers from the town of Valencia where the national independence of Venezuela was born a century and a half ago. They had an exacting program to carry out — four days of rallies, meetings and other events. The first rally took place in the central square of Valencia and was addressed by noted trade union leaders. Shortly after it a column of nearly 500 marchers set out. On arriving in the working-class suburb of Valencia, the column broke up into several groups each of which went to a factory to meet with workers. All workers gave the marchers an enthusiastic welcome. This was also the case at a large shoe factory, where thousands of leaflets calling on the workers to fight for peace were distributed in the course of a rally. The leaflets told how the peace movement relates to action for the interests of labor, for better living and working conditions, health care, universal access to education, higher pay and permanent jobs for all.

After holding five rallies in various factories,

the marchers returned to Valencia, where the shoe workers' union offered them a meal and lodgings. It is appropriate to note at this point that the march owed its success, besides the marchers themselves, to the organizations and persons that took care of it along the route, as well as to the numerous trade union committees of remote provinces, which did much to raise funds.

Next morning the route led to Maracay. We held a rally in its industrial area and then started for Victoria, the textile industry center. At the moment this industry is going through one of the worst crises in Venezuelan history, with the workers holding the record of unemployment. Needless to say, this problem was uppermost in the minds of the people of Victoria. However, the rallies held in the town's factories and squares showed that the workers were equally concerned about the problem of peace to which the marchers called their attention. Speaker after speaker took the floor; they included people from other trade union federations with which we often differ, but on that occasion this did not matter because the struggle for peace and an effective trade union movement are a common cause irrespective of party or trade union allegiance.

From Maracay the marchers went on to Caracas, the last stage of their route. Crowds greeted them on the way. The marchers made new acquaintances and discussed burning problems there and then; local people told them about their hard lives, asked them for advice and help, and wished them a successful conclusion of the march.

After holding a rally in the town of Los Teques and travelling nearly 200 kilometers in four days, we finally found ourselves in Caracas' Miranda Square, where we were joined by thousands of workers, housewives, students, and others. I have attended and addressed many rallies but it was the first time that a rally had been organized so well. Credit for this is due, along with CUTV, to the Venezuelan Committee of Peace Supporters, the Caracas Council for Human Rights and many other organizations. The rally, addressed by prominent politicians and trade unionists committed to the struggle for peace, was an unprecedented success.

We drew many useful lessons from the march. I will mention the most important of them. First of all, we saw for ourselves that the best way to establish stronger bonds between the workers and their trade unions is direct contacts on the job. Second, we realized that the struggle for such lasting values as world peace can lead to closer relations and subsequently to

unity of action by people and organizations differing in ideology. Third, events like our peace march arouse people, make them more active politically and help extend the social basis of the democratic left. The very experience of organizing such large-scale actions materially and technically is of considerable value.

The success of the march added a good deal to the prestige of the CUTV. Here is a good example: Numerous peace supporters — political leaders and other public figures — met in Caracas on September 1, 1982 on the initiative of the CUTV. They directed a message to the Secretary-General of the UN and to the top statesmen of the United States and Soviet Union urging them to step up the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and expressing deep concern about the fact that the situation in Central America and the Caribbean is fraught

with serious consequences for world peace.* It is indicative that the message was signed by two ex-presidents, candidates for the Presidency of the Republic, and the leaders of all political parties of Venezuela.

This, then, is how we have been fighting for goals that are now the most important for all of us, comrades. I am sure the fight for the working people's vital interests, primarily for durable world peace, will go on expanding in 1983.

Pedro Abarca
Barquisimeto, Venezuela

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW IN FIGURES

	1958	1982
1. Parties represented on the journal	25	65
2. Problem-theme and regional commissions of the journal composed of Editorial Council members	-	10
3. Number of languages in which the journal appears	19	40
4. National editions	19	75
5. Circulation (number of countries)	80	145

International collective measures sponsored by WMR, including those carried out in collaboration with fraternal parties:

- scientific conferences and symposiums — 61
- round table meetings — 42

WMR has carried contributions by 3,102 authors from 124 countries. As many as 264 articles have been published by Chairmen and General (First) Secretaries of fraternal parties and their Central Committees, leaders of national liberation movements, and leaders of international democratic organizations.

Since the standing Editorial Council was set up (September 1969), its meetings have been addressed by leaders of 48 fraternal parties. WMR delegations have made 174 trips to 41 countries.

Books and pamphlets based on publications of the journal:

- number of titles — 145
- total circulation — 3,228,400.

* Answering the message, L.I. Brezhnev pointed out that all Soviet people shared the concern felt by Venezuelans. He mentioned the Soviet Union's initiatives aimed at staving off the nuclear danger, including the unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear arms. "More than ever before," L.I. Brezhnev wrote, "the maintenance of peace necessitates collective actions by all countries — big and small alike — by all peace forces, irrespective of their ideological views or political convictions." — Ed.

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