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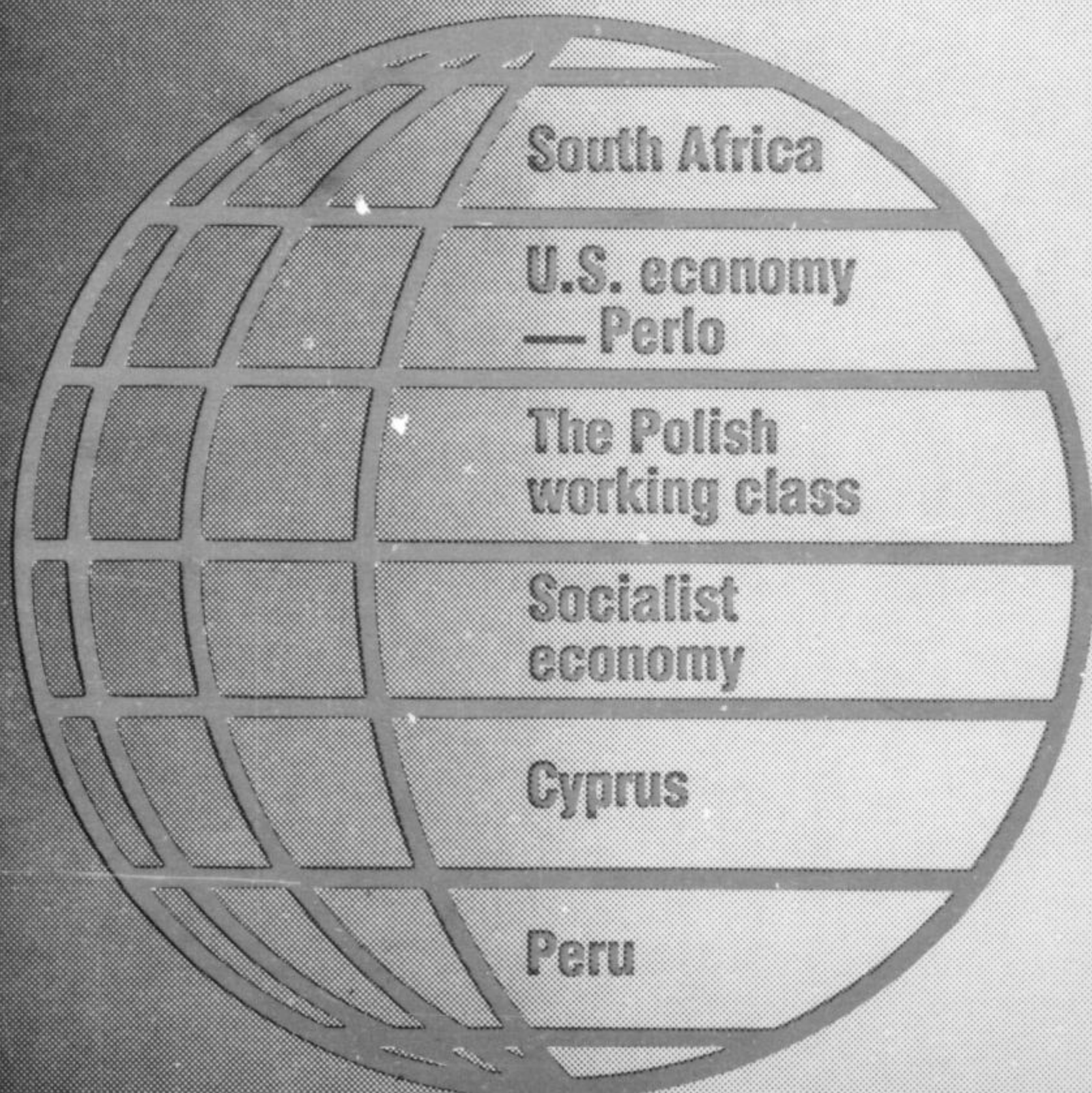
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features

The Party's Direction of the Economy Under Developed Socialism

Eduard Shevardnadze – alternate member, CC Political Bureau, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), CC First Secretary, CP Georgia

AMONG the wide range of problems in running the socialist state, Lenin brought to the fore economic ones and emphasised that economics is 'our main politics, . . . the politics that is most interesting for us'.¹ In line with Lenin's approach, the CPSU has always given the most serious attention to economic questions and has formulated the guidelines of economic progress.

The specific aspects of economic policy are always determined by the characteristic features of the concrete stage in development of the productive forces and the relations of production. Let us bear in mind that the Soviet society has entered upon a historically long period of developed socialism, and its all-round perfection is the strategic task which the CPSU as a whole and its every party organisation have to tackle.

The party's economic and social line is realised above all by means of skilled guidance of economic construction, and it is a factor that tends to grow in importance for a number of reasons. First, a vast production, scientific and technical potential has been built up in the Soviet Union and its constituent Republics; second, economics, politics, ideology, science, technology, production and the social sphere are being ever more closely integrated into a single whole, with economics and economic policy retaining their fundamental importance; third, the organic combination of scientific and technical progress with the advantages of the socialist economic system is a growing process; and fourth, our country is working to enhance the efficiency of production to the utmost and to intensify every aspect of it. Accordingly, over the past several years, the CPSU CC has raised the questions of perfecting planning, administration and management to a fundamentally new level, and here the close connection of this effort with the further raising of the Soviet people's living standards has had an important role to play. The renewal of the economic mechanism goes to create favourable prerequisites for the growing efficiency of production, and higher profits and incomes, the basis for multiplying the goods and services available to the members of the socialist society.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism formulated a most fruitful approach to the management of social production under socialism as an essential element of the relations of production under socialism which requires constant improvement as the productive forces develop. Marx says that the management of cooperated labour is 'a function which springs from the very nature of socialised labour and which pertains to the latter', and as such it operates as an important factor in enhancing the efficiency

of labour, because it itself generates a productive force.²

Lenin believed that after the October Revolution, the central task of the world's first socialist state lay in economic administration: 'Now we must *administer* Russia . . . We must realise that in order to administer successfully . . . We must be able to do *practical organisational work*. This is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organising in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic, foundations of life of scores of millions of people.'³ That is a fundamental conclusion which holds good for the entire period of socialist and communist construction, and means that economics being primary, it tends to produce a definite policy. Mature socialism has for its material basis well-developed production facilities, and that is why our party's political activity is inseparable from its economic activity. Indeed, the indissoluble unity of politics and economics is a characteristic feature of the party's guidance of social life.

At the February 1984 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC, Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, stressed the need for clearly demarcating the functions of party committees and state economic agencies.⁴ As they improve their guidance of the economy, the party organisations of Georgia have at their disposal greater potentialities and resources for political activity and consideration of long-term and personnel matters.

The demarcation of functions is, of course, a gradual process requiring definite prerequisites, and here haste is ill-advised. The party is capable of directing Soviet government and economic agencies, without substituting for them, through the Communists who work in them only after a progressive and going economic mechanism has already taken shape. But the further perfection of this mechanism and the consistent improvement of the style of party leadership are dialectically interconnected. On the one hand, it is impossible to have a truly profound, scientific style of work without a rational modern economic mechanism, and on the other, such a mechanism will take shape only if there is truly creative party leadership.

I

Over the past several years, economic guidance has become the pivotal line in the activity of the CP Georgia. The crucial swing to economic and social problems was made in response to the principled criticism contained in the 1972 CPSU CC Resolution 'On the Organisational and Political Work of the Tbilisi City Committee of the CP Georgia in Fulfilling the Decision of the 24th Congress of the CPSU', a document which pointed to serious mistakes in the party's direction of the socio-economic development of the Georgian Republic, its relative lag behind the country's overall level of development, and some stagnation, which had a negative effect on the moral and political atmosphere in the Republic. The CPSU CC put before the Georgian party organisation a set of responsible tasks, and this marked the start of a drastic restructuring of its work.

That is why 1972 is regarded by the CP Georgia as a sort of starting point. Since then, the Republic's gross social product had doubled, and its national income increased by 110 per cent; industrial output has gone up by more than 100 per cent, and annual average farm output by 70 per cent (with state procurement of the staple crops increasing 2-3 times). Fixed production assets have doubled, and the volume of capital investments has increased by 90 per cent. Georgia's share of the USSR's gross social product has increased from 1.3 per cent to 1.6 per cent, and of its national income from 1.4 to 1.8 per cent.

At the December 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC, our Republic came forward, together with other front-ranking regions of the country, as the initiator of a movement to raise labour productivity by 1 per cent over and above the plan, and cut

costs by another 0.5 per cent. By the end of last year, we overfulfilled our commitments by increasing industrial output by 5 per cent instead of the initially planned 3.2 per cent.

Our efforts on the whole were given a positive assessment in the 1983 CPSU CC Resolution 'On the Work of the CP Georgia in Perfecting the System of Management, Raising the Level of Economic Work and Making Rational Use of Resources', which in a sense summed up the activity of the Republic's party organisation over the preceding 11 years. With constant support from the CPSU CC, it overcame the passive, bland and superficial approach that was evident in the theoretical and practical economic work in Georgia in the early 1970s, and actively got down to improving the management of the economy, above all through the balanced direction of the socialisation and intensification of production.

In the light of the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CP Georgia (1981), its party, government and economic agencies concentrated their efforts on the systemic approach to key tasks. Georgia's party organisation has striven to enhance its influence in the economic sphere by improving the methods and style of leadership and shaping a coherent and smoothly functioning system of management and organisation, and more effective control of performance.

Thus, in order to exert a more telling influence on the solution of key economic, social and political problems, we decided to set up problem working groups and commissions under party committees at the centre of the Republic and in the localities. Why did we opt for this method? The fact is that there was every indication that a deepening of production specialisation under the existing—vertical—set-up of administration of national-economic sectors posed the acute problem of arranging cooperation ties between enterprises and associations and coordinating their activity. Given the present level of the Soviet Union's economic development, cooperation between industries and regions has to proceed on a truly gigantic scale. Failure by any single partner to meet his obligations has a painful effect on every element of the chain of production and ultimately also on the overall national-economic results, so that the greatest importance now attaches to sound coordination, synchronic work and smooth cooperation between the parties concerned.

The working groups and problem commissions help to concert action by various organisations, to bring out and eliminate 'bottlenecks' in due time, and to take collective decisions. Far from substituting for economic agencies, they in fact help to unite and coordinate their work under the control of party organisations. Their main task is to enhance the responsibility of executive personnel at every level of administration and management, and whenever necessary to apply the power of party authority to make them remove any barriers to successful work. The method we are using also helps to do away with duplication, to omit bureaucratic correspondence, to act with greater despatch and to exert more influence on the state of affairs.

We have set up for instance, a problem group in the Republic to deal with matters relating to the utmost economy of material resources. Its working organ is the Republican Inter-Departmental Commission, which is headed by the Chairman of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. Similar groups and commissions operate under party committees, ministries and departments and at enterprises. In this way, one of the key problems of intensification and attainment of a high rate of social reproduction is being tackled simultaneously under the party's control in the sectoral and inter-sectoral plane. As a result of such a complex approach, Georgia's gross social product has grown much faster than material inputs over the past eight years, but we believe that far from all the reserves and potentialities have been tapped. The CP Georgia CC met in plenary session to consider the rational use of material and technical resources, and decided that the drive against mismanagement and losses had to be stepped up, and the existing excess

inventories of equipment, and raw and other materials involved in the economic turnover.

Working groups have also been set up under the CP Georgia CC, and under local party organs, republican ministries, departments and enterprises to deal with problems in raising labour productivity, a key indicator of production efficiency which, together with the factors under whose influence it takes shape, is being constantly monitored by the groups at every level. The result is that over the past eight years, labour productivity in industry and construction in Georgia has run at a higher rate than the average for the country.

Here is yet another example. Party, government and economic agencies in Georgia had always displayed concern for improving product quality. A special working group concentrated and pooled the efforts of executives responsible for this sector of production and of scientists. A complex system for controlling product quality was set up on the initiative of the CP Georgia CC, with the role of working organ assigned to the Georgian Republic's State Committee for Standardisation. The inter-regional Houses of Quality have become centres spreading the best methods for turning out high quality products. As a result of the all-round effort, the share of products awarded the state mark of Quality has gone up to 14.5 per cent of total output, as compared with only 0.2 per cent in 1972.

The CP Georgia attaches much importance to organising party control of the fulfilment of the set tasks. We believe that in our conditions much good has been done by the monthly summing up of national economic results at joint meetings of the Bureau of the CP Georgia CC and the Presidium of the Georgian Council of Ministers with the attendance of many party and economic activists, a form of work which helps to bring forward outstanding matters, to discover imbalances in social production in due time, and to assign additional tasks to ministries, departments, enterprises and regions in order to ensure fulfilment of five-year plans.

Georgia has great objective and subjective potentialities for markedly increasing the quantitative growth of the national economy and improving quality. We intend to go on building up our assets and making more efficient use of them. We have some labour reserves, and this has produced the need for further building up our material and technical facilities and creating new jobs. That is why the strategic line in the economic sphere is aimed to accelerate the expansion of production with a rational combination of intensive and extensive growth factors. That is what determines the guidelines along which efforts are made to improve the form, method and style of the party's guidance of the economy. The accent is being increasingly shifted to a renewal of the economic mechanism, enhancement of the role of economic instruments and incentives, and improvement of financial and economic activity.

II

The efforts to improve economic administration and management run along many lines, which means that the problem cannot be solved in some single way. It is being tackled both from 'above'—in the form of state-wide measures adopted within the framework of one or more sectors of the national economy, and from 'below'—as a result of initiatives by party, economic and government organs and working people's collectives in the localities.

The socialist mode of production makes it possible to invigorate the activity and independence of local organs of administration and work collectives and to develop their initiative without upsetting the principles of centralism, which not only has its incontestable advantages, but also some shortcomings. So, while making the utmost use of these advantages, it pays simultaneously to encourage creative efforts in the localities, and that is precisely the approach Lenin took, when he said that

'centralism, understood in a truly democratic sense, presupposes the possibility, created for the first time in history, of full and unhampered development . . . of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal'.⁵ The founder of our party and state attached especial importance to such initiative when he said that it 'must come from the localities and the lower ranks, with the model organisation of a "complex" . . . meaning not just . . . one branch of industry, or one factory, but a *totality* of economic relations, a *totality* of economic exchange, even if only in a small locality'.⁶

Over the past several years, Georgia's party organisation has accumulated some experience in staging experiments in administration and management, with the renewal of the economic mechanism and the perfection of the style of the party's guidance of the economy taken as a single complex.

Our experiments were started in agriculture: the pilot scheme was the establishment in one of the districts of our Republic of an agro-industrial complex bringing together agriculture and allied industries. There was much discussion over this approach, some objections and doubts were expressed, but on the whole, the pilot scheme has fully justified itself. The economy of that district has noticeably improved, and the experience has been taken up and carried forward on the scale of the whole country, with an eye to the results of the experiments under way in other Union Republics.

Just now, the district agro-industrial associations (DAIAs) have at their disposal centralised assets consisting of funds contributed by the enterprises and organisations within the complex. Last year, these funds in Georgia totalled more than 50 million roubles, a solid amount which truly gives much room for local initiative and enterprise. These funds enable the DAIAs to solve many problems independently and to correct any imbalances in their economy. In May 1982, the experiment was given a high appreciation at a plenary meeting of the CPSU CC.

This was followed by the establishment of a unified State Committee for Agricultural Production consisting of the Republican Ministry of Agriculture, Land Improvement and Water Conservancy, and the State Committee for Agricultural Machinery of the Georgian Republic. This helped not only to do away with a number of intermediate elements, but also to make the administration of the sector more competent and efficient. These services have now also been merged on the district level. The new structure has made it possible to concentrate labour and material resources on the crucial sectors of production in a much better way. There is now centralised supply of farms with equipment, spare parts, mixed feed, building materials, fuels, lubricants, fertilizers, and so on. In short, we feel that the conditions have been created in our Republic for the more successful application of the state's integral policy in the countryside.

New and interesting forms of cooperation between social farms and individual subsidiary farms have been started in many parts of Georgia, with purposeful guidance of production on the individual subsidiary farms, and their active and balanced inclusion in shaping the Republic's food balance.

The encouraging results of experiments in agriculture have induced us to take a bolder approach to the difficult problem of improving the administration of industry, with its long-standing and so habitual mechanism, much of which also needs to be renewed, as the latest CPSU CC resolutions say. The thrust of the novelties now being tested in practice in Georgia is making use of the economic mechanism for a resolute drive against departmentalism and parochial interests in order to safeguard the interests of the state as a whole.

For more than two years now, a search has been under way for concrete forms to enhance the organisational and control functions of the Soviet of People's Deputies in the city of Poti. An intersectoral association has been set up under the Soviet's Executive Committee with the powers of a regional economic administration body,

to work on the basis of economic calculus and operationally to direct the enterprises, associations and organisations situated on the city's territory, irrespective of their departmental subordination. It controls their activity, strives to make the utmost use of the industrial and economic potential, and to regulate the solution of intersectoral problems, seeking, for instance, fuller utilisation of industrial waste, more rational freight flows, stability of material and technical supply, and so on. A new item has appeared on the city budget: all the enterprises within the association deduct 10 per cent of their plan profits and 50 per cent of their above-plan profits.⁷ Accordingly, the association has a material stake in getting all the city organisations make a maximum additional profit, and it is as strong as that of the enterprises, ministries and departments to which they are subordinate, and also of the state as a whole. Under the new system, the deductions of Poti's enterprises to the USSR State Budget in the first half-year of 1983 went up by 23 per cent over the same period of 1982, and to the Republic's budget—by 34 per cent.

Since additional profit can be obtained only through a substantial improvement of the economic quantity and quality indicators, the emphasis in Poti is being made on the utmost growth of labour productivity, and the cutting of costs, inputs and losses. The association has achieved considerable economic progress.

One could say that the shaping of the new type of economic ties—territorial and intersectoral—helps to solve economic and social problems as a complex, to increase the incentives for local bodies in safeguarding their own and state-wide interests, and to overcome any elements of departmentalism and parochialism.

We attach fundamental importance to the fact that the CPSU CC has authorised the Central Committee of the CP Georgia and the Georgian Council of Ministers to start an experimental honing of forms for cooperation between the sectoral and territorial organs of administration, with active participation by Union ministries and departments. This opens up the most favourable possibilities before us.

A large-scale experiment in expanding the economic-calculus powers of enterprises and associations, and heightening their responsibility for the final results of their work is now under way in a number of industries of the USSR. How does that mesh with the innovations in our Republic? The main purpose for which the territorial and intersectoral association was set up in Poti, for instance, is to attain high end-results on the basis of economic-calculus incentives by improving the main technical and economic indicators for the whole territorial complex. Within the framework of the individual industry, this induces more efficient shaping of economic incentive funds at the enterprises, the basis of any economic-calculus independence. However, the territorial association has an equal stake in replenishing its centralised fund to the utmost,⁸ for that is its main economic instrument.

It follows that the economic models of both experiments coincide and, indeed, fully square with each other. Consequently, they could be regarded as parts of a single package of measures for perfecting the economic mechanism in the USSR. Generally speaking, it is hard to conceive of any further development and deepening of the sectoral experiment without the involvement of regional administration agencies.

Considering the responsibility and economic independence of enterprises and associations, one should emphasise once again that it does not cut across the all-round consolidation of centralised administration and planning. There is a need for independence that results in a multiplication of the economic potential not only of the regions but of the state as a whole, because that is the only way to safeguard the interests of the individual republics and the country's cities and districts.

The main line of further development of all our measures and an important sphere of efforts by Georgia's party, government and economic organs is overcoming the attitude of over-reliance on the centre, and introducing economic-calculus more fully. Konstantin Chernenko has emphasised that our main reserve consists in further perfecting the economic mechanism, including the development of economic-

calculus principles.⁹

We in Georgia are well aware of this from our own experience. For a long time, unsuccessful efforts were made, for instance, to solve the problem of protecting the shorelines of the Black Sea against erosion, with huge funds being expended without any visible effect. Hundreds of hectares of the coastline were lost. But a change in kind occurred after the establishment of a science-and-production association with the special task of protecting the shoreline. Science was empowered to set the terms for practice and to direct production activity. This has yielded tangible results: the protection of a kilometre of shoreline will now cost half as much as it did before.

Here is another of many similar examples. Following the establishment in Tbilisi of one urban transport association, in place of the many disparate services, all types of passenger transit (with the exception of the metro) were concentrated under its control, and this sharply improved the use of funds, traffic flows became more rational, and services for the population more amenable.

The CPSU CC recently passed a resolution on improving financial and credit arrangements and tightening up financial discipline, an exceptionally important problem, because finances hold up a mirror to the state of production, including its shortcomings.

With the support of the USSR State Bank, we have been experimenting in this area as well, trying out new forms of credit relations between banks and economic organisations, which help to enhance the role of the bank and its influence on thrifty and common-sense expenditure of state funds. Enterprises which fulfil the plan are charged lower interest rates on their credits. Banking institutions do not sever credit relations with economic units which find themselves in financial straits, but work purposefully to help them improve their activity.

The enhancement of the role of science and technology is an important aspect of the economic experiments in the Georgian Republic. We have taken serious measures to develop businesslike partnerships between the collectives of enterprises and scientific institutions and to improve the structure of the latter. The Central Committee of the CP Georgia met in plenary session to examine a long-mooted system for administering scientific and technical progress. It is no exaggeration to say that this system now runs through all the units, all the levels, and all the sectors of the economy in our Republic. A Coordination Council for Science and Scientific and Technical Progress, and sectoral sections headed by CC secretaries and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, and similar units in ministries, departments, cities and districts have been set up. The working organs of this system—the State Committee for Science and Technology of the Georgian Republic and the subdivisions of our State Planning Committee—have begun to function more effectively.

The innovations have also touched upon the inter-relations between science and production. A statute on the partnership of research institutions, enterprises and farms increasing the incentives of the cooperating parties in the promptest application of new ideas has been worked out. New forms of material incentives for the collectives of scientific institutions in fulfilling economic-contract projects are being tried out. As a result, the annual effect from the introduction of new hardware and technology in Georgia's industry has more than quadrupled over 1972.

Yet another line of our experiments in administration is connected with a broader and more complex grasp of various spheres of the socio-economic life of individual regions and the simultaneous solution of major economic and social problems. This tendency will be clearly seen in the work of the DAIA's and in the experience of the Poti comrades, among others. The effective measures taken recently to expand the output of consumer goods are aimed in the same direction. The prospects for the development of consumer goods production are being dealt with by a republican commission under the CP Georgia CC, which is chaired by one of its secretaries. To

make the interests of industry and merchandising much more akin is the main task of the working organ of the commission, a republican centre for organising work to meet the population's demand for these goods. The quest in this direction was begun by Georgia's Ministry of the Light Industry.

We now have something like 30 economic experiments going on in the Republic. Their results are not always successful, of course, but that is, after all, also important from the standpoint of experience. Besides, any creative effort of that kind leaves its mark on the thinking of our party cadres. There was a time when the very word 'experiment' was suspect among some executives, but today hardly anyone is surprised by an experimental or creative approach to economic problems. On the contrary, the search for new and rational ways of solving such problems is becoming a characteristic feature of the style of party leadership in economic and socio-political life, and that testifies to the deepening of socialist democracy. We intend to assert this kind of style and approach in the activity of all the work collectives and governing bodies.

III

More than ever before, successful party leadership now depends on realising Lenin's principle of the unity of ideological, organisational and economic work. The ideological backup of economic progress requires the party to establish closer and more organic ties between economics and ideology, and between economics and politics. A deep knowledge of life and the ability to influence economic processes is now a firm demand on our cadres. Work with then was made central by the Georgian party organisation in fulfilling the 1972 CPSU CC resolution, and here we were confronted with considerable difficulties. We had to part with leading functionaries who were working the old way and were not equal to the new requirements. There was the need to train and educate those who took over from them, and they had to be not just honest and conscientious workers loyal to the party and the people, but also competent specialists, in short, executives with the whole range of necessary political and business qualities.

The decision of 12th Plenary meeting of the CP Georgia CC (1979) has become a milestone in the cadre policy of the republican party organisation: it decided to set up a cadre coordination council, its competence including the definition of the guidelines for the work of party, government, economic and social organisations with leading functionaries at every level and concentration of efforts on tackling the principal cadre tasks.

A cadre education system has been devised. Following their appointment to a given post and at subsequent stages of their work, leading functionaries go through a training period of republican party and Soviet government organs, ministries, departments and social organisations, and have special programmes for study at the Cadre Training Centre under the CP Georgia CC. This has helped markedly to improve the composition of leading functionaries and has had a feed-back effect on the Republic's economic and social development. Our cadres have been 'rejuvenated', and there are now among them more promising people, women, representatives of various nationalities of the USSR and people who have had a good schooling in life.

The selection and appointment of cadres is based on democratic principles: the opinion of work collectives, primary party organisations and individual Communists is broadly taken into account. The appointment of a leading functionary to a post involves the approval of his or her curriculum vitae reflecting his or her positive and negative qualities and shortcomings, and containing various relevant suggestions. In addition, we have introduced the party certification of cadres. Progress reports by leading functionaries on the fulfilment of their official duties are heard by party

committee bureaus, a method of control which is highly effective.

The line of expanding and deepening the democratic principles of administration is the characteristic feature of all the new projects in the Republic. Economic democracy is directly and immediately expressed, for instance, in the activity of the DAIA councils, the collegial organs of administration taking collective decisions on the major problems in the complex development of their region. The territorial association in Poti and other territorial economic administration units operate on similar principles.

Collective leadership, collegial decision-taking, an ability to hear out and take worth-while advice and to support everything that is useful and valuable are the indispensable feature of the Leninist style of work, a style which we strive to make the basis of the activity of the CP Georgia CC, and of its Bureau and Secretariat, and which is a solid foundation for correct and well-grounded administrative decisions.

The 1983 CPSU CC resolution said that Georgia's party organisation has displayed constant concern for strengthening party, government and economic organs by bringing in well-trained cadres. It is a great honour for us to have merited such an appreciation, but it also puts a great duty on us.

The CPSU CC has formulated the task of training our cadres in modern economic thinking, which is a key prerequisite for perfecting developed socialism, while simultaneously being one of its objective uniformities determined by the growing importance of the economy and the economic sciences. It implies a capability of comprehending economic phenomena, understanding economic concepts, categories and conceptions, relating them with reality, and taking the right orientation in production matters.

Thinking along modern lines in this sphere means giving priority in practical activity to complex administration, the creation of conditions for creative effort, the training of high-skilled specialists, the assertion of a spirit of quest, innovation, genuine efficiency and socialist enterprises. Among our indispensable demands on economic thinking are concentrated attention on the strategic problems and lines, and correct identification and skilful use of the uniformities of developed socialism as the basis for structural and priority policy in science, technology and production, and also in the social sphere. Accordingly, we have been combating the superficial attitude to economic problems, for economics is at root incompatible with dilettantism, which is always fraught with the gravest consequences.

If the level of economic work and economic thinking is actually to be raised, there is a need for in-depth and all-round analysis of the ongoing processes and phenomena, i.e., a critical comprehension of the past, a weighing of the pluses and minuses of the present, and a correct assessment of the future, an ability which enables leading cadres to work out a political approach to the solution of economic problems.

Economics and discipline are indissoluble concepts, and that is why we believe that the indispensable conditions for economic progress and perfection of developed socialism is further assertion of the way of life proper to it, of a healthy moral and political climate, and a model social law and order, i.e., everything that goes to shape the conditions for fruitful work and mould the creative frame of mind.

Party organisations seek to blend ideological, organisational and economic activity and so strive, in particular, to have the drive for tightening up order and discipline based more solidly in the work collectives, to enhance organisation in every way and to spread patriotic initiatives and movements more broadly. A group acting under the CP Georgia CC to strengthen discipline and socialist legality has the functions of a coordinating body, and similar working groups have been set up under the party's city and district committees, and at ministries and departments. The statistical record shows that industrial goods worth more than 40 million roubles were additionally turned out last year alone only as a result of smaller losses of working time. In the recent period, special attention is being given to tightening up the discipline of

cooperation deliveries. People's Control and the organs responsible for the protection of law and order, legality and so on have been acting more vigorously.

It is important to blend ideological, organisational and economic work primarily in the grass-roots party organisations, and this pertains especially to the utmost encouragement of popular initiatives and extension of socialist emulation, a mighty instrument in further boosting the economy. The role of primary organisations and party groups, and also of the newly established institutions of party and political organisers in the shops, teams and production sections tends to grow in view of the extensive introduction of the team method of organisation and remuneration of labour in industry, building and transportation. Almost 2,000 grass-roots collectives are already applying that method in Georgia's agriculture.

The organisational and political work of Georgia's party organisation in the economic sphere rests on a solid theoretical and practical groundwork. We regard the efforts to improve administration and management, and to renew the economic mechanism, so as to create solid guarantees and potentialities for further raising the level of the party's guidance of the society in the light of Lenin's style of work, as a full-fledged dialectical form of enhancing the party's leading role under developed socialism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, p. 340; Vol. 43, p. 330.

² See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, pp. 330-331.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 242-243.

⁴ See *Pravda*, February 14, 1984.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 355.

⁷ The money goes to produce consumer goods and products of intersectoral importance.

⁸ The fund goes to expand production and to meet social and cultural needs.

⁹ See *Pravda*, March 3, 1984.

Consolidating the Vanguard Role of the Working Class

Tadeusz Porebski – Political Bureau member, CC Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP)

THE Polish workers carried out their revolution and began to build a socialist society forty years ago under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist party, and that was the first time in our country's history that power was taken by a class which does not exploit anyone. Indeed, having itself escaped from oppression, it also helped to liberate the other working people from it. In virtue of their position in the society, the workers are free from any class egoism and seek to establish fair social relations. The leading role of the working class in building up the new system is predetermined by that position of theirs and especially by their adoption of the ideology of scientific socialism. The fact is that socialism has helped the Polish people to take a gigantic stride forward in its all-round development. It is socialism that has helped our country to rise from the backwardness of the past. Industrialisation has penetrated into the remotest parts of the country and opened up before all the working people potentialities for economic and cultural progress.

As the Polish working class transformed its homeland, it itself underwent a transformation: in the period of popular power, it has developed into the principal

and most numerous class of the society. Before the war, workers together with members of their families made up less than a third of the population, and now make up more than one-half. There are 7.6 million workers in the country, or 44 per cent of all those employed in the national economy, and 62 per cent of those working in the socialised sector.

Poland's working class has become its leading economic force and the chief producer of its material values. Just after the war, industry and building turned out only 27 per cent of the national income, as compared with 60 per cent today. The Polish society's modern labour standards are set by the industrial workers.

As the national industry developed, production was concentrated, so that 17.5 per cent of all the industrial workers will now be found at factories and plants with over 5,000 persons, which make up 0.2 per cent of all the enterprises; and more than one-half are employed at enterprises with 1,000 and more persons, which make up 2 per cent of the total. The large work collectives have great potentialities for shaping the country's economic condition, because they deal with large production potentials on whose correct use depend the volume and quality of output, and the economy's technical and organisational progress. Because of their cohesion and training, these large collectives are a great political force on which the PUWP has always relied and which it has prevented the hostile circles from manipulating with.

Not all the sections of the Polish working class are, of course, the same, because some man the industrial giants and others the small enterprises, some work in the old industrial centres with long-standing proletarian traditions, and others in the new areas which had not long ago been agrarian. Together with the hard-core workers, we have many who retain more or less close ties with the countryside. Let me add that one group of those now working in industry operate modern automated lines, another—the most numerous—is engaged in mechanised labour, and a third—also fairly numerous—has to do manual work. The differentiation of the Polish working class accounts for some of its specific features, like the uneven development of its class consciousness. But the main thing is still the fact that it is aware of being master of the means of production and the actual producer of material values living on its own labour, and this helps to cement it into a single whole.

Most Polish workers accept the principles and ideals of socialism and are aware that it is they who determine the workers' role in our society. Their dedication to the new system has not on the whole been shaken by the recurrent crises in our postwar history when class adversaries attempted to revive petty-bourgeois and anarcho-syndicalist attitudes in the masses. The working people have always acted under the slogan: 'Yes to socialism, no to its distortions'. Our workers are overwhelmingly honest and industrious men and women, but one will also find some who take a dishonest attitude to their work and whose stand in life is alien to that of the Communists. The PUWP believes that its task is to promote the development of the whole class in the spirit of its best traditions.

Ways of tackling this task were dealt with at the 16th Plenary Meeting of the PUWP CC in June 1984, which met at Lodz, the country's major proletarian centre well known for its long-standing revolutionary traditions. Apart from CC members, it was attended by 800 party and non-party workers from factories, plants and pits. It adopted a resolution on the main lines of the PUWP's policy in enhancing the role of the working class in national life. In his speech at Lodz, First Secretary of the PUWP CC Wojciech Jaruzelski defined the goals in building the new society as follows: 'Socialism is a system which raises the dignity of every citizen and every worker, and which creates new social relations both in production and in every other sphere of life. It is inseparable from thinking in the categories of "our", "common", and "collective", a mentality that helps to harmonise individual interests and aspirations with the common goals.'

The historical record shows that the working class can build a new society only

under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, which assures it of the necessary organisation and political unity and makes its creative activity effective. The party is itself equipped and equips the masses with the ideology which makes it possible to perform a turnaround in human history and to translate into life advanced social ideas.

The party is the well-trying political representative of the Polish working class, and it expresses the interests of that class as a whole. A firm line of consolidating the working class character of our policy and strengthening the ties between the party and the working class was taken by the extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PUWP in 1981. It means above all serving the class from which the party stems. Its hopes and aspirations are the very fabric of the PUWP's plans and intentions. The Polish Communists are deeply concerned with the painful problems and hardships of the workers' daily life.

The party's capacity to organise the masses and to muster them to implement the formulated programme shows how solid its ties with the working people are. Lenin held that 'a vanguard performs its tasks as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass of the people it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward'.² He stressed that 'it is not enough to call ourselves the "vanguard", the advanced contingent: we must act in such a way that *all* the other contingents recognise and are obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard'.³

The Leninist type of party sees its duty in actively moulding the workers' class consciousness, and so the PUWP puts the duty on every Polish Communist to explain and defend its principles and policy goals, to be a front-ranker in his collective and effectively to influence its stand. If they are to do so, the Communists must more readily comprehend and more thoroughly assess any problems that arise, propose effective means for solving them and be able to convince their workmates that such solutions are well grounded. We are aware of how much needs to be done to enable party members to move closer to Lenin's ideal of the Communist. However, some of them are, regrettably, still disoriented politically, passing superficial judgements on social phenomena and making no effort to understand the true state of things.

In Poland's years of crisis, the ranks of our party shrank. Some left of their own accord, others under pressure from the political adversaries, and still others in virtue of party decisions. It is a matter of concern for us that workers make up a sizable percentage of all these three categories of former Communists. It is true that not all those who moved away from the PUWP have turned their backs on it. Many are working in the trade unions and in the Patriotic Movement of National Revival. Some of them would like to return to the party, and there is nothing in the Rules that says that they cannot do so.

Almost 40 per cent of PUWP members are now workers, and it remains a mass party. Since the membership outflow, there has been a growing influx of new members, roughly one-half of whom are workers. We strive more actively to recruit them into our ranks, above all by enhancing the authority and efficiency of party organisations at the enterprises, whose main duty is to consolidate their positions among the workers. The PUWP believes that workers should constitute the overwhelming majority of its membership.

However, it is not social makeup alone that determines the party's working class character. In the late 1970s, there were, after all, more workers in the PUWP than ever before, but their influence in shaping the socio-economic policy of the party and the state turned out to be inadequate, since the leadership paid little heed to the voice of the working people. Such practices have been resolutely condemned by the PUWP, and it is doing everything to bar any return to past mistakes.

There are now many workers on the highest organs of the party and state leadership: at the extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PUWP, 69 workers were elected to the Central Committee, and four of them to its Political Bureau, the most

numerous group of working class leaders in our party's entire history; 98 workers are Sejm deputies, and almost one-half of the members of its socio-economic council are workers from key enterprises.

In the course of the latest reporting-and-election campaign, the percentage of workers on many other PUWP organs has also increased. On the regional committees they make up nearly one-third, and on the enterprise party committees—more than 40 per cent. Some party organs have displayed initiative in involving workers more broadly in the activity of their problem commissions and groups. The Stettin regional committee, for instance, has set up a consultative group consisting of several hundred rank-and-file working people from the enterprises, some of whom are not party members. The same has been done in the grass-roots party organisations. Such examples will be found in many of the regions. Participation by broad strata of workers in the activity of party organs and organisations, especially in the large industrial centres, is now something of an established rule, although much still remains to be done, since the instructions of the PUWP CC Political Bureau on this matter have yet to be fulfilled everywhere.

The working class is building socialism together with the labouring peasantry and intelligentsia, because the basic historical interests of all the working people are identical. The alliance of workers and peasants is deeply rooted in their joint struggle for the people's power. These two classes determine the character of our state and exert the crucial influence on the functioning of Poland's political system, on its economic structure and national culture.

The alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia is gaining in importance. A large section of that social stratum has genetic links with the workers and peasants. As for the technical intelligentsia, it is akin to the workers in the character of labour and concentration at the production enterprises. The PUWP is working to create the conditions for the intelligentsia as a whole to give creative support to the producers, actively to help satisfy their social and cultural requirements, and share with the workers the knowledge obtained at socialist schools and other academic institutions, so developing the civic, historical, economic and juridical consciousness of that class. However, one will find among Polish intellectuals some 'friends of the people' who seek to distort the workers' consciousness and to aim it against the objective social interests. Such 'friends' echo bourgeois propaganda and sing the praises of the anti-Polish 'sanctions' of the incumbent US Administration, issue calls to wreck national and working class festivals, boycott elections to the people's councils, and so on. The working class and such 'advisers' are moving along different ways.

We are building a strong, just and law-abiding state, while consistently expanding the potentialities of the working class to realise its leading role in practice, so that every politically conscious worker should feel that 'he is not only the master in his own factory but that he is also a representative of the country . . . feeling his responsibility. The politically conscious worker must know that he is a representative of his class.'⁴

The workers' political role depends on how actively they contribute to the functioning of the various institutions of socialist democracy, as expressed not so much in figures (the number of deputies on representative organs, etc.), as in genuine, down-to-earth participation in the people's power system. The Polish National Conference of delegates to the extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PUWP in 1984⁵ set before the whole party and before each of its organisations the task of perfecting the mechanisms by means of which workers are involved in the decision-making processes.

The people's councils are the principal institution in which the working class accomplishes its vanguard role in the state. They realise the workers' interests, work further to develop socialism's political system and to strengthen the ties between the country's leadership and its citizens. The Law on the People's Councils⁶, adopted last year on the recommendation of the PUWP's Ninth Congress, designates these

councils as the true masters of their districts with the competence of taking decisions on all the key matters relating to the life of the population. It depends on the deputies, on the strength of their ties with their electorate, and on the concern of the society, the working class above all, for the activity of the councils, how these potentialities are used.

The party has carried on a resolute struggle against everything that cuts across the workers' notions of justice and morality. Important organisational measures have been taken for that purpose: the Supreme Control Chamber⁷ is now subordinate to the Sejm, and the Council of Ministers has set up a special committee to oversee the observance of legality. However, state control agencies alone are unable to root out breaches of legality, and the fight against such breaches should involve, says Lenin, 'tens of thousands of picked, politically advanced workers, loyal to the cause of socialism, incapable of succumbing to bribery and the temptations of pilfering, and capable of creating an iron force against the . . . profiteers, racketeers, bribe-takers and disorganisers'.⁸

The party has proposed the formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate, an important element in the expansion of the people's power, whose role should consist in directly and effectively combating the most painful phenomena in life, which often deeply offend the society. The proposal made at the PUWP CC's 16th Plenary Meeting is being discussed in the factory party organisations.

Another PUWP initiative is aimed to improve the system of social consultations and the study of public opinion and the working people's views and assessments. Such consultations were, in particular, held before the adoption of the three-year plan for the country's socio-economic development and on economies and the drive against inflation. The working people were also polled on the drafting of a new electoral statute and on the mooted adjustment of retail prices. There were also consultations on the draft Law on the System of the People's Councils and Territorial Self-Administration. The PUWP values every voice and opinion, but the voice of the workers is of especial importance.

The self-management bodies set up in production give the working people the widest opportunities for a say in management. Their task is to concert the interests of the work collective and of the society as a whole. Workers' councils are responsible for the allocation of enterprise funds, a part of the people's wealth. The self-management bodies act in accordance with the existing legal and political norms to consolidate our state and so ensure their own further development.

There is no doubt about the working class taking a direct part in the management of Poland's national economy: workers' councils operate at 90 per cent of all state enterprises, which employ 8 million people. On these councils are almost 100,000 persons, of whom nearly 60 per cent come from the shop floor.

The party attaches much importance to improving this activity. Production self-management commissions, each with its own brief, have been set up under the State Council, the Sejm and the regional people's councils. The PUWP leadership recently met in conference with the members of several hundred self-management bodies, and the useful exchange of opinion developed into a dialogue between the party and representatives of the working class.

Many self-management bodies make correct use of their rights and potentialities, but not all. Some tend to abuse their powers, to protect narrowly-understood interests of their enterprises, do less than enough to improve their economic activity and raise product quality, and refuse to reckon with the opinions of the trade unions. The party declares that this cuts across the working people's interests.

We believe that no workers' council should serve as a screen for mismanagement or incapacity, or be ranged against the socialist state by acting solely in the interests of the enterprise. The inclination to give preference to purely local interests tends to undermine the very idea of enterprise independence and self-management. The party

has also condemned the actions of administrative personnel spreading dissent between party, trade unions and workers' councils at the factories and plants.

The trade unions, an integral element of the socialist social system, have an exceptionally important part to play in backing up the political mission of the working class. In the period of crisis, our trade unions turned out to be divided.⁹ They are now being revived in the new conditions and have already become the most massive organisation of the working class and all the other working people, with 4.7 million members, of whom 60 per cent are workers.

The Polish trade unions have been developing in accordance with the will of the working class, demonstrating by word and deed their political commitment to the ideas of socialism and their acceptance of the party's leading role. New trade unions enrol all members of former trade unions on the principle: 'We do not ask who comes from where; the important thing is that he wants to serve People's Poland and the working people.' The party accepts that approach, and its intentions and acts with respect to the trade unions are absolutely sincere. Their demands are regarded by the party and the state as an expression of the requirements and aspirations of the working class, which is why we strive to give serious consideration to such demands, to respond openly and with good reason as to which of these needs can be satisfied today and which later, and to show which demands are economically unrealistic or contradict the objective long-term interests of the society, i.e., of the workers themselves.

Concrete results can be produced only by a sincere and frank discussion of all problems, including the most difficult ones, by the party and state leadership and the leaders of the trade union movement, so carrying us forward to the overcoming of our economic difficulties and improving the living and working conditions of the people.

An economic reform is under way in Poland, and it is proceeding in complicated conditions. The party has subordinated all its steps in this sphere to a single goal, that of ridding the country most swiftly of its economic difficulties. The reform has yielded its first few results. Growth trends are being intensified in the national economy, industrial production is being expanded, livestock breeding is being rehabilitated, and the decline in the population's real incomes is being halted. The state of the internal market is being gradually improved. Many collectives are labouring with great dedication and turning out high-quality products.

But there is still a host of difficulties in the economy: efforts to halt the inflation have not succeeded, and some goods are still in short supply. Progress in overcoming the economic crisis is being impeded by the after-effects of the continuing US 'sanctions' and the heavy burden of the interest we have been paying to our Western creditors. But there are also some other reasons for our shortcomings: the level of economic efficiency, productivity, quality of workmanship and labour discipline attained is still less than satisfactory and production processes are not yet well enough organised.

The success of the reform and the efforts to overcome the present difficulties depends above all on the activity of the working class, but also on rational labour organisation and skilled management, which also means on the attitude of the technical intelligentsia.

The party has created the necessary conditions for conducting a common-sense personnel policy, and it is now up to the party bodies and organisations to apply its principles and criteria in practice. Those who are unequal to these standards, who are incapable of organising the work and fail to display concern for the working people's interests cannot, we believe, fill any executive post. The working class wants us to conduct a clear-cut and above-board personnel policy and the PUWP has acted vigorously with that end in view.

We strive to re-establish the shaken respect for the work ethic and good workmanship, and to make that the chief criterion in evaluating any individual. The

socialist state guarantees to its citizens the right to work, but it demands, for its part, that they should take an honest attitude to their work and refuse to countenance the laziness, drunkenness, offhand attitudes to social property and stealing at enterprises, all of which will still be found even among workers.

The effective use of labour-time is still unsatisfactory: it comes to only 61 per cent of a worker's nominal time.

Tolerance of such things amounts to an implicit acceptance of the reduction in the common wealth and a decline in the incomes of honest working people. However, members of management cannot alone establish order and discipline at all the enterprises, an important function which should be performed also by the work collectives themselves, by the party and trade union organisations and the self-management bodies.

Shoddy work and poor workmanship are at odds with socialist morality. The PUWP believes that workers who are Communists have a special role to play in combating these shortcomings by setting an example of honest and high-quality work.

In order to remodel the economy it is also important for every work collective and every working man and woman to have a good idea of overall economic policy, of the tasks of the enterprise and of their own tasks. The working people's economic education is now an essential factor helping work collectives to become aware of their status of masters of production and to find a way out of the difficult situation more rapidly. The PUWP CC Political Bureau has dealt specially with the problem of economic training, and its decisions help to formulate more precisely the duties of our party's units in this area.

Misunderstandings and tensions are now and again generated—even among workers—by the differences between the old, ingrained habits and the new principles of economic activity. Some are still inclined to expect the central organs of power to step in and remove all the difficulties. These organs have, of course, been doing a great deal to put through the economic reform, but as much needs to be done by the work collectives themselves.

Another expression of the old attitude to work is that some workers seek to improve their living standards by demanding more and more wage rises. Some have assumed that the growth of wages by 17 per cent planned for 1984 applies to every single individual, regardless of the results of his work and the activity of the enterprise. The party has taken the firm stand that wage rises should be determined only by growing labour productivity and expanding production. In accordance with the terms of the reform, wages are set by the enterprises themselves, and it is highly important that they should do so fairly, in accordance with the individual contributions to the common effort.

We believe that it would be wrong to reduce wage differentials, because equally does not at all mean fairly. Fairness lies in the remuneration of genuine labour inputs in accordance with the social utility, quality and results of the work. The party favours differentials based on honest effort, inventiveness and capability, for then higher pay tends to mobilise and stimulate to high-quality workmanship and provides moral and material satisfaction.

Improvement of the working people's material living conditions is the strategic goal of our socio-economic policy and of the socialist state's entire activity. The PUWP leadership is aware that the working class, like the bulk of Poland's population, is labouring under the burdens of the crisis, and believes that its task is to have these fairly distributed.

Sixteen per cent of workers' incomes now consist of receipts earmarked above all for the social protection of families truly in need of state support. At the same time, the party frankly says that the way to improve life does not run through a multiplication of rights for the receipt of diverse aids and payments in kind, or

through professional privileges, but above all through a growth of incomes coming from rising efficiency of production, labour productivity and quality of workmanship.

The movement of prices is a matter for much argument in the working class midst. We are worried by the fact that the continuing increase in incomes still tends to run ahead of the growth of labour productivity, which merely goes to intensify the inflation. Until we secure a sizable increase in the output of consumer goods, more and more consumer zlotys will remain in wallets unoffset by any hard commodity supply. The government intends to solve the problem in extensive consultations with the workers.

Poland's working class, as I have said, sharply condemns any kind of departures from the work ethic and law and order, including unwarrantedly high incomes and a life in ease at the expense of others. The party is carrying on a resolute fight against crime and other forms of social pathology. A special committee of the Council of Ministers is dealing with the observance of public law and order and discipline. Resistance to profiteering has been stepped up. We are aware, of course, that it cannot be entirely rooted out so long as goods are in short supply on the market, but we shall not cease to combat it; all the loopholes through which profiteers obtain scarce goods to sell them at spiralling prices must be plugged, and in this matter we have the support of the population and of the working class.

The special government committee also controls the activity of the private sector, which tends to produce highly emotional and sharp assessments on the part of the working people, for many believe that 'private entrepreneurs' enrich themselves on the shortages at the expense of the working class. There has, indeed, been some expansion of the private sector. In particular, the share of the handicrafts in retail trade increased from 1.9 per cent in 1979 to 2.9 per cent in 1983. The turnover of private trade comes to 2 per cent of the trade turnover as a whole. Private firms owned by foreign citizens produce 0.25 per cent of the country's industrial product. But private sector incomes are regulated by means of tax policy: the state has carried on a resolute struggle against excessive profits derived from diverse abuses which tend to shape an alien set of values.

Private sector activity within the legal framework in our country is determined, therefore, by social and economic requirements. However, in building the new society, the party, the working class and the state have naturally relied and will continue to rely on the material and technical basis of socialism and on the advantages which are inherent in our system. Here much remains to be done. We want to start a wide-ranging vigorous and efficient socialist emulation drive and to make the new ideas and inventors' movement more effective. It is highly important to enhance the significance of the socialist enterprise in the life of the working people. Together with its production tasks, it should do more to exercise its other functions with respect to its working people, such as organising social life, education and culture.

The party has invigorated its work with young people, notably young workers, and the relevant problems were considered at the PUWP CC's Ninth Plenary Meeting in 1982. The Communists approved the initiatives of the Socialist Polish Youth League aimed to back the new trade unions, and to enhance the role of young men and women in the self-management bodies and in the solution of important social problems. In contrast to our adversaries' claim that young people are passive and belong to some kind of 'lost generation', there are the young people's initiatives in production, the improvement of occupational training for young workers, the more vigorous activity of youth organisations and other positive phenomena. The generations-link within the Polish working class will remain unbroken.

Our working class and its party have lofty goals, and the way to them is a difficult one. Imperialism will never accept the consolidation of a social system under which power belongs to the workers, which is why defence of socialism is their constant patriotic and internationalist duty.

In the present trying conditions, the Soviet Union has been giving Poland much material and political support. Other socialist countries have also shown an understanding of our difficulties and have displayed good will. Of especial importance for People's Poland are the results of last summer's Economic Summit of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which opened a new stage in our fraternal economic cooperation.

Still, it is above all up to us to attain the goals we have set. *The Internationale* says: 'We want no condescending saviours to rule us from a judgement hall. . . . We must ourselves decide our duty. . . .' That is the spirit in which the party seeks to give the Polish working class a greater sense of responsibility for realising both the immediate and the long-term interests, a sense of responsibility to world socialism and the international working class movement. We realise that daily needs are always most keenly felt by everyone, and the hardships of the moment even tend to be painful. The complexity of the situation in Poland requires, however, that current pressing problems should not obscure those which we have to solve for the sake of the morrow. It crucially depends on the working class whether that can be done. The PUWP is convinced that the working class will assure the country of a better future on the road of socialist development.

¹ XVI Plenum KC PZPR, Warsaw, 1984, p. 99.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 227.

³ Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 426.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. 27, p. 403.

⁵ Under the new PUWP Rules, the delegates' powers remain valid throughout the whole inter-congress period, with a national conference of the congress delegates called in mid-term.—*Ed.*

⁶ For details see: *WMR*, No. 4, 1984.

⁷ Poland's supreme state control organ.—*Ed.*

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 390.

⁹ In 1980-81, there were the trade unions affiliated with 'Solidarity', sectoral and autonomous trade unions, and also individual organisations not affiliated with any of these trends.—*Ed.*

Unity of Thought, Will, and Action

Jorge del Prado — CC General Secretary,
Peruvian Communist Party

OBJECTIVE factors springing from a nation's economic development, which, in turn, depends on specific national conditions and on world developments, are operative in every country. Moreover, there are subjective factors, which are the product of the conscious activity of people and, especially, of those who head classes and social strata producing material goods, and propounding national revolution and social progress. Both groups of factors always play a determining role, but this role becomes particularly significant and more tangible in exceptional circumstances, when the course of events ushers in qualitative changes in society. Of course, when we speak of subjective factors and the role of leaders, we do not exaggerate the importance of their personal qualities, but, in accordance with the tenets of Marxism, we wish to draw attention to the inalienable mission of those persons as spokesmen of the interests and aspirations of the revolutionary classes and the people as a whole, as well as of the historical needs of a given country and of the continuously developing

world. We are interested not in the exploits of individual heroes but in epochal social and political accomplishments.

This year will be the 90th anniversary of the birth of José Carlos Mariátegui¹ and 54 years since he died. The life and heritage of this outstanding revolutionary played an inestimable role in spreading and developing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine not only in his homeland (Peru) but throughout the whole of Latin America. Unrestricted by time, his thoughts and practical work attract growing interest in large sections of the international communist movement.

In his writings Mariátegui, who enthusiastically hailed the Great October Socialist Revolution, touches on such important issues as the correlation between the national and the international in the revolutionary movement, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nationalities question in the Andes states (the majority or large proportion of whose population consists of Indians), the agrarian reform, the interaction between revolution and culture, and other topics that are still the subject of heated ideological debates. Mariátegui's influence as a philosopher and Communist leader not only retains its forcefulness and dynamism in the ideological battles of our time but also continues to gain strength.

History Bears Out . . .

Following Mariátegui's death—which was by no means his intellectual demise—many events took place in Peru that brought about profound structural changes in the country and confirmed the strength of Mariátegui's scientific foresight. In some cases the progress that was made followed in the channel of a revolutionary upsurge or even facilitated that upsurge. Without dwelling here on all aspects of our historical development, let us analyse only two political phenomena of recent years that perceptibly distinguish Peruvian reality from the conditions obtaining in other Latin American countries. These are the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchal process under General Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1968-1975 and the creation of the United Left and that organisation's success at the municipal elections in 1983.²

Actually, in those years the 'Peruvian phenomenon', as General Juan Velasco Alvarado's government was christened abroad, fitted into the overall Latin American context, that included the analogous movement in Panama under General Omar Torrijos, in Bolivia under General Torres and the fundamentally similar triumph of the Popular Unity in Chile, that brought the government of Salvador Allende to power. This was a mighty upswing of the anti-imperialist movement on the continent, inspired not only by the visible successes of the Cuban revolution and the building of socialism in a fraternal nation, but also the crushing defeat suffered by Yankee imperialism in Vietnam and the mounting national liberation struggle in all Third World countries. In Chile the basic subjective factor was the unity achieved by the left parties, notably, the unity between the Socialists and the Communists. Anti-imperialist actions played a similarly vital role in Peru, Panama, and Bolivia; in Peru they were aimed at the nationalisation of oil, in Panama their objective was the regaining of the canal zone, while in Bolivia they led to the formation of a national democratic government.

In all these cases, while the liberation thrust did not acquire sufficient strength it was accompanied by manifestations of revolutionary nationalistic currents in some circles of the armed forces. They were, as professionals, disenchanted with the USA's military strength and, at the same time, irritated by its policy on account of its government's aggressive attitude to their peoples and its slighting of our armies.

These were the general or very closely related features of this new, significant, and extremely important upswing of the liberation struggle in the four above-mentioned countries. As regards Peru, the transition of patriotic military to radical anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchal positions has been to a large extent inspired by, apart from the factors we have already mentioned, the ideas, analyses, and theses

expounded by Mariátegui in his *Seven Essays Interpreting Peruvian Reality*. General Alvarado openly acknowledged this influence in a speech in which he proclaimed an agrarian reform and in substantiating the Inca Plan.³ It is no secret in Peru that in the Centre of Higher Military Studies, where the political thinking was moulded by the patriotic officers who acted on October 3, 1968,⁴ the Amauta's⁵ classic work was one of the basic textbooks on the structure and evolution of Peruvian society.

In speaking of the significance of the United Left and its right to exist we should note, in the first place, that this concerns the practical implementation of the united front tactics, which proves so vital and justified in any country where the people are fighting for liberation. Consequently, it cannot be considered that in Peru its appearance was due solely to the impact of Mariátegui's ideas. However, it may be asserted that in our country Mariátegui was the proponent of this principle and its concrete application in the working class movement.

In the present experience of the Communist Party's membership of the United Left special mention must be made of the degree of our political cohesion. We see the current not only as progressive and democratic but also as anti-imperialist and revolutionary unity achieved in Peru on account of the high level of the struggle for social and national liberation. For us the examples of popular unity are Cuba, which is building socialism; Nicaragua, which crushed the Somoza dictatorship and took the road of independent and democratic restructuring; El Salvador, whose revolutionary forces are fighting for popular rule under the leadership of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary-Democratic Front.

What explains the relative uniqueness of our development? The explanation lies, naturally, not only in the growing radicalisation of the working people triggered by the economic crisis and the treacherous anti-people policies of the ruling classes that act in alliance with North American imperialism. Objective factors of this kind operate in all Latin American and Caribbean countries that have still to win their liberation. In Peru account must be taken also of *subjective* elements of development that, apart from the activities of the PCP, include two factors.

The first of these is the high level of the class and anti-imperialist public consciousness and the corresponding organisation of the workers and other sections of the people. This was fostered largely by the advances in safeguarding national sovereignty and the anti-latifundist and labour legislation of the period of the Alvarado administration.

The second factor was the spread of the deep-rooted ideas of Mariátegui and his compelling social analysis, which was very strikingly confirmed by the major structural reforms enforced under Alvarado. Of great significance was the circumstance that our country made progress along the road of these changes and that a large segment of the Peruvian people understood the historical need for these changes and came out to defend and extend the success that had been achieved (this success has now been nullified). Advanced intellectuals and, in particular, the most far-sighted economists, sociologists, and other academics in the different spheres of knowledge, have shown a growing interest in indepth study of our reality and adopted Mariátegui as their model and took their point of departure from his creative heritage. That is why all, or almost all, the parties in the United Left and also the individual non-party intellectuals affiliated to it proclaim themselves followers of Mariátegui. Of course, this does not mean that they are comparable with the Amauta in terms of clarity of Marxist-Leninist doctrine; this also applies to the above-mentioned parties, which are very far removed from Mariátegui in understanding the principles of party commitment and are by no means playing a role similar to that of the PCP founded by him.

Misrepresentation of a Heritage and a Personality

We feel that the above-stated considerations are of immense importance for a correct

understanding of the Marxist-Leninist orientation and viability of Mariátegui's heritage. He is the most widely-read author⁶ in Peru and his works are discussed and examined in a huge number of publications. For that reason it would be interesting and useful to consider this from a somewhat different standpoint, namely, by asking oneself: Why are many 'theorists' trying as assiduously to distort Mariátegui's ideas and the content of his work? We find further confirmation of the following words of Lenin: 'During the life-time of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonise them, so to say, and to hallow their *names* to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of *substance*, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarising it.'⁷

In some non-Marxist works published in the 1970s and 1980s about the Peruvian revolutionary, the authors display not merely a striving to revive the old polemic over Mariátegui but use his prestige to present his ideas in a false light. It would be correct to distinguish two stages, two tendencies in the overall development of the arguments over Mariátegui's ideological heritage. The first, related mainly to the early period, may be called simply the stage of falsification: the 'critics' representing this stage tried, above all, to discredit Mariátegui as a proponent of Marxism-Leninism in Peru and the founder of the Communist Party. The second, later, period merits the name revisionist: it embraces all who in recent times, without making a frontal assault on the postulates formulated by Mariátegui, give their own interpretation of them, exaggerating the importance of some of the authors quoted by him and also some of the terms and concepts he used, which are alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The arguments that both the former and the latter use to throw doubt on Mariátegui's affiliation to Marxism, which he had himself proclaimed, coincide in many cases. However, while the former strive to belittle the significance of Mariátegui's behests, charging him with a non-existent 'lack of ideological credibility', the latter try without offering any proof to find in Mariátegui's works a 'national' doctrine, a 'unique' variant of 'Peruvian' Marxism that allegedly has nothing in common with Leninism.

We will not stoop to refute the former accusations. Their brazen anti-Marxist character has been exposed long ago. But we should consider, albeit in general outline, the content of the latter. While it is harmful, on account of the ideological confusion it sows, it is nonetheless often not linked to reactionary aspirations, and is in some cases even evidence of a certain level of political and ideological maturity of its proponents and does not rule out that they will ultimately draw the proper conclusions. We have already noted this possibility when we spoke of the beneficial impact of Mariátegui's ideas on most left-wing parties, in which a mood has appeared helping to bring together political and pragmatic viewpoints. In the long run, this led to the emergence of the United Left.

It must be noted, of course, that the rise of unity among the left forces after World War II was due in large part to the international situation that took shape as a result of the formation of the world socialist community and the downfall of imperialism's colonial system. These epochal events provided a mighty stimulant for the spread of socialist ideas; these are winning not only the minds of the working class and other sections of the working people, but also the understanding of progressive intellectuals, of academics, engineers, and technicians, of students, and of people belonging to the petty bourgeoisie.

Although this process is a highly positive factor of social development, it has its dialectical opposite side. The new, non-proletarian strata that are joining in the struggle for socialism cannot at once and entirely rid themselves of individualism, of

their deep-rooted subjectivism. This leads to the idealisation of bourgeois 'values'—such as 'representative' democracy and the 'rights' and 'freedoms' proclaimed by it on paper but in fact trampled by the ruling classes, by imperialism long ago. In Peru among progressive intellectuals who do not belong to the PCP but are strongly influenced by the intellect and example set by Mariátegui, petty-bourgeois theorising is at best expressed only in a partial adoption of Marxist-Leninist postulates.

It is hence clear that we, the Peruvian Communists, are now faced with two tasks dictated by the striving to reinforce the common front for the attainment of gains in the future. The first is the historical need to facilitate the strengthening of the present left political unity with the direct and basic aim of winning the elections in an atmosphere of better ideological mutual understanding. This would enable us not only to form a government and win political power but, after consolidating ourselves in the new positions, build a new, socialist-oriented anti-imperialist society. In other words, we have to reach understanding on individual aspects of Mariátegui's heritage and on the essence of his ideas linked to the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. The second task is to prevent the divergences between us from allowing the splitters to drive a wedge into the ranks of the United Left.

The Worth of Reformist Arguments

To see the aims and direction of the efforts of the reformists in distorting Mariátegui's heritage, we should, in the first place, know how they define his philosophical, ideological, and political affiliation and what arguments they use. Here we should remember that he often reinforced some of his contentions with references to philosophers and idealist writers belonging to different schools. Among them, in particular, were the spokesman of intuitivism Henri Bergson, the exponent of voluntarism Friedrich Nietzsche, the high priest of fatalism Oswald Spengler, the Italian neo-Hegelians Giovanni Gentile and Benedetto Croce, and also Georges Sorel, who was the most prominent propagandist of neo-Proudhonist anarcho-syndicalism and sought to reconcile within the framework of this school Christianity and anarchism with Marxism. Moreover, we have to admit that in some contexts; when he spoke of the need for spiritual enthusiasm and dedication in the revolutionary struggle, Mariátegui used the words 'religion' and 'mysticism', while the concepts nation and nationality were designated by the word 'race'.

Using these facts and while they do not directly refute Mariátegui's Marxist attitude falsifiers of the old school portray him as a champion of conciliatory concepts standing somewhere between Christianity and dialectical materialism, or declare that he was no more and no less than a follower of Sorel. The second category of critics, who belong to the revisionist school of pseudo-supporters of Mariátegui, claim that he was strongly influenced by idealist philosophy and consider that he postulated an 'open Marxism' that differed from and was opposed to 'sectarian' Marxism-Leninism.

However, Mariátegui used some non-Marxist terms and concepts only in his youth, when he studied in Europe, but in later years he gradually dropped them.

On the other hand, to give a credible answer to Mariátegui's pseudo-followers, who try to portray him as the spokesman of 'open Marxism', it is enough to recall that by virtue of its dialectical substance Marxism-Leninism has never regarded that the socialist revolution could be accomplished in a 'desert', nor has it ever rejected the legacy of the past, the intellectual values in other doctrines. On the contrary, the mission of the revolution we are propounding is only to put an end to the obtaining relations of production and those superstructural elements that delay and slow down society's development, while preserving for future generations all that facilitates the revolutionary process, all positive elements inherited by us from other epochs and from other schools of thought. In this respect Mariátegui's views were not, consequently, either a 'renewal of Marxism' or a variant of the imagined 'open

Marxism'. They represent true Marxism-Leninism.

Unable to refute this statement, the false friends of Mariátegui offer as 'proof' the fact that in his writings he did not use the term 'Leninism' and did not commit himself openly to the dictatorship of the proletariat, a principle, which in their view, is not Marxist but 'invented' by Lenin only as applied to the specific conditions in which the Russian revolution of 1917 was accomplished. Let us leave these falsifications to the conscience of their inventors. It is enough to read, say, Marx's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer (March 5, 1852), in which, summing up and specifying the content of his doctrine, he wrote: '... the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*', as a stage of transition to the *'abolition of all classes and to a classless society'*.⁸ The assertion that Mariátegui did not subscribe to this thesis is likewise untrue. His total ideological acceptance of the Great October Revolution in Russia and his ardent defence of the Soviet state and its ruling party distinguished this Peruvian revolutionary to the last years of his life, years that coincided with the commencement of socialist construction in the USSR, when in conditions of the foreign intervention and the internal counter-revolution the historical need for the dictatorship of the proletariat was proved in practice. Mariátegui stated without mincing words: 'The dictatorship of the proletariat... is not a dictatorship of a party, it is a dictatorship of a class, the dictatorship of the working class.'⁹

It would not be superfluous to note that in the arguments of the revisionists, who try to separate Mariátegui from Leninism and attribute to him a renunciation of the principle of the proletarian dictatorship, one can see the face of classical social democracy. All these are subterfuges aimed at providing support for social democracy's known and unoriginal thesis about so-called 'democratic Marxism' or 'democratic socialism', which are synonyms for formal popular rule invented by the bourgeoisie and incompatible with actual democracy, which was championed by Mariátegui and which is championed by the Communists. This democracy begins with the socialisation of the means of production and fundamental changes in society's material and cultural life.

'National Socialism' and Revolutionary Internationalism

The second thesis elaborated by Mariátegui's revisionist 'friends' attributes to him an almost exclusively national concept of revolution isolated from the world revolutionary process and, consequently, alien to proletarian internationalism. Further, this formulation of the question prompts them to present another invention, namely, that there were disagreements between the founder of the PCP and the Communist International. In support of this contention, they distort the meaning of the disagreements that surfaced at the First Conference of Communist Parties of Latin American Countries (Buenos Aires, 1929) over our party's name, which at the time called itself a 'socialist party'.¹⁰ There are no grounds for the assertions that there were 'conflicts'. These are based on phrases or individual concepts arbitrarily taken out of context, on tenets and doubts that were not shared by other leaders of the Latin American Communists.

The subject of what took place at the Buenos Aires conference, or, to be more specific, of the debates over the party's name has been dealt at length in many works that expose the lie that we had 'broken' with or 'departed' from the Communist International. Of special significance as a document is a letter sent after the conference closed to the 'Paris group'¹¹ by Hugo Pesce, who led our delegation. It bluntly states that the debates at the conference were held in an atmosphere of sincere comradeship and that our viewpoints prevailed in the resolutions despite some contrary opinions articulated at the beginning.

In one of my latest books¹² devoted to the days when I knew Mariátegui, I have given much compelling proof that the assertion that with José Carlos Mariátegui at its head our party 'broke with the Comintern' is a lie from beginning to end. After the

Buenos Aires conferences our party strengthened its relations with the Comintern and officially joined that international organisation, which was founded by Lenin and played a colossal role in the world communist movement.

Those who want to depict Mariátegui as the inspirer of 'democratic socialism', 'national socialism', or 'Peruvian Marxism' base their arguments on his call for the 'Peruvianisation of Peru' and his words that 'the socialism of Indoamerica should not be a carbon copy but a heroic achievement' and that 'we should breathe life into Indoamerican socialism, using our own reality and our own language'.¹³ In order to interpret the above in such a way as to serve their interests, the falsifiers claim that in postulating that account had to be taken of the national specific and that the revolution had 'to speak its own language' Mariátegui saw it in isolation from the world revolutionary process, outside the solidarity and links with forces fighting imperialism, for socialism, throughout the world.

But it will be recalled that one of Lenin's exhortations was: 'The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within *definite* historical limits, and, if it refers to a particular country . . . that account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch.'¹⁴

Another point to be made is that Mariátegui spoke not of the Peruvian revolution but of the Indoamerican or Latin American revolution, thereby underscoring his internationalist attitude. Later, in a famous editorial in the journal *Amauta* (No. 17) under the heading 'Anniversary and Results', he proclaimed an unequivocal internationalist stand: 'The Latin American revolution will be nothing less than a stage, a phase of the world revolution.'¹⁵

In connection with the ideologico-political formation of Mariátegui's thinking and of the postulates advanced by him mention must be made of three circumstances, which, in our view, have hitherto been underestimated by researchers into his heritage. The first is that he began assimilating Marxism in the early 1920s in Europe, under the vivifying impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the non-victorious but extremely instructive revolutions that took place in other European countries under its influence. Recalling this period Mariátegui said that in Europe his best experience was that he absorbed new ideas and that the lessons learnt by him in the Old World enabled him in those years to see the real Peru and taught him to understand his own country better.

The second circumstance was that in studying the revolution in Russia and being close to where it was being accomplished, Mariátegui clearly and with great political sensitivity realised that it marked the beginning of the capitalist system's general crisis and of the epoch of the world's transition from capitalism to socialism. In the above-mentioned editorial in *Amauta* he wrote: 'The problem of our epoch is the choice between capitalism and socialism.'¹⁶ He gave the title of 'The World Crisis and the Peruvian Proletariat' to the first lecture delivered by him at the González Prada People's University upon his return from Europe. Alongside other propositions, in this lecture he said: 'The proletarian forces of Europe are divided into two large camps: reformists and revolutionaries. . . . One section of the Socialists has adopted the social democratic, collaborationist orientation, and the other has taken the anti-collaborationist, revolutionary road. And this section, in order to dissociate itself from the former, has begun calling itself communism. . . . I share the view of those who consider that humanity is going through a period of revolution. I am convinced that all social democratic theses will suffer defeat in the near future.'¹⁷

The third circumstance is that Mariátegui made a profound, Marxist study of history, of its initial basis and superstructural elements, in order to specify the nature of our revolution. In polemising with reactionaries, who christened him a 'Europeist' who was transplanting 'alien formula' to us, he came to the conclusion that after the bourgeois revolutions in Europe and America all the anti-colonial and, later, anti-

imperialist actions were perceptibly permeated with a spirit of internationalism, that manifested itself so strikingly during the struggle of the Latin Americans for independence from the Spanish yoke. In our day internationalism is making itself felt with growing strength. It was precisely about this that Mariátegui wrote: 'Of course, socialism is not an Indoamerican doctrine, just as no other doctrine, no other modern system is or can be Indoamerican. And although, like capitalism, it was born in Europe, it is not exclusively or typically a European phenomenon.' And, speaking of the liberation wars fought by the Spanish colonies in the 19th century, he added: 'The level of interdependence and solidarity of peoples and continents was much lower than in our day.'¹⁸

The Indian Problem and the Nationalities Question

Another theme that both the detractors and falsifiers of the Mariátegui heritage use to defend their positions is the problem of Indians. This is one of the most typical and painful aspects of reality in Peru. It worried and was considered from various angles by some writers and sociologists who preceded or were contemporaries of Mariátegui—Manuel Ugarte, Clorinda Matto de Turner, Pedro Sulen, and others. But while the founder of the PCP drew to some extent upon the works of the above-mentioned scholars, his writings on the condition of the indigenous population were all-embracing. These, it may be said, were the first serious researches into the Indian problem on our continent. For his analysis of the economic and social aspects of the problem Mariátegui used Marxism's scientific instruments. He was the first to show compellingly how closely the problem of Indians, as members of a definite ethnos with its own traditions and its own communal organisation, is linked to the problem of land, to the agrarian question.

True, in enunciating his views Mariátegui made two mistakes: one is purely terminological, but the other is more serious, being linked to the understanding of the historical process. The first, as I have already noted, was that he used the word 'race' as a synonym of the concepts 'nation' and 'nationality'. The other was his excessive laudation of the social system of the Incas. Using these vulnerable points, his adversaries and critics of the Right assert that, on the one hand, Mariátegui was labouring under a delusion when he exaggerated the racial problem and idealised the past of the Indian people and, on the other, that by his concepts of this subject he allegedly gave further proof that he was not a Marxist but a romantic idealist bewailing the fate of the ancient Incas.

But let us point out that the use of the term 'race' for the term 'nationality' did not in any way signify support for racist views. Similarly, Mariátegui was far removed also from populism, when he accorded special attention to the Indian problem in its link to the peasant question. Charges of this kind are refuted by the theses presented by him at the Congress of the Latin American Confederation of Trade Unions (1929), where he stated bluntly: 'This is not a racial but a social and economic problem';¹⁹ while in a chapter in the *Seven Essays* . . . he pointed out that 'socialism has taught us to pose the Indian problem in a new way. We regard it no longer abstractly, as an ethnic or moral problem, but putting it specifically, as a social, economic, and political problem.'²⁰ He said on several occasions that only the socialist teaching will give a new, constructive understanding of the Indian problem and that the aspirations of the Indians would be achieved only with the assistance of the proletariat.

Something in the same vein should be said also of Mariátegui's views about the class character of the Inca empire, in which he mistakenly saw a 'socialist' or 'communist' structure. This error is due, on the one hand, to the positive elements of the Indian peasant commune's collectivist and democratic traditions and, on the other, to the high level and diversity of the Indian culture. A contributing factor was that at the time neither Mariátegui nor any other Peruvian scholar knew about Marx's work on the Asian mode of production and about Lenin's work on the nationalities

quesiton. Also non-existent were sufficiently profound Marxist (and not only Marxist) anthropological and ethnographical studies on the entire range of pre-Columbian cultures in our country and the socio-economic structures corresponding to them.

Nevertheless, the great service rendered by Mariátegui is that he was perhaps the first to begin this kind of research in Latin America. Utilising a different terminology and taking into account a different reality, he in practice raised the nationalities question as it applies to the Indian population.

* * *

Every true revolutionary will see in Mariátegui one of the first and most distinguished proponents of Marxism-Leninism and leaders of the struggle of the Latin American peoples. Also, one should appreciate the fact that his many-sided, brilliant heritage is the result of only seven years of increasing labour. This labour is helping to clear way to the future for our country, for the left forces, whose unity is being fostered by the ideologico-political heritage of our party's founder. These forces are already a real alternative in resolving the question of people's power in Peru.

Mariátegui sought to enrich the revolutionary experience of other countries, identifying the national specifics of the revolutionary process and the potentialities that they can offer. He understood that in Peru there was a need not only for an organised working class and a trade union movement, not only for a class organisation of the peasants as an ally of the working class, not only reliance on proletarian internationalism; it was necessary to begin resolving the Indian national question, to give an outlet for the revolutionary potential of working women, and utilise the great, conscious force of young people and progressive intellectuals who were joining the struggle.

Mariátegui's work in culture laid the beginning for Peru's historic cultural advances and developed in four basic directions:

- renewal of the overall intellectual atmosphere in Peru with the introduction of new, progressive ideas;

- innovatory and revolutionary inclusion of indigenous Indian elements into Peruvian culture by promoting the Indianist movement in literature and art and settling the Indian problem in the spirit we have already discussed;

- reinforcement of the link of the intellectual movements—literary and artistic and professional (including students)—with the workers' and peasants' movement;

- expanding links and exchanges of experience between Peruvian cultural personalities and members of progressive intellectual and cultural currents of international proportions.

The cause for which Mariátegui fought and the party founded by him continue to live and foster the advance of the Peruvian Communists. All of our society's genuinely democratic forces are acting together with them for the nation's better future. The place held by this outstanding philosopher and revolutionary in the turbulent history of the 20th century was put excellently by his friend, the illustrious French Communist writer Henri Barbusse: 'Do you know who Mariátegui is? He is the new luminary of America. The prototype of the new person of that continent.'²¹

¹Born in a poor family, he began his working life at 14 in a printshop, and subsequently became a prominent journalist and political leader. Although his life was short, Mariátegui brilliantly embodied the Marxist ideal of unity of theory and practice. He not only founded the Peruvian Communist Party (1928) and the nation's organised trade union movement in the person of the General Confederation of Working People of Peru, but left many written works, the best of which—*Seven Essays Interpreting Peruvian Reality* (1928)—is studied to this day by many Latin American Communists (its Russian translation was published in Moscow in 1963).

² See Cesar Jimenez, 'After the Electoral Victory', *WMR*, No. 2, 1984.—Ed.

³ The Inca Plan was announced by the revolutionary government of the armed forces headed by Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) and provided for some important economic, social, and political reforms (agrarian

reform, nationalisation of imperialist-owned enterprises, the enlargement of the public and cooperative sectors, extension of the rights of working people, and so forth).—Ed.

⁴ This is a reference to the removal from power of the pro-US government of Belaunde by General Alvarado.—Ed.

⁵ Amauta, the word for teacher in the Quechua language, is the name the Peruvians affectionately gave José Carlos Mariátegui, founder of the Peruvian Communist Party.—Ed.

⁶ In the period from 1928 to 1983 Mariátegui's *Seven Essays* . . . had 41 printings with a total of 2,600,000 copies. His *Collected Works* in 20 volumes have been published since 1959 in over a million copies.—Ed.

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 385.

⁸ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 1, p. 528.

⁹ José Carlos Mariátegui, *Historia de la crisis mundial*, Lima, 1971, p. 149.

¹⁰ The disagreements boiled down to some participants in the conference trying to cast doubts on the party's Marxist-Leninist character and using as arguments its name of the time and the breadth of its social base. Speaking, on Mariátegui's insistence, in favour of preserving the name, the Peruvian delegation convincingly refuted these misguided views.—Ed.

¹¹ A group of eminent Peruvian emigre intellectuals who had joined the party.—Ed.

¹² Jorge del Prado, *En los años cumbres de Mariátegui*, Lima, 1983.

¹³ José Carlos Mariátegui, *Ideología y política*, Lima, 1981, p. 249.

¹⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 400-401.

¹⁵ José Carlos Mariátegui, *Ideología y política*, pp. 247-248.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 249.

¹⁷ José Carlos Mariátegui, *Historia de la crisis mundial*, pp. 19, 21, 22.

¹⁸ José Carlos Mariátegui, *Ideología y política*, pp. 248-249.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

²⁰ José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*, Lima, 1959, pp. 32-33.

²¹ See Jorge del Prado, *Op.cit.*, p. 179.

At the Threshold of Decisive Developments

Narciso Isa Conde — General Secretary,
Dominican Communist Party

THROUGHOUT the current year the Dominican Republic has again, as in the memorable year of 1965,¹ held the close attention of public opinion abroad.

The month of April witnessed an eruption of protests. Large numbers of people clashed with troops and police throughout the country. More than 100 persons lost their lives, nearly 400 received wounds, and over 4,000 were arrested.

The liberal government of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, headed by Jorge Blanco, has shown international opinion its true face. The DRP, which in the past contributed to the struggle for democracy and is a member of the Socialist International, has stained its vaunted white banner with the blood of fellow-citizens, including members of its own organisation.

The Dominican show-window, lauded by the ruling circles of the USA and the Dominican Republic as a model of democracy in the Caribbean and an 'oasis of social peace' in this troubled region, has been shattered.

What are the sinister forces that have stirred up the people of the Dominican Republic and compelled the outwardly 'peaceful and tolerant' regime—the political product of combining the postulates of international social democracy and Creole populism with the interests of the local big bourgeoisie and the Reagan Administration—to have recourse to repressions?

The Crisis Mounts

The principal cause of the present critical situation is that our society can no longer submissively tolerate the terms of the Agreement on Special Drawing Rights² signed with the International Monetary Fund.

The structural crisis of Dominican capitalism had of itself, before the IMF demands began to be met, led to consequences that has dramatically affected the country. At present 30 per cent of the urban workforce is jobless. Out of every 100 rural inhabitants roughly 60 do not have permanent earnings and live in abject poverty. Over 500,000 Dominicans are virtually outcasts. As many as 300,000 peasants own no land, and another 300,000 own so little and such poor land that they cannot feed their families. Three out of every four children suffer diseases attributable to undernourishment, while 104 per 1,000 die before reaching the age of 5. Over 40 per cent of the population is illiterate.

Even before the start of inflation, triggered by the agreement with the IMF, the per worker minimum monthly wage (175 pesos) was not enough to allow him to satisfy his basic needs. But small as it was, even that wage was paid by less than 50 per cent of the private sector.

The country imports more than half of its staple foods, the entire range of engineering goods, fuel, transport vehicles, and a significant proportion of its industrial and agricultural raw materials; annually, 200 million dollars are spent on the import of foodstuffs that could be produced in the Dominican Republic. All the foreign currency earned by exports is used for the purchase of petrol and for the payment of interest on the external debt.

In the prevailing socio-economic conditions foreign capital and the US government, interested in having the republic continue to pay its foreign creditors, brought pressure to bear to draw it into the IMF's orbit. In turn, the local big bourgeoisie, which is eager to safeguard itself against the effects of the crisis and increase its fortunes at the expense of the further impoverishment of the people, especially of the most downtrodden sections, backed this project.

The IMF began by imposing measures designed to 'regulate' the economy. Many imported goods went to the free dollar market, and since the dollar's exchange rate had risen, the prices of some manufactured, farm and agro-industrial goods grew automatically.

Additional taxes were introduced. This resulted in a rise of the prices of many goods manufactured mainly of imported components. Unemployment rose. Many small and medium enterprises went or found themselves nearly bankrupt.

The people began to protest, with strikes, protest marches, and other actions in various parts of the country.

In this situation, the Dominican Left Front (DLE)³ circulated in early March a manifesto, in which the present developments were characterised as follows: 'Social tension is rising; the people's spirit of protest and readiness to resist indicate that there are potentialities for a further invigoration and extension of their actions. Under US patronage the civilian government is being militarised with generals gradually brought into the administrative apparatus and the executive authorities subordinated to the military hierarchy and the security agency, which are controlled by North American advisers. A project for building a US military base has been all but approved, and work has been started on a plan to modernise, re-equip and reorganise army units with the obvious intention of turning them into an anti-insurgency, repressive force.' Further, the manifesto declares: 'The conflict between the political freedoms that have been won and the tension being generated by the present economic and social crisis tends to continue deepening. The discriminatory policy of the IMF is fostering a growth of this conflict and in the long run threatens the precarious foundations of Dominican representative democracy. Police batons have already come into use and rifles and machine-guns have been readied for action!'⁴

On March 16, a few days after the DLF manifesto was published, our party began its 3rd Congress. The CC report noted: 'In the obtaining situation a painful issue for everybody such as the rocketing cost of living could become the first step towards the drawing together of the positions of different sections of the people, including the middle strata. But this is not all. The government is prepared to accept the IMF's terms, which will make the social crisis more explosive than it is today. . . . Under these conditions, it is our immediate duty to mobilise the working masses. It is necessary gradually to win the streets of towns and villages and raise on high the banner of social protest against the policy of starvation pursued by the IMF and the government.'⁵

Cobblestone—Weapon of the Unarmed

The government stood by its policy which is bringing privation to the people, and in the latter half of April, as a result of a further round of talks with the IMF, raised the price of flour, bread, vegetable oil, medicines, and fertilizers.

The Dominican people were quick to protest. This was an extraordinary turbulent protest, which came with lightning speed and was widespread and powerful. It combined the consciousness and experience accumulated in previous battles with new forms of action and organisation developed on the crest of the spontaneous actions of the people.

The people's anger erupted in the morning of April 23 in one of the capital's densely populated districts known for its high level of unemployment, militancy of the people, and fighting traditions. Like an epidemic the flame of disaffection instantly spread throughout almost the entire country.

Thus, on April 23-25, after the agreement with the IMF was signed, the year-long unceasing actions of the working people for the partial satisfaction of their grievances and against the growing living costs, unemployment and starvation developed into an action that was unprecedented in power and magnitude.

The ordinary people filled the streets of towns and villages. All business activity came to a standstill. The clashes of the people with the troops and police reached their high point on April 24 (what a remarkable historical coincidence!), developing into a battle in the real sense.

As the ferocity of the clashes increased the economy and the entire bureaucratic administrative apparatus were in fact paralysed. Using stones the unarmed people challenged the heavily armed elite troops, which on the second day of the unrest arrived to help the army units and police that had shown themselves to be ineffective, nervous, and vacillating.

Burning tyres, improvised campfires, barricades, obstructions in the streets, wooden bridges enveloped in flames, barbed wire on the roads of towns and rural communities, hails of stones, and the storming of food depots and estates—such were the methods of struggle and protest used by the masses. All actions were taken under the slogans: 'Accursed IMF—Get Out of the Country!' and 'No More Price Hikes!'

The processes, which began earlier, of setting up committees of popular struggle, neighbourhood defence committees, and local coordinating centres of people's organisations (new forms of uniting and mechanisms of coordinating the masses developed in previous actions) were given a further impulse and expanded thanks to the unparalleled militancy of the population. All this took place with or without the participation of members of left-wing parties. Spontaneous and conscious elements fused so closely that it was not easy to draw a dividing line between them.

The use of the army and the police took the confrontation to extremes. The question of whether it was possible to exacerbate it further proved to be directly dependent on two factors: the steeply rising political consciousness of the people and on the acquisition by them of the means needed to avert bloodshed. But this did not happen and there was a relatively organised folding up of popular actions.

A Pre-Revolutionary Situation

The protest movement was not crushed. It entered a period of quiet, which is closely linked to the need to reinforce the conscious element and the political-organisational structures corresponding to the phase of the deepening of the system's crisis and the commencement of a new upswing of the mass struggle.

The events of April were precipitated by dissatisfaction with the government's economic policy, but neither the question of replacing the government nor of political power was considered in the course of these events. This limitation in the formulation of aims was due, above all, to the character of the regime itself. (The Dominican Revolutionary Party, it will be recalled, became the ruling party once again as a result of a victory at the 1982 elections.—*Ed.*) However, note must be taken of the following circumstance. Although the confrontation was marked by the government's use of naked and massive violence, there was no armed resistance from the people. Nor was there a split in the army. It proved to be hard to combine all the decisive factors in a rapidly developing action of this magnitude. Besides, this was the first action of its kind.

Nevertheless, we can speak of a new and significant landmark, of a prologue to the maturing social revolution. We are speaking of the development of a pre-revolutionary, not a revolutionary, situation in the country.

The crisis has not gone so deep as to make the 'upper classes' unable to retain power. The needed unity is still lacking between the revolutionary political vanguard and the growing popular movement, while the mass struggle has not reached the level making it possible to raise the question of power and propose an alternative to the crisis-ridden system. But however that may be, we are witnessing extremely significant developments.

Never before has there been in the Dominican Republic such a deep-going, powerful, and broad social upheaval. Other major risings, including the revolution of April 1965, which set aims of a democratic character, took place in a smaller geographical framework and under the political leadership of the bourgeoisie. Fewer working people were active in them.

The present protest against starvation and the impingement of the right to work and eat, and the anger against the growth of universal poverty have brought to life a popular movement possessing a big potential. It clearly and unequivocally denounced the IMF's policy and imputed to the government and the big social and foreign capitalists the responsibility for the aggravation of the crisis and for the increasing hardships of the people and the difficulties of the middle strata.

This time the independent actions of the masses, of the different sections of the population (blue- and white-collar workers, poor peasants, unemployed, marginal elements, and middle strata), became the determining factor on the national political scene. As distinct from April 1965, the struggles were now not confined to the capital. The dimensions and character of the clashes are eloquently shown by the fact that the government used elite troops, who perpetrated a massacre on April 24 and 25. Application of the IMF's recipes in a country heavily dependent on imports and struck by the deep structural crisis, was quick to create acute social tensions. The government's discriminating economic policy came into conflict with the basic principles of 'representative democracy': President Jorge Blanco sanctioned savage repressions against the left forces and the popular movement. All this has led to a steep decline of the present government's popularity and pushed it into isolation.

In Dominica, April of this year saw a turning point—the formation of a pre-revolutionary situation—as the herald of future changes. The new political and social phenomena are acquiring increasingly clear-cut features.

The decline observed in the mass movement through the previous year is a thing of the past. The 'lower' classes and even the middle strata no longer intend to live in the old way and passively endure the privation to which they are subjected.

As seen from the policies pursued by them, the ruling circles are unable to suggest an alternative to defuse in their own interests the economic crisis and halt the deterioration of the people's standard of living.

The ruling bloc is finding itself with diminishing opportunities to resort to demagoguery and reformism without running a big risk. If it puts the screws on hard, acting against the people, the resistance of the 'lower classes' will grow and the tendency towards a social explosion will become clearer. By enforcing half-baked reforms or trying to satisfy immediate grievances (and for this it practically has no means available to it), the regime runs the risk of the people putting forward new, far-reaching demands.

The socio-economic crisis is affecting also the lower and middle echelons of the military and police apparatus: the galloping inflation is hitting them as well, precipitating vacillation in their ranks.

The 'representative democratic' administration is coming into direct collision with the crisis-generated social tension. The 'upper classes' are trying to use harsher methods of administration; they are manoeuvring between a readiness to accept the terms laid down by the IMF, by big international finance capital, and their fear of further social explosions, drawing upon their scattered and discord-torn political reserves. The economic, social and political pressures brought to bear by the government are encountering energetic and powerful resistance from the people. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the state apparatus is having recourse to repressions and, acting on instructions from the US, speeding up the formation of paramilitary terrorist squads.

Alignment of Political Forces

The absence in the bourgeois system of a real economic alternative to imperialist hegemony and IMF domination is reducing the mechanism of containing the crisis to purely political measures, chiefly of an electoral character.

Active in the channel are right-wing forces represented by Joaquín Balaguer's Reformist Party, the right-of-centre groups of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, which want to dissociate themselves from the government, and a centrist-reformist school represented by Juan Bosch's Dominican Party of Liberation.

It is not to be excluded that prior to the elections slated for 1986 there will be a government crisis that, possibly, will lead to an institutional replacement of the 'team' now in power, the resignation of the president, and the election of his successor by voting in the National Congress. This political action, which could be preceded by an attempt on the crest of a new wave of the crisis to decapitate the Left and the people's movement would only signify a temporary easing of the situation. A short breather would also be brought about by the change of leadership by means of elections, if prior to this the political process develops more or less smoothly.

A leading place among the opposition forces laying claim to victory is held by the Reformist Party, which has greatly restored its prestige as a result of the unsuccessful administration by the social democratic Dominican Revolutionary Party. A close second is the Democratic Party of Liberation, which is sinking ever deeper into an electoral policy and ignoring the imperatives of the present pre-revolutionary situation.

In turn, seriously weakened by the struggle and rent by internal discord, the ruling party has put its trump cards on the table—its main political reserve, José Francisco Peña Gómez, a prominent leader with populist leanings and Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International (it is not to be ruled out that he will be nominated as the official candidate for the 1986 elections). At the same time, taking the experience of Colombia into account, Balaguer, who is aware of the seriousness of the structural crisis and the steady degeneration of 'representative democracy', is suggesting that the Dominican Revolutionary Party should form an alliance for the nomination of

joint candidates and the formation of a coalition government by the two leading parties.

The manoeuvring, rivalry, and striving to achieve mutual understanding between these forces pursue the single objective of preventing the present situation from developing into a crisis of the system of political rule and directing the popular movement into a governable electoral channel.

The intentions of these groups do not as yet extend beyond the realm of the possible. But it is also unquestionable that a policy of this kind can only have transient, limited effects. In our country elections and the political results stemming from them cannot stabilise the situation either for the long term or even for a short term. The economic and social crisis speedily nullifies their results. Most of the votes received usually prove to be both spectral and useless for containing the class struggle and the popular movement to which, in view of its steadily growing dynamism, the recent election campaign and legality-idolising opportunism will soon become alien.

Precisely these (and, of course, other) important issues form the watershed between our party and the other genuinely democratic forces, on the one hand, and the above-mentioned political currents, on the other. Most of the left groups are now active in the people's protest, supporting the new forms of struggle and organisation and bearing the brunt of the repressions.

The left forces, above all those affiliated to the Dominican Left Front, are trying to surmount the 'defeatist mood', the long period of fragmentation and division, rid themselves of their main shortcomings, strengthen cohesion, and coordinate joint actions more efficiently. They link their future with the further rise of revolutionary consciousness and militancy, with a broad and diversified unitary movement of workers and peasants, of students', women's, cultural, and professional-technical organisations, associations of small and middle proprietors and of neighbourhood residents up to the creation of a single coordinating committee of all people's organisations.

The repressions started by the government, the regime's inability to chart an economic policy that could take the country out of the state of crisis or, at least, blunt the crisis, the fact that the ruling circles and the system as a whole cannot break with the IMF and meet the people's grievances, and the experience of the April events are bringing closer the day when the question of power will be placed on the agenda of a wide-ranging popular movement. It is unquestionable that most of the population will support the Dominican Left Front's demand for the establishment of a 'people's, revolutionary, and anti-imperialist government, a new political power, and a new state meeting the aspirations of the working people, of all the social groups suffering from domination by imperialist capital and by the local big bourgeoisie and landowners'.⁶

The attainment of this exceedingly important aim will be facilitated by the formation of a revolutionary consciousness of the people. Thereby, alongside the building of a socialist vanguard and the education of the advanced section of the people in an anti-capitalist spirit, the foundation will be laid for the conquest of power and the transition to socialism.

The Reasons for the Social Explosion Remain Valid

The causes that gave rise to the April people's rising have not only not been eradicated but continue to be aggravated. The economic 'regulation' measures are leading to a further rise of prices, an intensification of tension, and an exacerbation of the struggle.

For its part, the government has found that compliance with the terms of the Agreement on Special Drawing Rights and the receipt of stand-by credits⁷ are a risky business. It is therefore inclined to sign an interim agreement, whose fulfilment will likewise involve new inflationary measures (such as, for instance, sale in the domestic

market of a large proportion of imported oil in freely convertible currency and, consequently, a rise of the price of oil-products and of all goods and services).

Meanwhile, the cost of living continues to rise, the actions against starvation and the agreements concluded with the IMF continue to acquire a new dimension, and this is drawing closer together the positions of the most diverse strata of the population. In the course of the mass actions against the present government and the entire administrative apparatus, the point of departure for which were the events of last April, the people can unite more closely and advance revolutionary organisation of the Left that clearly poses the question of a political alternative, of the conquest of power, an organisation capable of winning the hearts of ordinary people.

The unity of the Left, of the Marxists-Leninists in the first place, and the growth of their numerical strength in the mass movement are key elements of the process of the formation of the political vanguard that will direct developments into the proper channel and give the leading role to the working class. Closer cohesion and more efficient coordination of the forces comprising the popular bloc are a condition and guarantee of the steady spread of struggle.

The growth of this struggle and the situation of universal protest are leading to an intensification of the antagonism between the people and the ruling circles, exacerbating social tensions and the contradictions within the ruling classes themselves, inducing the government to attack democratic gains and freedoms, and bringing increasing imperialist interference. This course of events could at another spiral of history again bring into focus effective anti-dictatorship and anti-imperialist slogans and precipitate an intensification of the struggle for revolutionary political power, which would serve to unite and mobilise the people as a whole. In their turn, the people would add the above-mentioned slogans to those previously supported slogans making more general socio-economic demands.

As progress is made along this path (being a revolutionary organisation seeking to win power, our party says that such progress is inevitable) and in the course of actions demanding the satisfaction of the people's demands new forms of struggle and organisation are developing and will develop and the confrontation will grow ever sharper.

Such are the prospects for the immediate future and the relatively long term. The people and the revolutionary vanguard have to make every effort and use all their potentialities, acting in the direction I have mentioned and taking into account the fact that a turn has already begun towards social and political coercion. We cannot cede any part of the rights we have won, abandon day-by-day political work, lapse into barren radicalism, and succumb to provocations. We have to move ahead of the masses but, at the same time, to be with them, to guard against going far ahead of them, to undertake the leadership and organisation of those forms of struggle that they choose in accordance with their own experience and their steadily rising consciousness level.

Another Expression of the Regional Crisis

The situation in the Dominican Republic is further testimony of the deep crisis enveloping the Caribbean and Central America. Developments over the past year have demonstrated that the crisis is reaching beyond the countries ruled by authoritarian regimes and that economic despotism is in fact nullifying political democracy. The foundation is thereby being laid for the region's conversion into a zone of revolutionary actions, into the scene of a new upsurge and active confrontation with imperialism and its allies. There are innumerable facts allowing us to assert that revolution is not only a historical imperative, not only our prospect, but a real possibility that is to be translated into life by the present generation.

Cuba was the first to take the path of cardinal reforms. Twenty years later the Sandinist revolution bore out that this was not accidental. Despite all the forecasts to

the contrary, the victory of the Nicaraguan patriots has shown that basic social changes can be put into effect in our zone. Then followed the success of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador, which not only withstood but in the course of development became a genuine people's army with chances of victory.

The death of the revolution on Grenada as a result of a brutal imperialist intervention signified no more than a limited setback for the national liberation movement. The blow was struck at the weakest link in the chain of successes scored at the close of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. But the events on Grenada did not break the continuity of the revolutionary process in the region. The new upswing of the struggle was not stopped either by this setback or by the USA's entire strategy of economic subjugation, militarisation and military intervention.

A temporary setback is a drop in the ocean compared with the existence and consolidation of socialist Cuba, the successes and increasing defence potential of Nicaragua, and the fighting capability of the people of El Salvador; compared with the weakening of the positions held by extreme right-wing elements in Honduras, the extension of the armed resistance in Guatemala, the deepening of the crisis in Costa Rica and on Jamaica, the social explosions in the Dominican Republic and on Haiti, and democratic advances in South America; compared with the growth of the front of forces acting everywhere in Latin America against interference by the IMF and dictation by US finance capital. To this must be added the mounting opposition in North America itself to the policies of the White House towards Central America and the Caribbean. The USA is finding it increasingly harder to attain its objective by means of armed strength and by means of forcing upon our nations onerous economic commitments.

Although the North American imperialists (especially the group supporting the Reagan Administration) and the ruling classes of the countries of our region are trying to respond with force to any actions they see as objectionable, deep cracks are appearing in the mechanism of the reactionary bloc's domination and innumerable fronts of struggle against it are springing up.

I repeat, the events in the Dominican Republic are illustrative of the regional crisis, of the crisis that is affecting the entire continent. And these new crisis phenomena, which are heralds of changes, this new prologue of the social revolution and the national liberation of peoples are linked inseparably to the defence of Cuba and Nicaragua, to the armed struggle in El Salvador and Guatemala, to all the battles being fought in our zone and on the continent as a whole. Solidarity with the victorious revolutions in this part of the globe is today inseparable from assistance to the people of El Salvador, whose success we cherish as our own. In the former case we are defending achievements that have already been translated in the existence of two reactionary states. In the latter by extending effective support to revolutionaries we are helping to achieve cardinal successes in the struggle for power and acting to sustain the process of major changes in the region.

Developments have borne out that the Caribbean is a region where oppression, robbery, and imperialist interference, which have reached unheard-of proportions, are meeting the most energetic revolutionary resistance from the peoples. This resistance to the militarist, predatory policies of the Reagan Administration is dovetailing as never before with the efforts of the European peoples and the initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries to preserve peace on our planet, which is seriously threatened by the reactionary imperialist circles. The deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe is part of the same strategy, in accordance with which US imperialism is threatening Cuba, mining Nicaraguan ports, and supplying huge quantities of armaments to the genocidal Salvadoran army.

Anti-militarist battles are flaring up in many countries of the region. The struggle for social and national liberation is now linked more closely than ever with the

struggle for peace and their common vector is directed against one main enemy. Each setback of the liberation movement plays into the hands of Reagan's militarist policies, fuelling his aspiration to change the situation in the world by force. On the other hand, every victory is a blow to the plans of the government in Washington for achieving military superiority and absolute supremacy.

The further escalation of the arms race is threatening the existence of our movements and of our peoples. If a world war breaks out there will no longer be either revolutions or social changes. If peace is preserved and progress is made in the liberation struggle, there will be new changes that will make the life of the entire human race happier.

The positions-of-strength policy is motivated by imperialism's weakness. But the flexing of muscles, the bent for war harbour a serious threat. We must be prepared to prevent it, turning our planet into a cradle of peace, putting an end to oppression, and establishing a world-wide realm of happiness and prosperity. These are indivisible objectives and one cannot be attained without the other: the struggle against imperialism and the struggle for peace are increasingly fusing into a single powerful global current.

¹ A rising against the reactionary triumvirate flared up in the Dominican Republic on April 24, 1965. The leaders of the rising, in which the Communists were active, formed a government headed by Colonel Francisco Caamaño, who pledged fidelity to the democratic Constitution of 1963. But the US intervention prevented the consolidation of this victory of the Constitutionalists.—Ed.

² See Narciso Isa Conde, 'Top Priorities', *WMR*, No. 6, 1983.—Ed.

³ It was formed in June 1983: its members are the Dominican Communist Party, the Party of Dominican Working People, the Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Alliance, the Socialist Bloc, and other organisations.—Ed.

⁴ *Hablan los Comunistas*, April 5-12, 1984.

⁵ *Ibid.*, March 15-22, 1984.

⁶ *Ibid.*, April 5-12, 1984.

⁷ Stand-by credits—a form of IMF transaction—are extended to countries facing serious difficulties in regulating their balance of payments. This is dealt with in some detail in 'Top Priorities' by Narciso Isa Conde, *WMR*, No. 6, 1983.—Ed.

Manoeuvring Will Not Save the Racists

Alfred Nzo — General Secretary, African
National Congress (ANC) of South Africa

A SALIENT feature of the situation obtaining in the southern Africa is that the people's struggle against the apartheid regime is mounting and involving increasingly broad strata of the population, including, recently, even representatives of the white sections. The racists are no longer capable of checking this upsurge by unleashing reprisals and terrorism; for this reason they are forced to resort to all sorts of manoeuvring. Still, the masses are increasingly rallying around those who truly express their interests and are engaged in a life-or-death struggle with the hated regime.

A distinctive form of colonialism has emerged in our country: the oppressors and the oppressed live in one and the same country. The racist colonial rulers exercise their domination 'on the spot' and not from some distant colonial metropolis.

The racists never entertained the notion of any economic development in the areas reserved for Africans (13 per cent of the country's territory, the rest occupied by the white minority). The only function of the African population was to provide cheap

labour to the ruling bourgeois elite. In order to bolster the regime, the racist parliament passed numerous laws aimed at curtailing the rights of Africans still further, thus turning them into victims of ruthless capitalist exploitation.

The masses of our people have never accepted the actually colonial status of their country, imposed on South Africa in the guise of limited 'independence'. As soon as the African National Congress was established in 1912, its leaders began to regularly address the British government and send delegations to London so as to ensure the solution of the problems connected with the illegal rule of the white minority.

We do not separate the struggle against colonial rule from the struggle against apartheid, for apartheid is the most brutal form of national and social oppression of the indigenous population of South Africa; it serves to perpetuate our people's 'special' colonial status. That is why the ANC describes the country's regime as racist and colonialist.

Our principal goal is to seize power from the white minority, so that the people of South Africa can build a truly democratic state of their own. Transfer of power to the people will inevitably result in complete elimination of apartheid and of all its social and political structures, because any 'reform' of the racist state is out of the question. Having destroyed it completely, the masses will get down to building a new system based on the Freedom Charter, the programme the national liberation movement advanced as early as 1955. A major provision of the Charter is that South Africa must belong to all those who live in it. A government acting on the will and wishes of only a part of the population, not of the entire people, has no right to exist.

And now about the principal strategic tasks the revolutionary movement has to solve to attain the main goal of seizing power. First, it is imperative to conduct a broad political mobilisation of all strata of the oppressed population, to unite them in a common struggle and raise their level of consciousness so that they can grasp the specific prospects open to them. We want to create a mass political force capable of resisting the dictatorship at all levels, whether local, regional or national.

The second point is to continuously consolidate the vanguard national liberation movement which has been operating underground since it was outlawed by the racist rulers in 1960. It is important to strengthen and expand the movement's clandestine network, so that it could direct everyday political activities of the masses and truly become the headquarters of the struggle to overthrow the regime.

Third, we must broaden the arsenal of the weapons with which to resist the dictatorship. The ANC, its allies and all progressive forces in the country have long been aware that it is impossible to rely on the old methods used previously. We all know that in the past, the main emphasis was on peaceful means of struggle. However, by 1961 it was clear that the regime would not voluntarily give in to the demands advanced by the masses in the course of their vigorous action in the 1950s. On the contrary, the authorities were bolstering their repressive machinery. We responded by a decision to develop armed forms of the liberation movement, to enable the people to react with their own revolutionary violence to the violence of the ruling white minority. This form of struggle is by no means confined to military action alone. Intertwined closely with the masses' political activity, it is an integral part of the overall popular movement.

We also face the task of mobilising international public opinion to support the struggle of the oppressed South African people. Specifically, this calls for a clear-cut and concrete programme which would promote more effective solidarity with our cause on the part of the international community.

Such are the strategic tasks the people of South Africa will have to tackle to attain their independence and build in their country a just and democratic state.

Today we strive to present a comprehensive and objective analysis of the evolution and the current state of our armed struggle. The ANC and its allies have invariably explained to the oppressed population the pressing need to master this form of

resistance. It became indispensable when, having rejected the demands of the masses, the regime stepped up its campaign of terrorism and reprisals against them.

First and foremost, it is important for us to demonstrate to the people that the ruling quarters are vulnerable, that crippling blows can be dealt to them. Naturally, at the initial stage of the armed struggle, effective military operations could be conducted only by units of the people's army specially trained in different types of warfare. At that stage the strikes—mostly acts of sabotage—were delivered primarily against the enemy's vitally important objectives. This demonstrated the fighting efficiency of the revolutionaries and instilled in the people confidence in their own strength and in ultimate victory over the tyranny. However, our concept of armed struggle is by no means restricted to the notion of a war fought by several military units acting 'on behalf of the people', the people themselves remaining passive onlookers. The dialectics of the struggle demand that at a certain stage, the masses are to join active operations, the result being a genuine people's war. The ANC record shows that it is possible to ensure more vigorous resistance to the regime by the people—for example, by providing food shelter and other forms of assistance to the freedom fighters.

Our successes in the growing armed struggle have produced considerable problems within the racist army. More and more young white draftees are beginning to realise the futility of defending a system which is losing its credibility and which makes them use sophisticated weapons to fight and kill even children, the way it happened in 1976.¹ This unwillingness to fight has increased the number of draft evaders. Alternative democratic concepts are emerging and gaining ground among some of the whites.

Because of the nature of their occupation and their high level of organisation, the workers are the main force in the struggle against the regime. This refers above all to the African proletariat. African workers are hit first and hardest by the dominant unjust system, by criminal exploitation on the part of the white employers.

Of great importance is the fact that today, workers are increasingly joining their own organisations, the trade unions which now uphold not only economic but also political interests of working people. Over 500,000 African workers are active in the trade union movement; its participants advocate still closer unity. Workers' organisations and federations are contemplating the establishment of a single Democratic Trade Union Federation. The ANC supports this movement, especially through its trade union ally, the South African Congress of Trade Unions which advocates consolidation of working people on the basis of our political line.

Trade unions are subjected to persecution by the South African authorities which resort to all sorts of tricks to fragment the working class and undermine its militancy. Unfortunately, the bourgeoisie has succeeded in deceiving and bribing some of the working class, turning white workers into defenders of the capitalist system and setting them against their African class brothers.

African workers are subjected to two kinds of exploitation—both as proletarians and because of the colour of their skin, that is, to class and national oppression. In the final analysis, this makes it clear that in order for them to assert their social status, it is necessary to break down the political barriers which actually relegate them to the position of second-class citizens. According to the regulations in force, even at the factory level working people are subdivided into several racial 'categories': the whites—naturally—make up the first category, then there are the Coloureds and the Indians, and then, at the bottom of the scale, there are the African workers who are the first to suffer from economic slumps and crises. They are not only the first to be dismissed (job loss is a permanent threat with them) but, even if they do have a job, they are unable to support their families because of the meager wages. All this leads the proletarians to conclude that the unjust political system must be destroyed and replaced with a different one, under which they would take their rightful place in

government and ensure the country's development in the interests of all the people. Workers are gradually realising that in order to accomplish this mission, they need a reliable ally—the rural working masses.

A high degree of internal migration is typical of South Africa. After his contract expires, a worker with a peasant background returns home. Having gained first-hand experience of capitalist exploitation and class action, these workers persuade people in rural areas and Bantustans to keep up and expand the struggle, convincing them that only victory will change their conditions radically and make them masters of their country.

Today it is particularly important to us to teach people to act jointly both in the mass political struggle and in the trade union movement. A major step in this direction was the establishment last year of the United Democratic Front, comprising over 700 workers', youth, women's, rural and other organisations, including representatives of religious quarters. Thus we can speak of the emergence of a single anti-racist front.

The internal situation in South Africa is inseparable from the international situation over the question of the elimination of apartheid. Despite the numerous resolutions adopted by international organisations, the imperialist quarters persist in supporting the racist regime. As justification they claim that the regime is amenable to 'change'. These claims were especially vociferous during the West European tour of P. W. Botha, the racist Prime Minister.

For our part we firmly declare that the apartheid system cannot be altered or 'improved'. The regime is incapable of reforming itself and expressing the people's vital interests. This is impossible by virtue of the very nature of apartheid; its essential mission is to serve the bourgeoisie, defend the capitalist system, preserve and consolidate white minority rule. Consequently, any moves by the ruling quarters, be that of an open intensification of reprisals or the advancement of the so-called reformed programme, are aimed at perpetuating the racist system.

One such reform—purely cosmetic in nature—which enables the few supporters of the regime to speak about the possible 'evolution' of apartheid is the amendment to the South African Constitution supposedly giving the Coloured and the Indian population the opportunity to 'share power' with the white minority. Under this amendment, the country's parliament is to consist of three chambers: of assemblies (for the whites), of representatives (for the Coloureds) and of delegates (for the Indians). The Coloureds and the Indians can even join the Cabinet.² This is merely a political trick aimed at convincing the oppressed people that the racist state is 'benevolent' towards them. But the masses have seen through these new schemes.

Having 'shared power' with the Coloureds and the Indians, the ruling quarters have at the same time deprived them of any say in matters of South African policy. In this connection one might recall the unprecedented expansion of the President's mandate accompanied by a curtailment in the powers of the parliament. Only ten Coloureds and five Indians (against 45 whites) are on the Presidential Council, an influential body which controls defence, foreign and economic policies, as well as policies affecting the African people. One South African researcher has quipped that the regime wants to master the secret of dividing power without losing control over it. The racists are manoeuvring in order to fragment the forces which oppose them and erode the revolutionary unity between the oppressed people and their democratic allies in the white section of the population.

The puny 'innovations' have made no impact on the African majority. They envisage absolutely no representation of it in the national government. In actual fact, the amendment merely consolidated the legal status of a situation in which 22 million Africans are barred from parliamentary representation.

In pursuing this strategic course, the ruling quarters strive not only to strengthen their social support base consisting of the white minority but also to broaden it by

finding allies among the oppressed sections of the population.

Nevertheless, even this 'reform', designed only to touch up the image of the regime, provoked virulent attacks by the more diehard racists who oppose even the tiniest and purely superficial deviations from the principles of apartheid. Before and during the parliamentary elections in September 1984 they lashed out against the 'modernisation' of the political system.

For its part, an overwhelming majority of the black population has also responded to the authorities' scheme negatively. The patriotic forces have urged people to boycott the 'reformist' policy of the racists. The fraudulent racist elections were dismissed with contempt by most Indians and Coloureds. An extremely low level of participation by the voters was registered at the parliamentary elections (to the chamber of representatives and the chamber of delegates) specially held to placate the Coloureds and the Indians. (It is common knowledge that running for these chambers were mostly puppets enjoying Pretoria's complete confidence.)

Over 82 per cent of the Coloureds and 83 per cent of the Indians boycotted the elections. But actual figures are even greater since in the so-called elections there were 'special' votes which enabled sick people and others to vote without going to the polls. Significantly, some of the highest percentages of votes were recorded in this 'special' category. Despite that, at some of the polls only four to seven per cent of the voters were registered. In Durban, Johannesburg and Capetown, demonstrations were held. They were brutally dispersed by the police. Scores of people were wounded, and many were detained. Mass arrests among the opponents of apartheid were conducted on the eve of the elections. The authorities widely resorted to fraud and falsification in order to disguise the collapse of the 'election campaign'.

The struggle against racism does not let up. Our people's army Umkhonto We Sizwe has in the last six months successfully attacked army convoys, police stations, government offices housing the repressive machinery, and transport and energy systems. In September, there were mass demonstrations in a number of African townships such as Sharpeville³ in which, according to official figures, over 80 people were killed and several hundred wounded.

Another argument cited by the friends of the apartheid regime as evidence of the latter's ability to change is the claim that the 'peace process' in South Africa is borne out by the agreements its ruling quarters have concluded with two of their African neighbours. Naturally, the racists' sponsors prefer to say nothing about the fact that these countries are forced to live next door to a system which is a holdover of colonial oppression and which the imperialists seek to use in their attempts to turn the neighbouring countries into South Africa's appendages. We are actually dealing with an attempt to establish a sort of defence mechanism to protect the racist regime from the rising tide of the liberation movement.

Pretoria is among the more vigorous participants in the anti-communist crusade led by the current US Administration, a deputy sheriff of Washington in the region. Always ready to come to the aid of the apartheid regime, the United States is thus protecting its own economic and political interests in southern Africa. The White House has reserved an important role for racist South Africa in its anti-Soviet, anti-communist plans. The mission of the regime is to disrupt African unity, isolate independent African countries from their natural and genuine allies—the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—and, turn them into obedient tools of imperialism.

In their attempts to use neocolonialist policies to regain the ground lost to the national liberation movements, the imperialists dream of changing the alignment of forces in southern Africa and in the rest of the world in their favour. Hence our tireless efforts to explain to the people that, as before, imperialism remains our foremost enemy. It is imperialism which has given birth to and supports apartheid, striving to perpetuate colonial oppression and racist exploitation of the South African

people.

At the same time, the ANC invariably stresses that the socialist countries and all democratic, progressive forces which help the oppressed masses of South Africa in their struggle against the apartheid regime at home and against imperialist pressure from abroad are friends we can rely on. This struggle is part of the overall anti-imperialist struggle, and our people are making their contribution to it weakening the reactionaries around the world who threaten to plunge mankind into nuclear catastrophe.

The African National Congress is very active in the worldwide peace movement and in other movements which mobilise the forces of peace in different countries to rebuff imperialist forays. We maintain that the issue of war and peace affects not only the nations of Western Europe where new US first-strike nuclear missiles are being deployed, not only the socialist countries on whom these weapons of mass destruction are targeted, but all nations throughout the world. Nuclear war will destroy both those near ground zero and those thousands of miles away from it.

We express our solidarity with all those who uphold their legitimate rights and rebuff attempts on their countries' sovereignty and independence. We support the courageous Palestinian people who are repelling the imperialist and Zionist aggression and affirm that the objectives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the African National Congress are similar. The ANC supports the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile and Lebanon in their struggle. We urge greater unity of the democratic and progressive forces fighting off the imperialist onslaught in all parts of the world.

¹ In 1976 a peaceful demonstration was fired upon in Soweto, a Johannesburg township. Several hundred people were killed.—*Ed.*

² For a more detailed discussion of the 'reforms' see: Yusuf Dadoo, 'Crisis of the Racist System in the South Africa', *WMR*, No. 12, 1982; Alfred Nzo, 'Stepping Up the Fight Against the Racist Enemy', *WMR*, No. 9, 1983.—*Ed.*

³ As far back as 1960 the racist army opened fire on a peaceful demonstration of Africans there, killing 69 and wounding hundreds.—*Ed.*

From Independent Initiatives to Joint Struggle

Certain Aspects of Public Participation in the Struggle for Peace and Disarmament

Mirjam Vire-Tuominen – Secretary-General of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF)

THE year 1984 is drawing to a close. So is the first half of the 1980s. It has brought many complex problems—both objective, generated by the march of history with all its contradictions, and artificial, engineered and fanned by those forces which refuse to accept this inexorable march onward and try to reverse it. These are different problems, and, in all probability, they will confront mankind in different combinations for a long time, with social, environmental energy and other aspects alternating as the more important. Today, however, the imperialist threat of a world nuclear war appears to be the foremost problem.

The progressive women's movement has always been a champion of peace. The

hearts and minds of women, of mothers cannot accept militarist policies which, today, rob people of over one million dollars a minute and which may rob them tomorrow of their most precious possession—their lives. At the same time the women's movement in many countries has acquired a new quality which was absent in the past—the growing understanding of who threatens peace and in what way, and the consequent readiness for large-scale action.

It was noted at the international symposium sponsored by the *World Marxist Review* and the WIDF¹ that even ideological differences between various national and international women's organisations could not be an obstacle of vigorous joint action for nuclear disarmament and peace. Hundreds of thousands of women are increasingly active in this historic struggle. Mass peace marches were the initiative of Scandinavian women. The British women besieging the US missile base at Greenham Common have given us shining examples of staunch courage. Neither imprisonment nor clubbings by the police have broken their determination to keep their resistance to the deployment of the US Euromissiles in their country.

Women are becoming increasingly aware that it has so far been impossible to fully translate 'Equality, Development, Peace'—the motto of the UN-designated Decade for Women—into concrete realities precisely due to the pernicious policies of imperialism, above all of US imperialism. There can be no genuine equality when the interests of working people are outweighed by the interests of a handful of imperialist monopolies. There can be no successful development when hundreds of billions of dollars needed for jobs, education, medical assistance and mother and child care are squandered on the senseless arms race which poses a threat to all humanity. And how fragile the peace which is the target of US first-strike missiles.

More and more women are beginning to understand that scientific and technological progress which was outstripped social advance in capitalist countries has delivered into the hands of reactionary generals and politicians weapons of unprecedented destructive capacity, weapons which can wipe out our very civilisation. More and more women are realising to what extent the policy and moves of the United States, the foremost imperialist power, have aggravated this danger.

And nothing can be changed by the fact that in the last months of 1984, Reagan's 'war party', obviously reluctant to scare the voters with the spectre of a nuclear apocalypse on the eve of the US presidential elections, has been going to great lengths to change its spots and appear as a 'peace party'.

It is common knowledge that one cannot judge a policy or politicians by their words. But if we turn to deeds, we shall see that the policy of the White House and the Pentagon has not changed in the 1980s. Drawing on the huge military and economic capabilities of the United States, the extremely reactionary group now in power there is steering toward the abyss of nuclear omnicide. One after another, insane attempts continue to attain superiority over socialism by upsetting the existing strategic military parity. Reluctance to undertake any binding obligations which might limit the arms buildup is obvious from this year's developments—the wrecking of the talks on medium-range missiles in Europe, the sabotage of the negotiations on strategic armaments, the blatant violations of ABM accords, the efforts to turn outer space into a theatre of operations, and the like. In other words, the deeds of the imperialist 'war party' demonstrate that it ignores today's realities and is prepared to risk a global military catastrophe in a bid to impose pro-American ways on other nations.

It is natural that in these conditions the task of curbing those who pose the threat of war and undermine the fundamental human right, the right to life has emerged as the foremost issue demanding absolute priority above all other problems of concern to women. Of course, this is not a purely 'women's' problem. It affects everyone—women and men, people of all continents, all races and all nations.

Can this task be solved? Yes, it can. No matter how great the danger of nuclear

catastrophe, it is by no means fatally inescapable. The cause of peace has not only enemies but also true, reliable friends capable of blocking the path of war. These friends are the countries of established socialism, the organised working class movement, many non-aligned countries and, finally, the uniquely broad mainstream comprising different movements which act, jointly and independently, against the threat of a nuclear conflagration. In this article I would like to raise some questions concerning the new role of these movements in international politics.

Let me begin with a distinctive development: today the line dividing the sides in the confrontation over the issues of war and peace far from always coincides with national frontiers or class, party or ideological boundaries. Scores of anti-war movements and groups exist now in virtually every capitalist country. Some of them have sprung up side by side with the traditional peace movement and women's, youth and trade union democratic organisations and centres and, in cooperation with them, acquired rich experience of joint action. Others have emerged and are operating independently—like the British Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, certain Christian organisations in North America and Western Europe, the Greens, and the various civic and municipal initiative movements which declare their communities nuclear-free zones. The advent of associations such as, say, 'Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War' or 'Generals for Disarmament' is an important development too. These movements comprise representatives of different parties, classes and social strata concerned over the future of the world and refusing to bow to the policies of the extremely reactionary imperialist quarters.

The anti-war, anti-missiles and anti-nuclear activity of the masses is increasingly taking the form of open protest—rallies, manifestations, peace marches, warning walkouts. The influence of this activity on the political climate not only in Western Europe but also in the United States and Canada is mounting. Danish and Dutch peace activists—and women's organisations are prominent among them—have forced their bourgeois governments to renounce their original obligations with regard to the deployment of US medium-range missiles. In Great Britain, Italy and the FRG these forces considerably hamper the reactionary militarist quarters in their efforts to blindly follow Washington's lead. The North American peace movement in which women are very active is becoming a powerful factor in the shaping of public opinion.

It is no accident that the mass social base of the peace movement is broadening. People are becoming increasingly aware that in the nuclear war planned by imperialism (whether it is to be limited or protracted) the people are to be a passive victim—they would be unable to express their opinion of a decision taken by a handful of political and military leaders. Hence the growing desire to strip all political and diplomatic veils from the mystery surrounding the birth of war. People refuse to submit blindly to the whims of rulers. As citizens, they demand participation in all decision-making that affects their nations.

The author of a recent *WMR* article has called this phenomenon which is a salient feature of today's world, the birth of a demand for a new, equitable diplomatic order.² I think it is an apt definition. At the same time, I would like to stress that in the women's movement for peace—and, in broader terms, in the entire peace movement—the increase in the range of the various organisations, currents and groups of fighters against the war threat is also due to several social factors. A policy of a runaway arms race and intensive militarisation of domestic affairs exacerbates social conflicts. Extremely aggressive on the external plane and reactionary and anti-democratic on the internal scene, this policy is accompanied in capitalist countries by a swift expansion of the classic state apparatus of coercion, surveillance and intimidation.

It is obvious that the United States, followed by some other NATO countries, is undergoing an increasingly clear shift of the bulk of government activity towards reprisals. Pressure on the democratic rights of working people is growing. A special

presidential directive has legalised the establishment of concentration camps for dissenters in the United States. In the FRG, the screening of 6.4 million people wishing to enter government service or employed by the government, of their relatives and acquaintances has resulted in the fact that thousands of people have been barred from this or that occupation. Increasingly often, reactionary capitalist governments are using the police not only to disperse mass manifestations of peace activists but also to suppress strikes by working people.³

This aggravates the many forms of the antagonism between imperialism which tramples democracy underfoot and the masses which strive for democracy. People are seeing for themselves the falsity of the right-wing conservative authorities' claims that their policies serve to safeguard democracy. The interests of the military-industrial complex, of the multinational conglomerates and banks which grow fat on military contracts and which enjoy the protection of the state and its legal and police apparatus of coercion are incompatible with democratic rights and demands. The masses are beginning to understand that the threat to peace and the suppression of democratic freedoms come from the same source. For this reason the struggle to safeguard peace is moving ever closer with the drive to preserve and expand the democratic rights and gains of working people, and in particular, to attain full equality and emancipation of women.

The upsurge of the anti-war movement alarms the leaders and ideologists of the imperialist 'war party'. This spring, having returned from his tour around Western Europe where he was met by hundreds of thousands of demonstrators demanding an end to the arms race and removal of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, Reagan snapped in frustration that the fighters against the Euromissiles wanted the 'peace of a cemetery'. In the United States itself, a special committee set up at government level to combat anti-war action at home and abroad has been in operation for over a year. Having proved incapable of either suppressing or intimidating peace activists, imperialism is trying to undermine their unity from within by resorting to all sorts of fraudulent propaganda tricks and concepts. I think it would be useful to dwell in greater detail on two such tricks used especially often—because they do affect certain currents and strata in the wide mainstream of peace forces, inevitably weakening it.

Trick No. 1. Since it has proved impossible to crush the peace activists, their movement is presented to the masses as an alleged communist plot manipulated by Moscow and the Communists in general, as a tactical ploy they use to pave the way for the victory of socialism world-wide.

In this connection one can say that the Communists do consider the struggle for peace, together with the struggle for social emancipation and national liberation, as the main essence of their work today. They want socialism for people, for without them there is no socialism. Peaceful conditions of development are the foremost imperative in the building of socialism. The ruling communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries reiterated this in the Declaration of the CMEA Economic Summit in June 1984. They stressed that no global problem, including the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism, could be resolved by armed force. To the Communists, the struggle for peace is not a tactical slogan but a permanent strategy of action aimed at developing a fundamentally new political and civic consciousness in millions of people and creating, on the basis of the common concern over the preservation of peace, the broadest possible anti-war front, a front representing different classes and parties, public interest groups, organisations, governments, parliaments and churches irrespective of their political, ideological to religious differences. All those who sincerely want peace feel the need for the establishment of such broad unity.

Naturally, one cannot lose sight of the fact that far from all forces that advance peace slogans are unanimous in their understanding of the ways and means of preserving peace. They often hold different views even of the way in which their own

division can be overcome and reconciled. Among peace activists, those who simply want to safeguard peace far outnumber those who have fully realised that it is precisely capitalism which, due to its imperialist and militarist nature, poses the greatest and ever-present threat to peace. It will take many years of peaceful coexistence, of peaceful competition between the two systems of all nations to grasp which social system serves humanity better and to make a free choice. And the Communist conviction that the choice of socialism will be inevitable is based not on any 'complicity' or tactical scheme but on their knowledge of the objective laws of historical development.

Trick No. 2. Since the traditional 'Soviet threat' bugbear is rapidly losing its scaremongering value among peace activists, it is being replaced with the myth of 'equal responsibility' of the great powers for the alarming situation on the world scene. This invention underlies the claim that peace fighters should be 'equidistant' from these powers' policies. The monopoly-controlled mass media work hard to publicise this notion and, admittedly, it finds acceptance among politically naive people, especially those participants in anti-missile and anti-nuclear action who have never been friends of the Soviet Union.

However, the 'equal responsibility' concept bursts like a soap bubble when checked against actual facts. Let us recall that the atomic bomb, the submarine-launched nuclear missile, the MIRV nuclear warhead, the cruise missile and many other types of weapons of mass destruction were developed and adopted first in the United States. It is on record that Soviet moves were made only in response. After all, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Salt-1 and Salt-2 Treaties, the ABM Treaty, the Helsinki Final Act and many other important international agreements were concluded at the initiative of the USSR and for the entire socialist community. US Presidents signed them under pressure from public opinion, and the US Congress has even refused to ratify some of these instruments.

By adding similar examples to this list, any rational person will arrive at the conclusion made by the World Peace Council long ago: the United States is the party which deliberately aggravates international tensions and the military confrontation. Today, the most important thing for restoring world affairs to normalcy is to put an end to the foolhardy course pursued by the White House and keep the world from sliding into the nuclear abyss. To speak about 'equal responsibility' in these circumstances means to weaken the anti-war movement and deceive the world's peoples.⁴

Still, it would be a mistake to maintain that on many issues, no common ground can be found with all those who do not yet share our viewpoint of the matter of responsibility. This is borne out, among other things, by the experience of the women's movement, specifically, by women's participation in the struggle for peace.

Frequently, the only link which unites women of different classes and strata in our joint action is their will and readiness to fight against the danger of a new world war. It is the only but also the *major and decisive element*, the platform which enables people of diverse political convictions and learnings to act jointly, in cooperation. The record shows that joint, parallel or concerted anti-war action on this or that specific issue can be promoted even if unanimity on the question of responsibility is lacking. But readiness to agree to a compromise and stage joint action must have nothing in common with renunciation of one's convictions. On the contrary, the best way to ensure success is to combine cooperation and agreement on practical matters with open and principled efforts to combat erroneous views.

It is, of course, easier to say that a common platform does exist than to ensure joint action on that basis in practice. Moreover, it is easier to define the target of joint action by different peace forces in one country or one region than to convince people of different continents that their efforts to counter the war threat are interdependent. For example, the US aggression against Grenada caused a storm of indignation

among peace fighters in Latin America, but, it appears, generated much less concern among certain West European quarters. For their part, action by anti-missile movements in the FRG, the heroic struggle of British women against the US military base and similar developments evoke broader response in Europe, the United States and Canada than, say, in Japan or India.

It is clear that the peace movement cannot be effective if it fails to advance clear-cut national and regional objectives. The importance of distinctly national aspects in the struggle for peace and the consequent opportunities for promoting national initiatives are obvious to all. One might say, however, that faced with the internationalisation of the militarist forces and the attempts to declare virtually the entire globe a 'zone of vital US interests', the forces of peace should step up their own internationalisation too.

We hold that in future—at any rate, in the coming years—efforts to strengthen the solidarity and the ties forging the different national, regional, local and international peace forces into a single whole will be a major factor in the effectiveness of the anti-war movement. Naturally, this refers not to statistical estimates of how many friends or political allies this or that slogan may preserve for, attract to or repel from the movement, but to the logic of joint mass action rooted in the awareness of common goals.

There is no doubt that an anti-missile activist in the FRG who demands that the Pershing-2 missiles be removed from this country is right. But as a peace fighter, he cannot help seeing that true concern about saving Europe from the horror of nuclear catastrophe cannot be confined to the situation in a single country. From here, the next step is to begin thinking about the importance of the Soviet proposals which envisage a Europe completely free of weapons of mass destruction, the Nordic and Balkan initiatives concerning nuclear-free zones, the demands of a nuclear freeze raised in the United States, etc.

Nothing is more important to a nation than to be safe from destruction. And this is why disarmament and any efforts to attain it serves the interests of every nation. One cannot imagine a single nation which would not profit from, say, the transformation of the Balkans, Central and Northern Europe or the far East into nuclear-free zones of peace. This expresses both the national and the international aspects of the matter. Speaking at the first World Peace Congress 35 years ago, Frederic Joliot-Curie said: "A single nation or a single individual cannot remove the threat of war. Only joint action by all nations will make it possible to achieve this goal."⁵

The experience we now possess we have accumulated over more than a third of a century of struggle in which we have attained much: today the mass peace movement holds an important place among the factors which have prevented imperialist militarist quarters from launching a new world war. But much remains to be done—especially because today the scope and the complexity of the problems all those who sincerely strive for peace want solved are much greater than those which confronted the 1949 generation of peace fighters. The threat of war still exists; military arsenals have not been eliminated but, on the contrary, newer and newer weapons of mass destruction are added to them every year. Losing economic and political ground in different regions, imperialism tries to offset these losses by a terrifying buildup of nuclear armaments—and it does not conceal its intention to use them. Never before has mankind faced the threat of universal destruction so squarely. On the other hand, the forces of war have never confronted such a broad and powerful front of the forces of peace—a front which includes governments that champion peace, a diversity of public movements, political parties, churches and, in many countries, hundreds of millions of women and men without any organisational affiliation.

In other words, one would be justified to say that the struggle for peace is entering a new stage. Here I would like to add this: big international conferences of friends and champions of peace have accompanied each new stage in the history of anti-war

protest—the First Peace Congress held in Paris and Prague in 1949, the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow in 1973, the Prague Assembly of 1983 and several other international forums. These events enabled representatives of different social forces to exchange their experience, views and ideas, helped them to coordinate their efforts and strengthened international solidarity. It would be useful—at least, such is the opinion of many women's organisations—to convene such conferences more often and to consider holding, in the foreseeable future, a large-scale forum which would highlight the alarming state of world affairs today and give a new impetus to mass action against the nuclear threat.

In May 1985 the world will mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over nazism. I think it would be appropriate in this connection to recall some of the lessons of that memorable struggle. The foremost lesson is that wars must be fought against before they break out. The record of history—no matter how hard the ideological heirs of nazism try to erase or 'correct' it—tells us that to a very great extent, a large part of humanity owes its freedom from the nazi yoke to the world's first socialist state. At that time, the struggle against nazism and reaction—both on the battlefields of World War II and in the underground Resistance movements—united people of different nationalities, classes, political convictions and philosophies. Likewise, today we need joint, concerned and vigorous action against aggressive imperialist policies if we want to safeguard peace. The forces of progress, democracy and peace and all those who cherish life can and must act together in the name of the present and future generations. Peace champions are strong enough to frustrate the schemes of the imperialist 'war party'.

¹ See *WMR*, 1984, No. 3.

² See: Dietmar Ahrens, 'People's Democracy Versus Diplomacy of Force', *WMR*, 1984, No. 7.

³ For more information see 'Indictment of Imperialism', *WMR*, No. 11, 1984.

⁴ It is sometimes argued that the threat of war does not necessarily come from imperialism: in some cases it allegedly springs from a clash of interests between non-imperialist countries. But upon a closer examination, even here imperialism, with its traditional philosophy of 'divide and rule', acts as a catalyst of armed conflict.

⁵ Frederic Joliot-Curie, *Textes choisis*, Edition sociales, Paris, 1959, p. 156.

the party

Our Main Guide

Hans Kleven – Chairman, Communist
Party of Norway

THE slogan 'For Peace and Labour', under which the Communist Party of Norway held its 18th Congress in Oslo last spring, was a concentrated expression of the main content of the activity of Norway's Communists. Their efforts are aimed at defending peace and international security, contributing to detente and disarmament, creating a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, bringing about an independent foreign policy, safeguarding the working people's interests and their right to work and ensuring social and economic justice. A Marxist-Leninist analysis was made of the situation abroad and at home and the tasks of the party defined accordingly. The decisions adopted by the congress are intended to intensify the party's entire work, to make it more effective.

The congress was a new convincing demonstration of the class Marxist-Leninist character of the CPN. Our party, which proceeds consistently from proletarian internationalism, identifies itself with all forces of peace, socialism, democracy and social progress.

The extremely complicated international situation induced the congress to focus

attention on the chief task of today, the defence of peace. As a consequence of the activity of the USA and its NATO allies, the congress noted, the world is now in greater danger than ever since the end of World War II. With the arrival of the Reagan Administration at the White House, US foreign policy came to be influenced in decisive measure by the most reactionary and aggressive sections of the US oligarchy, who turned that country's government into a direct executive agency of the military-industrial complex. While the insane arms drive being escalated by US imperialism covers all weapons, the emphasis is on 'perfecting' nuclear arms to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist world as a whole and force them from a 'position of strength' to submit to Washington's dictates. Along with this, imperialism expects to maintain neocolonial exploitation in developing countries and block all progressive change in the world.

The reckless policy of the USA threatens to spark off a nuclear conflict and destroy mankind. This was made only too obvious by the appearance in Western Europe of US nuclear missiles targeted on major political and military objectives in the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries. Indeed, the Pentagon's strategy provides outright for waging a 'limited' nuclear war that could only be the beginning of a universal carnage. The CPN declares explicitly that the US 'initiative' is moving Europe and the world closer to catastrophe.

The truth about the real source of the threat to peace is hard to find in the bourgeois press or other Western media. They claim, for example, that the blame for the breakdown of the Geneva talks must be put on the Soviet Union and not the USA, which made them pointless by deploying its 'Euromissiles'. To justify the US and NATO militarists' aggressive plans, they are spreading that old lie—the biggest of all—about the 'Soviet threat'. Not a single day passes without their repeating old versions of this lie or producing new ones. Yet contrary to what Goebbels, that past master of slander, used to affirm, a lie remains a lie even if repeated a thousand times.

History has furnished incontrovertible evidence that both the war danger and war itself are an outgrowth of imperialism and not socialism. It was invading troops of 14 capitalist countries with Germany, Britain, France and USA in the lead that attacked Soviet Russia after the October Revolution (1917). It was Hitler fascism, reared and paid by German capital, that invaded the Soviet Union in 1941. And it was the United States that started the Korea and Vietnam wars. Since 1945, US imperialism has used armed force or threatened to use it against other countries more than 200 times. Today it would like to reverse the course of history and wipe socialism off the map of the world. In a voice test before a radio address to his American audience on August 11, a test not intended for outsiders, Reagan 'outlawed' the Soviet Union and therefore announced that its 'bombing' would begin 'in five minutes'. This cannibalistic 'joke' of the US President opened the eyes of many, including members of Western ruling quarters, to the real source of the threat to world peace.

Having analysed the situation, we Norwegian Communists are certain that a new world war is not inevitable and can be staved off provided the socialist countries, the working class of capitalist countries, the national liberation movements and the widespread peace movement join efforts irrespective of political or social distinctions. This conclusion is suggested by the fact that the change in the balance of world forces is not in favour of imperialism and that this gives humanity hope and a chance for a peaceful future. We take account of three factors. First, imperialism has become more aggressive but not stronger. Second and most important of all, the socialist countries offer opportunities to work for peace, detente and disarmament by constantly taking realistic foreign policy initiatives. It is particularly important to maintain strategic military parity. Third, the peace movement is going from strength to strength as it develops.

The only reasonable option in this nuclear age is to resume the policy of detente, stop the arms race, freeze and reduce nuclear arsenals, dissolve military blocs, and last

but not least, effect general disarmament. This is what the socialist countries' numerous peace proposals and initiatives call for.

The congress stressed in no uncertain terms that one of the priority tasks today is to ensure that the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe is stopped and that the missiles already on site are withdrawn. They appeared there against the explicit will of all peoples. In our country 570,000 signatures were collected and submitted to the Storting (parliament) in 1981, during a vast campaign held by the national No To Nuclear Weapons movement. They supported three basic demands: no to nuclear weapons in East and West, no to new US missiles in Europe, and yes to a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. It would be hard to imagine a more indicative referendum or a more convincing demonstration of the people's will.

In December 1983, the CPN Central Committee directed an open letter to the peace movement and to all trade unions and political parties. The letter, entitled 'The Struggle for Peace Has Entered a New and Decisive Phase', called for resistance to the outrage being done to the peoples' will and for effort to bring about the removal of US missiles from Europe. We now note with satisfaction that this call is consonant with the sentiment of the working people.

Disclosing the causes of the arms race and the connection between imperialism and war and between socialism and peace is one of our important activities. The congress drew attention to the need to expose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, spread truthful information about socialist countries and intensify the ideological struggle against imperialist propaganda.

The political resolution adopted by the congress says that imperialism is the chief enemy of peace. Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, the Middle East, Chile, Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador and many other countries and regions have attested the fact that US imperialism is the chief opponent of the people's right to self-determination, social progress and security. What is now needed more than ever before is unity of action among the anti-imperialist forces of the world; above all else, it is important to promote the cooperation and unity of communist parties.

Proceeding from the Communists' special role in the fight for peace and availing itself of the presence of fraternal party delegations from socialist and capitalist countries, the CPN Congress proposed to give thought to the idea of convening a conference of the communist parties of Europe in the near future to discuss problems of the struggle for a lessening of international tensions. Such meetings were held in 1976 in Berlin and in 1980 in Paris. The congress also expressed the opinion that a world conference involving all communist parties would be still more in keeping with the present situation, which is crucial to the destiny of humanity.

Norway's Communists are well aware of the need for their country to adopt a truly national independent foreign policy based on the security interests of Norway and its Nordic neighbours instead of conforming to the aggressive guidelines of the USA and NATO.

'The territory of Norway and its naval and air space,' says the political resolution of the congress, 'have long been integrated into the global strategy of the USA and NATO. Our country has been assigned the role of an unsinkable aircraft carrier on the northern flank of NATO.' This is confirmed by, among others, the following facts: an agreement putting several Norwegian airfields at the disposal of the US Air Force whose planes may be equipped with nuclear missiles in a 'crisis situation'; increasingly extensive annual NATO war games in Troms County under US command; the deployment of the AWACS system for air espionage against the Soviet Union; the Pentagon's use of monitoring posts on Norwegian territory; the involvement of research institutions and certain industrial enterprises of Norway in the war production of the USA and other NATO countries; the decision adopted by the Storting (by a majority of one vote) to support the stationing of medium-range nuclear missiles; the advance storing of heavy US armaments and war materiel in

Trøndelag County.

The congress pointed out that the Norwegian government bears part of the blame for the worsened international situation because it helps escalate the arms race and the war danger. The government constantly gives in to Washington's pressure and has shown itself to be one of its most loyal NATO partners. What discredits Norway particularly is the anti-national conduct of the present government under Willoch, the Conservative Party leader. More and more military political decisions affecting our national interests are made in Washington. In addition to the increased likelihood of an open confrontation between the two military alliances, there is growing danger of Norway becoming a battlefield and a bombing target. This danger threatening so small a country as ours is mounting in step with its arms buildup and increasing commitment to US nuclear strategy. Real concern for the country's security and national interests demands rupture with this strategy. The territory of Norway and the lives of its four million inhabitants must not be a plaything in the hands of US adventurers.

The situation, the congress stressed, is making it more and more imperative to go over to an independent policy contributing to durable peace and to European security and cooperation. Our country should take initiatives in this sense at Nordic, European and global forums and in the international agencies concerned. The aim should be a nuclear-weapon-free Europe.

A new defence and security policy should be based, as we Communists see it, on the following principles:

- serving peace and detente;
- helping turn the Nordic countries into a region with a low level of tension;
- enabling the people to participate directly through the peace movement, the trade unions and other mass organisations in the framing of a Norwegian security policy, which must not be left to the government and the Storting alone and must be shaped here in our country and not in Washington or Brussels.

What is needed first and foremost is to dissociate Norway from US nuclear strategy. In the long term this implies deliverance from the fetters of NATO and the pursuit of an alliance-free and national foreign policy, eventually in close collaboration with the other Nordic states.

Military spending, or the defence budget, should be reduced and brought into line with a reasonable economic capacity as well as with Norway's national security interests and requirements.

Creating a nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe remains a task of paramount importance. Today's international tensions make it more pressing than ever. After all, missiles with or without nuclear warheads launched from Norwegian territory or from NATO warships and submarines in the North Sea would inevitably cross the air space of Sweden and Finland. This calls for the development of a common strategy by the Nordic countries to rule out their involvement in nuclear escalation. The creation of a nuclear-free zone would be vastly important above all as a means of safeguarding their security. Furthermore, it would be a concrete measure for detente and hence a notable contribution as well as an example of action on the part of the Nordic countries in building a collective security system in Europe and ridding it of nuclear weapons, a step towards disarmament.

We stressed at the congress the need for joint efforts by the countries of our region to put this idea into practice. 'The struggle to establish the North of Europe as a nuclear-free zone under international law,' the political resolution says, 'is more important than ever before. The government and parliament must be made to engage in real talks on the conclusion of such a treaty. Finland, Sweden and Denmark (by decision of the Folketing) are already agreeable to these talks. It is now Norway's turn.' We wish to note that one of the Nordic peoples, the Faeroese, declared the Faeroes a nuclear-free zone by decision of the Lagting on February 24, 1984. We

know that the United States is against the creation of such a zone in Northern Europe and is doing all it can to prevent a Norwegian yes. Our parliament needs to take an independent and resolute stand.

Serious changes have occurred inside the country, especially in the socio-economic sphere, since the previous CPN congress (1981). The policies of the ruling Conservative Party have considerably aggravated the effects of the current cyclical overproduction crisis on the working people. The crisis has closely intertwined with the general crisis of the capitalist system and with protracted structural crisis in shipbuilding, steel and aluminium production and woodworking.

The bourgeoisie and big capital respond to the crisis by cutting investment, particularly in the public sector, and lowering real wages and purchasing power.

The proportion of registered jobless in our country this year has topped 80,000 or 4.7 per cent of the total employable workforce, something unheard-of since the 1930s. There is less talk about the 'welfare society' and greater concern about the future and jobs.

This applies above all to youth. Nearly a third of all school leavers or demobilised servicemen join the ranks of 'redundant' people. The spectre of unemployment haunts schools, including vocational ones, and universities. To offer the younger generation a perspective worth fighting for is a priority task of the Communists and the entire working class movement.

Women are a further social group hit harder than others by the crisis. Unemployment is a serious obstacle to real equality for them based on economic independence.

Revealingly, the proportion of jobless people went up by 37,600 under Conservative rule, from January 1982 to January 1984. There was no increase in output in 1982 and only a 0.5 per cent increase in 1983. These are the smallest indicators since the war. The outlook is anything but encouraging even though some economic spheres show signs of revival.

We realise that the crisis is not a result of Conservative policy alone. The root of the problem lies, needless to say, in the capitalist system itself, whose main 'regulating' factors are the drive for maximum profit, the free play of market forces and individualistic aspirations ignoring the interests of society. However, we made it clear at the Congress that the Conservative Party and the government led by it are to blame for economic and political measures imperilling the working people's social gains and making for greater unemployment. Their policy is aimed at meeting the interests of big capital.

The Conservatives call for 'austerity' in an effort to end the crisis by slashing government spending, chiefly in the social sphere. We Communists have nothing against reasonable economy at the right place and for the right purposes. But we are against the simultaneous wasting of resources and billions in funds for an insatiable arms race, for government subsidies to speculators and bankrupt employers. To save for the working people's good is to build up the health services, education and transport—as by extending the railway to Northern Norway—protect the environment, and so on.

Our country has a developed economy, a skilled and experienced workforce and ample energy and raw material resources. It is better off economically than many other capitalist countries. Last year foreign trade earned Norway 16.3 billion kroner. Oil and gas exports are worth nearly 64 billion kroner. Last year our country paid eight billion kroner on foreign debts and this year the government expects to repay them completely. But can economic management be described as judicious or the economy as rational if in spite of the crisis and mounting unemployment budget cuts are made precisely in items requiring, on the contrary, greater appropriations, such as primarily the health services, education and social security? The answer is self-evident. No funds are stinted for military purposes while every krone earmarked for

easing unemployment is haggled about.

To weaken the working people's resistance to encroachments on their living standards and social achievements, the bourgeoisie is trying harder and harder to loosen their solidarity, to split them by setting some groups against others. The congress laid bare the divisive purpose of monopoly capital's ploy known as 'wage earners' shares'. This practice involves Standard Telefon og Kabelfabrik, Norsk Data, Norsk Hydro and some other enterprises. The Conservative Party represents this as 'democratising the economy'. What it is actually after is to make the workers believe that they share in profits even though they do not really influence the operation of enterprises; it wants to undermine the workers' class solidarity and, last but not least, use their savings for monopoly ends. We can only agree with Tor Halvorsen, Chairman of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions, who said that "in this way the employers want to keep wage earners in a stranglehold". Life itself has shown the working man that class struggle is the only road. This implies fostering the class consciousness of trade unionists, primarily on the shop floor. We believe the trade unions should 'politicalise' their activity in greater measure, that is, defend the working people's interests more actively than before, doing it from political positions.

Our party congress declared that the struggle against unemployment and the effects of the crisis is a key task of Communists along with the effort to contribute to lasting peace. The right to work is a fundamental human right. In our country it is enshrined in Art. 110 of the Constitution, which binds the authorities, primarily parliament and the government, to provide conditions for every able-bodied person to earn a livelihood by his labour. The country's 80,000 unemployed are proof that the authorities ignore the Constitution.

The anti-crisis policy formulated by the congress is intended to ease the effects of the crisis on the working people. In the long term, we want to do away with the capitalist system itself and to introduce a socialist, planned, crisis-free economy. It is important to ensure that the measures proposed today bear the seeds of fundamental changes to come. This is precisely what our anti-monopoly strategy, a contribution of the CPN to the shaping of an alternative policy of the working class movement, provides for.

The programme for short-term measures adopted by the congress is geared to an active employment policy on the basis of a state 'action plan against unemployment'. Creating new jobs under the plan will naturally require funds. The Communists propose to appropriate an annual five billion kroner to this end by rescheduling payments on foreign debts. Besides, contracts for North Sea projects and the construction of new ships should be placed in Norway. All young people should be enabled to learn a trade and get a job.

Extension of the working people's social rights benefits employment. This is why our party insists on reducing the working week to 37.5 hours, lowering retirement age to 62 years, renouncing all attempts to reprivatise medical care, fully restoring social housing construction and offering easier terms for the granting of housing credits. It is essential to redistribute the tax burden in favour of low-paid categories and at the same time to take more drastic measures against tax evasion by capitalists. Laws against the fixing of excessive prices by monopolies must be observed in full measure and a general rise in price level must be checked.

The measures proposed by us, if carried out, cannot remove the causes of the capitalist economic crisis in our country but they would help ease the negative impact of the crisis on the population.

A serious problem, the congress emphasised, is to spell out our policy to large sections of the population and to the trade unions and to encourage discussion. Leading party bodies and the CPN newspaper, *Friheten*, have an important role to play in this.

The political, economic and other problems facing the Norwegian working class

movement necessitate an ideological, political and organisational strengthening of our party. This is a standing task but it has been particularly urgent since the 15th Congress (1975). At that time we decided to preserve the party rather than dissolve it in the amorphous Socialist Left Party, which is now losing the last remnants of Marxist ideas in both its programme and its activity.

Our country needs a Marxist-Leninist party committed to proletarian internationalism. The line approved by the congress is intended to develop the party on this basis, or, in other words, make it a conscious and effective instrument of the working class and the people as a whole, to persuade many more men and women to regard our party as their own.

The political resolution of the congress specifies the ideological, political and organisational measures needed to enhance the role of the CPN as real vanguard of the Norwegian working class movement and other progressive forces in the struggle for peace and the working people's fundamental interests. These measures include the following:

- concrete application of Marxism-Leninism in Norwegian conditions, which means, in particular, analysing the crisis from a Marxist standpoint and evolving a policy designed to ease its effects on the working people;

- stepping up work in mass organisations, primarily in the peace movement and the trade unions but also in housing and consumers' cooperatives, the Unions of Norwegian Cultivators and Norwegian Fishermen, the sports movement, and so on;

- contributing in every way to the struggle against the nuclear danger, particularly within the framework of the No To Nuclear Weapons movement and the peace movement;

- beginning preparations for the general election due next year.

Our party bases its activity on a great ideological heritage, a theoretical arsenal and the vast experience of the international communist movement. It has a strategy of struggle for socialism that is realistic and can serve as a platform for a broad-based popular movement against big capital, for real democracy and real people's rule.

For a More Exacting Approach

Tibor Baranyai – Central Control Commission member, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head, Department of Party and Mass Organisations, CC HSWP

A KEY task of the HSWP at this stage is to raise the efficiency of party work. Hungary's advance to developed socialism largely depends on the quality of the functioning of all party echelons and on their growing creative effort, on the ability of the party to adjust forms and methods of leadership to changing conditions.

To accomplish the tasks facing it, our party always uses Leninist methods to regulate its numerical strength and improve its composition. Its entire history is evidence of the importance of taking the right approach to this crucial aspect of party work.

Immediately after liberation, Communists in Hungary only numbered several thousand. It was believed at the time that a rapid buildup of the party's numerical strength could result in 'diluting' its ranks. However, the opinion which prevailed was

Continuing the discussion on the prerequisites and criteria of efficient party work (see *WMR*, Nos. 1 and 7, 1983, and Nos. 1, 2 and 4, 1984).—*Ed.*

that a small group of activists, whatever their qualities, was not enough to win and hold power and to carry out the requisite social transformations. Political developments in the second half of the 1940s showed that the increased numerical strength of the party had played its part in the establishment of working class rule in Hungary.

Subsequently the situation changed. Shortly before the 1956 counter-revolutionary rebellion, the party had about one million registered members; it was too large and had partly lost its efficiency. And indeed, some party members looked passively on the counter-revolution in the making while others showed indecision and took no part in the defence of socialism. It was obvious that in the early 1950s bad mistakes had been made in party building.

What lessons did the HSWP draw from its experience in this respect?

In the first place, the party must be large enough if it is to play the leading role in society. To be sure, this is not the only criterion of its efficiency. Paramount importance attaches to the content and goals of the party's policy, its ideological character, its programme, its social and qualitative composition, its solid links with the masses. We consider it unquestionable, however, that the party can successfully direct the struggle and efforts of millions towards creating a new society only if it is a mass party. As regards its optimum numerical strength, there is no common rule valid always and everywhere. It depends primarily on the given political situation, on the tasks facing the party and society, on the historical traditions of the country concerned.

However, it is essential to build up the numerical strength of the party in a way preventing the effacement of the boundary between the vanguard and the mass of the working people. Otherwise the interests of socialism may be damaged politically to a degree hard to remedy. We see this as a second important lesson learnt by us. An all-Hungary party conference held in 1957 formulated a principle which the HSWP has been following ever since, namely, the principle of putting the emphasis in forming the party on quality and not quantity. Communists should stand out among the working people by their ideological preparedness, political consciousness, active role and moral qualities.

At present the HSWP has over 860,000 members, which is close to 11 per cent of the adult population of the country. The Central Committee is of the opinion that this state of affairs accords in the main with the party's tasks. In fact, the party groups the finest members of all classes and social sectors and is equal to operating actively in the main spheres of public life.

The party has admitted upwards of 40,000 new members since its 12th Congress (1980). This means that its strength has been growing by an annual average of 1.6 per cent. We see this dynamic growth primarily as an indication of the party's prestige and influence. On the other hand, the quantitative growth of the party in recent years has not always been accompanied by improving quality. Statistics on the number of those expelled from the party or penalised for breaches of discipline suggest that locally the approach to the admission of new members is not strict enough everywhere.

Evidently, these problems cannot be solved by simply restricting admission, for such a 'barrier' would not make the party either more united, or more efficient. The only way to achieve real progress is to be more exacting towards applications. We call on party organisations to admit new members first of all from among activists of the Communist Youth Union, the trade unions and the socialist teams movement, that is, exemplary workers or students who have demonstrated their readiness to serve socialism selflessly and won respect among fellow workers or students, in their collectives, and hence can help increase people's confidence in the party and raise its prestige.

Regulating the party's social composition is another important aspect of party building. The current ratio of classes and social sectors in the HSWP corresponds on

the whole to their place in society: 42.9 per cent of the party membership (56 per cent of the working population) are workers, 8 per cent, cooperative peasants and 41.7 per cent, brain workers. Women have lately been more active socio-politically; they now account for nearly one-third of the membership.

We note with satisfaction that the HSWP has grown politically and organisationally. However, its social composition does not entirely meet the demands made of it. First of all, we are disquieted by the fact that the proportion of workers in the party has fallen off by two per cent in the past decade. Besides, ever fewer members of the working class join the party. In 1975 this category accounted for 58 per cent of the newly admitted; the 1982-1983 period saw the figure drop to 50.

There are many reasons for this. One of them is the workers' rising professional and educational standards, with the result that many of them have become brain workers and taken up leading posts. Another factor is that lately the proportion of those employed in the service sector and in small and medium enterprises has gone up and that conditions for party work in these spheres are less favourable. Many working people want to earn an extra income in their free time and so are reluctant to do voluntary social work.

However, the HSWP believes that this situation is due above all else to shortcomings in the party's educational, agitational and organising work among the working people. Many of the meetings and other events sponsored by the party are stereotyped and therefore non-party people show little interest in them; besides, the decisions of party meetings are not conveyed to the entire work collective. Workers are not always sufficiently aware of the party organisation's contribution to the solution of various problems. Yet they only join the party when they feel that this will enable them to participate in greater measure in the operation of their enterprise and in the discussion of problems of national significance. This is why we see to it that party branches conduct an open political dialogue with the workers, acquaint them with the party's view on all matters of interest to them, and not only lend ear to their suggestions but really take them into consideration and take real steps to eliminate shortcomings.

Party building centres on big industrial enterprises. This is as it should be, for the majority of Communist workers are engaged in this sphere. While the national average of workers in the party is one in every ten, their proportion in big enterprises averages from 15 to 16 per cent. However, it still varies greatly from industry to industry; while Communists in heavy industry account for 24 to 30 per cent of the total number of workers, their proportion in some chemical and food factories and in the building industry does not exceed 9 per cent. The HSWP does not intend to slacken attention to the industrial working class, on which it will go on drawing as the main source of new party members. However, we must substantially improve political and organising work in small and medium enterprises, cooperatives and the service sector.

A further task is to end a very noticeable disparity in party influence among diverse categories of members of the working class. It is compounded by major distinctions in their education standards and political awareness. Indeed, while 57 per cent of all members of the working class directly managing production and 14 per cent of all skilled workers belong to the party, the proportion of Communists on jobs requiring little or no skill is very low and ranges from 5.2 to 3.6 per cent. We might as well add that this category, which exceeds 1.5 million, is often neglected because work among its members is considered 'thankless'. This approach is completely wrong, for the category includes many people who seek or could be encouraged to seek self-perfection and public activity.

In short, while bearing in mind objective circumstances and social trends making our activity difficult, we must not overlook the important thing—the fact that where the party organisation is in close contact with the work collective and really takes care

of the needs of its members, where nominal activity is not substituted for party life, and where the workers see that they are reckoned with and can contribute their share to the solution of the problems of their enterprises, they readily join the party.

The HSWP devotes special attention to increasing its political and organisational influence on the younger generation, a natural source of new party members. It has admitted 160,000 young people since 1975, mostly from the Communist Youth Union. The overwhelming majority of young Hungarians are dedicated to the new system and are taking an active part in the construction of developed socialism.

Nevertheless, we are not entirely satisfied with our work among youth. Only 4.6 per cent of citizens in the 18-29 age group are party members. The proportion of young party members has declined from 12.4 to 10.7 per cent in the past decade. There are very few party members among urban and rural working people and students below 26 years of age.

It is beyond question that notwithstanding the efforts made, many party organisations are not yet educating future Communists effectively enough. It is a fact that problems of beginning one's working life, of taking a job after graduation, starting a family and supporting it, obtaining a flat, and so on, make it difficult for some young people to join in public life. A warning signal is that even those who are very active politically know little about the party and that, in fact, many of them have an incorrect notion of it.

How are we to do away with phenomena such as these? We think there are several possibilities.

To begin with, we must overcome a certain distrust of youth and draw the best of them into the work of party organisations as early as possible. Many of our organisations do not make adequate use of the opportunities offered them by the decision of the 10th HSWP Congress (1970) lowering admission age from 21 to 18 years. It is occasionally claimed that those who are fresh from school are not mature enough and lack both a definite world view and political experience. But surely it is up to party organisations to help young people shape their world view and gain experience through practice. We wish to stress right away that there is no question of lowering the criteria of selecting prospective party members. But neither should we raise them artificially if we do not want to frighten young people away from joining our ranks—we still have branches which make higher demands of applicants than of members.

Party echelons which put the blame for inadequate educational work among youth on the CYU alone are making a big mistake. The HSWP has always stressed that this is a common task and must be carried out primarily by party organisations. Its fulfilment would be easier if we succeeded in lending the educational process a continuous character by beginning it in secondary and vocational schools and then 'passing on' the more active and perceptive pupils—those enlightened enough politically to make them eligible for admission to the party at an early date—to factory or university party organisations.

Noteworthy experience has been gained, in our view, by party organisations which give particular attention to educating prospective members of the HSWP. In Nógrád Region, party organisations single out prospective members beforehand and carry on well-considered preparatory work among them. Young people arriving at a factory or state farm are put under the charge of experienced Communists who function as preceptors. Preceptorship is considered one of the most important party assignments. Those who are entrusted with it render account to party meetings on a regular basis, compare notes and jointly plan their future tasks. Preceptors do not lose sight of their charges even after these have been admitted to the party and as for party branches, they at once give new members specific assignments and constantly check fulfilment. No wonder young people in Nógrád Region make up from 65 to 68 per cent of the new members admitted to the regional party organisation every year.

In the sphere of the ideological and political schooling of youth, the HSWP does its best to take account of their distinctive thinking and the maximalism in opinion and evaluation typical of them. These young men and women were born under socialism and cannot compare today's Hungary with what it was in the past. On adopting a socialist idea, young people expect it to materialise immediately and when reality turns out to differ from their notions many of them show impatience and even irritation. Youth tend to generalise without good reason negative phenomena in the life of society or in the behaviour of this or that Communist; their inexperience makes them all the more receptive to anti-socialist views.

This is why we consider it highly important to give young people a realistic idea of the party and the socialist system and to awaken them to the fact that the results achieved by the country had and still have to be fought for. This task can only be accomplished by the joint efforts of CYU and party organisations, in particular by holding public debates and discussing burning issues of interest to youth. What is needed in this respect is the ability to defend the party approach by giving sound arguments and to spell out its policies in clear language, without recourse to stereotypes. Regrettably, many of our party organisations are still unable to carry on such a dialogue actively. As a consequence, some students and young workers lack the ideological and political orientation they need.

Experience has shown that the party's educational efforts yield the best results where they are coupled with practical aid from CYU and party organisations to young people in, say, solving problems of everyday life or achieving a proper degree of professional competence. Where young people feel that they are cared for in this respect, their natural desire for action and their potential initiative are geared to the attainment of social objectives so much more speedily.

The party makes a point of assigning work among youth to its more competent members. This is a principle that must not be underestimated. Students, for example, react sharply to the incompetence or moral shortcomings of certain Communist teachers. It follows that institutions of higher learning need to be staffed by morally and politically authoritative teachers who must help actively, if they belong to the party, select prospective party members.

More than ever before, the success of the policy of the HSWP depends on the party's lower echelons. The standard and efficiency of party work, Janos Kadar has stressed, are largely conditioned by the manner in which it is carried on in branches, or the primary sphere where party decisions are put into practice. It seems to us that the key to improving the work of branches is to allow them greater autonomy and raise their responsibility.

This attitude is prompted largely by the new conditions of party guidance of the economy at the stage of its transition to intensive development. Granting enterprises considerable autonomy in production and planning is admittedly an aspect of this transition. Thus realisation of the party line now depends to a greater degree than before on the work of party branches and on their ability to supervise the activity of economic executives.

In the second place, it is primarily the party branch that must implement the political, social and economic policies of the HSWP at local level. This explains why it is very important that they themselves should generally find solutions to the problems facing them. Where this is done the working people support party policy more strongly than before. It also helps notably central bodies, which are often overburdened with the solution of particular small problems.

Lastly, the extension of the functions of branches should, as we see it, help them step up their internal activity and make it more varied and more interesting for non-party people. After all, links between the party and the masses express themselves chiefly in relations between working people and this or that party organisation, in Communists' contacts with non-Communists. This is why the new

possibilities for the activity of party branches are most important for strengthening the mass base of the HSWP.

Party branches and groups are the main sphere of party life. Their task is to boldly analyse both positive and negative aspects of their work, bring as many Communists as possible into the solution of all problems, encourage criticism and self-criticism and openly discuss burning problems agitating the people; nor should they passively await directions from higher up but should take the initiative and submit more proposals to higher bodies. However, it is no easy task to have this approach adopted everywhere. What is needed is a change in thinking, primarily that of leading Communists, for many of them are used to merely executing party guidelines and decisions adopted at a higher level.

However, there are signs of progress, especially in party groups, in which discussion is freer and franker now and criticism is both well-founded and specific. The task we now set is to create a similar atmosphere at the meetings of all party organisations. This aim is pursued by, among other things, annual party meetings, which obligatorily assess the work of all Communists, including those in key positions. Lower echelons have held such meetings for more than five years now and the meetings have become effective means of invigorating inner party life.

More judicious use of established forms of party work is the order of the day now. We are taking steps to make the conferences of branch secretaries primarily a forum for fruitful exchanges, for publicising methods that have proved their worth and for criticising negative phenomena. Furthermore, lower echelons are now in a position to make greater use of the potentialities of party meetings. Formerly every theme intended for them came from 'higher up', but the situation has changed. Every year not more than three obligatory themes are set for discussion at meetings and as for the rest, they are specified by the relevant party organisations themselves according to their requirements.

Special mention should be made of the changes made in the party structure since January 1984. They consist in transferring the functions of district to city committees and the party committees of big villages. The measure was adopted in line with a decision abolishing districts as administrative divisions. While it is true that they held a very important place in the nation's life for a long time and played, in particular, an exceptional role in the formation of peasant cooperatives, socio-economic development went subsequently beyond the framework of their functions, as the October 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CC HSWP stated, and made it necessary to simplify management and bring it into line with the exigencies of the economy.

The reorganisation that has been effected is in keeping with the party line of extending the powers of lower echelons, which must solve local problems more promptly, and of drawing political work closer to socio-economic processes. The removal of the intermediate echelon between regional committees, on the one hand, and city and big village committees, on the other, should also make for stronger direct ties between party organisations and committees. The latter now get information and proposals direct from the former. Much will yet have to be done, however, to make the new form effective.

We see a priority task in training the party bodies of big villages (they will have to shape local policy in greater measure than in the past) to enable them to operate at the present level of autonomy since very many of the earlier functions of district committees have now been assigned to them. It is primarily a question of sharing with them the experience gained in solving economic and social problems and of helping them strengthen their groups of activists.

City committees, for their part, have new problems to solve. The chief problem is to help their staff members think in broad terms. The party expects that rural areas will develop faster with the growth of existing cities and the founding of new ones. City committees have also been instructed to assist the party organisations of

neighbouring small villages on a permanent basis, above all in the training and advanced training of personnel.

The task of increasing the autonomy of party groups is inseparable from that of perfecting inner-party democracy and methods of party work. The party calls on leading bodies at all levels to steer clear of excessive use of directives, encourage the initiative of party branches and help them in every way, always remembering their real interests and needs.

The 12th HSWP Congress drew special attention to the need to improve the drafting and execution of party decisions. It is an open secret that there are too many decisions disregarding the actual state of affairs in the area concerned and the possibilities of branches. The congress stressed that if decisions are to be sounder and closer to reality, it is necessary to make their drafting a collective task of both lower and higher echelons of the party and to achieve closer cooperation between them in this sphere. This would enable leading bodies to be better informed of the state of party work locally and heighten the responsibility of branches and groups for the implementation of party guidelines.

Much is being done to extend Communists' participation in the discussion of the more acute and difficult problems. This applies, in particular, to major factories and institutions where the party committees comprise dozens of members generally scattered over diverse sectors. In the past these problems were seldom submitted to party committees and were instead dealt with in a narrower circle, at bureau meetings. Party committees met at very irregular intervals and restricted their role almost entirely to familiarising themselves with decisions already made. The situation is changing now. Elected party bodies have been instructed to enhance the collective character of their work. Experience has shown that this enables their members to keep in closer touch with one another, provides ample opportunities to compare notes and criticise shortcomings and makes for closer cohesion of the party collective. Every communist, having taken a real part in the study of a problem, shows readiness to work hard for the execution of the party committee's decision and spell out its meaning to all working people.

For some years past, working commissions whose function is to make an exhaustive study of specific problems and draft proposals and recommendations have been operating under city and regional committees as well as under CC departments. But while their function is advisory and hence auxiliary, they are playing a very big role nonetheless, for higher party bodies send back any decision drafted by, say, a regional committee unless there is a resolution of the working commission attached to it.

Heeding the opinions of as many Communists as possible is becoming a law of our inner party life. For example, party organisations are now studying draft documents of the next HSWP congress and making suggestions on them. Before the CC adopts a decision, the problems involved are also discussed at the grass roots. Thus it is fair to say that there is a permanent dialogue between leading HSWP bodies and all party members, which makes it possible to draw them to a greater extent into the framing of party policy.

True, some party branches and members still affirm that draft decisions of the CC are not yet discussed at the grass roots extensively enough. We must admit that there is some truth in that. Recently the Political Bureau instructed the CC apparatus to ascertain why this view has gained currency among Communists and what shortcomings there are and to decide on ways of removing them.

To reorganise our whole work in the direction of greater efficiency, we must also delimit the functions of party and government bodies in specific terms. The April 1984 Plenary Meeting of the CC HSWP called on party committees outright to respect the autonomy of economic entities.

Communists are allowed wide scope, as they have been in the past, for activity in

implementing the party's political guidelines in the enterprises. It is a question of the following:

- supervising the work of executives, seeing to their unfailing implementation of the party's socio-economic policy, supporting their progressive initiatives and making sure that enterprises adopt realistic plans and commitments while at the same time working to reach the targets set for them by central planning bodies;

- building up party influence on the working people, spelling out to them the tasks facing their collective, striving to bring about a creative atmosphere in all workplaces, seeking higher quality and efficiency and helping promote socialist competition and the socialist teams movement;

- actively influencing the appointment of economic executives by applying the rule that this requires the consent of the party organisation; seeing to it that leading posts are assigned to the most competent;

- working to ensure that production is dominated by a democratic atmosphere, that the views and suggestions of specialists and ordinary workers are heeded and that their rights are not infringed, nor their criticisms suppressed.

The work of the party organisation of the Slagótarján steel mill, which employs 3,500 workers, is highly indicative in this sense. In every production sector, Communists every week record workers' criticisms and suggestions and, in general, their views on unsolved problems and ways of eliminating shortcomings. They turn over this information to the party committee, which analyses it and then submits it to the management. The party committee tells higher party bodies in its regular reports how the management is putting the employees' suggestions into effect.

It follows that party organisations are responsible primarily for the 'human' aspect of economic management. In constantly concerning themselves with the working people's interests, they guide people's effort from the standpoint of principle and provide overall ideological and political leadership through Communist members of the given work collective.

In its relations with mass organisations the HSWP tries, in the same way as in other spheres, to do away with duplication and administrative fiat and to apply as consistently as possible Lenin's idea of the need 'to allow complete freedom to the creative faculties of the masses'.¹ This is the only approach in keeping with the task of promoting socialist democracy and increasing the role of mass organisations in the socialist political system. The party's own experience has shown that their activity must not be invaded, otherwise it mostly proves counter-productive.

At the same time the party regards mass movements as its necessary allies in building a developed socialist society. In line with Lenin's advice to verify 'at every step . . . carefully and objectively whether contact with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a live contact',² the HSWP constantly analyses the states of its relations with working people's organisations. In 1983 and 1984 the CC discussed problems of cooperation between the party and the trade unions, examined the situation in the CYU and set further tasks within the framework of the Fatherland Popular Front and the peace movement.

We feel that to foster a creative approach in the activity of mass organisations, local party bodies should draw them in greater measure into the drafting of particularly important decisions and rely on public opinion more in their everyday work. This is a dependable means of conveying the party's ideas and proposals to all population groups, including the most socially passive ones.

What are the functions of party and mass organisations? Let us take socialist competition. The party provides general political guidance in this matter while the actual conduct of a competition is the responsibility of trade union and economic bodies. Communists in the enterprises see to it that the aims of the competition are not artificial and accord with the party's economic strategy; if necessary, they propose changes in approach.

We wish to re-emphasise that we have no intention of decreeing—on the pretext of helping improve the work of mass organisations—the ways and means they should use. Unfortunately, party bodies, especially at local level, still tend to proceed in this manner. Some of them occasionally undertake to settle problems which they could safely have left to mass organisations and so released much time and energy for extensive political, explanatory and organising work among the masses.

All party activities and all the improvements made in them are closely interlinked. For example, the necessary numerical growth of the party and improvements in its composition are an unquestionable prerequisite for cohesion and militancy as well as a 'lever of efficiency'. By the same token, it would be hard to speak of improving the methods and content of the work of party organisations without proper training of new personnel. Yet this training itself depends largely on what the given organisation is concerned with, what its members are like and whether they can guarantee the party support from the working people.

We will yet have to do much if we want to coordinate the diverse lines of party work more closely, use scientific research more extensively, make a more in-depth study of the impact of specific phenomena of public life, the economy and ideology on Communists and react to new social trends more promptly. This will help us raise our entire activity to the present level of the tasks and responsibility of the party, which is leading the construction of developed socialism in Hungary.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 261.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 19, p. 409.

new experience

Our Interviews How We Form the Budget

Joaquim Gomes – CC Political
Commission and Secretariat member,
Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)

—What are the main receipts and disbursements of your party's budget?

The PCP's annual budget is made up of membership dues, admission charges to various functions arranged by the grass-roots organisations, special fund-raising drives, receipts from the sale of party publications, deductions from the salaries of our party deputies in the Assembly of the Republic, and state subsidy.¹

Our disbursements consist above all of the salaries paid to party functionaries and outlays on the necessary material and technical facilities, means of transportation, communications, propaganda and agitation. Our party's financial policy at every level is designed to balance our receipts and disbursements. Every organisation draws up its budget with an eye to the objective factors, i.e., the number of party members, their social status, ties with the masses and electoral potentialities. A profound knowledge and understanding of the party's policy and tasks help our party organisations to frame their budget correctly.

—How do the Portuguese Communists pay their party dues? What is the role of funds coming from other sources in the party's financing?

The payment of party dues is Lenin's principle, and it is written into the PCP Statutes. Here, as in many other matters, our party has gained its own experience and naturally acts in the light of its own criteria. Thus, we do not yet believe that it is fair or convenient for the party to lay down membership dues as some fixed quota or percentage of members' earnings—we leave that for them to decide in accordance with their sense of duty. Nor do we believe that it would be right to lay down some minimum quota either.

But none of this should suggest that the PCP's governing bodies fail to give the closest attention to the payment of party dues, because for us it is an important political and organisational problem. In the grass-roots organisation the most regular source of funds used to cover current expenses consists of membership dues paid by the Communists.

Special meetings are regularly held at various party levels to consider the state of things in this sphere. It is the main task of hundreds of Communists to collect membership dues and to see that they are paid without delay. Any arrears are settled once in two years when there is a renewal of party cards.

Let me add that membership dues still make up a small percentage of the party's total receipts, although in some of the bigger organisations they do come to a third of the budget.

It was said at the 10th Congress of the PCP (1983) that 'donations and contributions' were the largest single item of budget receipts. In 1982, for instance, they totalled 90 million escudos. These come from the most diverse sources. There are, for instance, groups of our party's friends in the urban neighbourhoods which collect and make large contributions to the party. These are mainly made up of personal donations by sympathisers and of receipts from paying audiences at cultural, entertainment and athletic functions arranged by Communists. Now and again various valuables and sums of money are either openly or anonymously donated to party committees. People frequently bequeath their estates to the party. Let me emphasise that the very nature of these revenues is a reflection of the PCP's deep ties with the broad masses, and of the trust which people from various walks of life put in the party.

—Now about the disbursements. How are party functionaries paid?

Our assumption is that their salaries should not be much different from the earnings of most Portuguese working people, and a standard salary has been fixed for all party functionaries, regardless of sex, age or level of responsibility, in the light of our experience over the decades. It is equal to or is slightly higher than the minimum wage for the country. Portugal is poor, and the wage-level of its workers is among the lowest in Europe. That is why party functionaries who have to meet higher expenses, for instance, for the maintenance of their families, are given assistance which adds something to their relatively low salaries. But even with the stringent economies, the salaries of party functionaries and the costs incidental to the fulfilment of various assignments make up almost one-third of the party's annual disbursements.

—What are the financial problems facing the PCP and how are they solved?

Here we have many difficulties. Now and again we find it impossible to allocate funds required by grass-roots organisations for better fulfilment of their tasks. Many of these units feel a shortage of various facilities, like sound equipment, printers and duplicators, projectors, etc., all of which impedes organisational and ideological

work. One serious obstacle to its expansion is the absence of party centres in places where the financial potentialities are most limited. In accordance with our established practice, the purchase or building of premises for such centres is funded fully or partly by the organisations which require them.

The financial difficulties are overcome mostly through the Communists' activity, initiative and militancy. Many organisations arrange annual festivals, which are not only political functions, but are also occasions for party-fund-drives. Various functions are also staged for the population for that purpose. In the course of elections, when party outlays tend to increase, we usually arrange special drives to replenish the PCP's funds. These are called 'door-to-door' campaigns, in the course of which teams of Communists circulate our party documents and publications and request the inhabitants of their district to back up the party with their donations.

We have had to set up special bodies and to appoint personnel in order to keep receipts and disbursements in balance. They have the task of studying ways and taking practical measures to replenish funds, including promotion of more vigorous collections of membership dues. A Financial Control Commission has been set up under a decision of the PCP's Eighth Congress (1976) to oversee the spending of funds and to verify accounts, and this naturally leads to a growth of party revenues. Among its functions is the accounting and protection of the property and other assets belonging to the PCP. Well-concerted work by specialised agencies and individual comrades, and their dedication help the party to overcome serious financial problems.

¹ The state subsidies allowed to parties are proportional to the number of votes polled in parliamentary elections.—Ed.

Traditions and Prospects

Carlos Soria — CC member, Communist Party of Bolivia (PCB), Editor-in-Chief of *Unidad*

—The process of democratic renewal began in Bolivia more than two years ago, and the PCB emerged from the underground to become a member of the government coalition.¹ Could you tell us how *Unidad* has been restructuring its work in the new situation?

Let me emphasise, first of all, that our party's periodical never ceased to appear, even in the period of the most brutal repression. It is true that it was a very modest clandestine publication now and again appearing in a limited printing and circulated mainly among Communists. But the very fact that the paper did appear was eloquent evidence that the party was very much alive and fighting.

The new political situation produced by the collapse of the military dictatorship enabled the PCB's active involvement in many spheres of state and social activity. The Communist Party joined the government and some of its leaders took up responsible posts. Ramiro Barrenechea, former Editor-in-Chief of *Unidad*, assumed the functions of Minister of Labour. The radical changes in the party's status and tasks naturally also entailed essential changes in the life of the newspaper.

The first thing that had to be done was to shape a solid core of people capable of arranging the regular issue of our publication. A parallel task was to raise both the

political and ideological level, and the professional skills of our personnel in publishing a newspaper that was readily available and accessible to broad strata of the Bolivian society. Among our central tasks was also to build up *Unidad's* material facilities, increase the size of its printing, and improve the quality of its features. All of that, we believed, could help *Unidad* to transcend the framework of its traditional and strictly party readership, and so to increase the PCB's influence in shaping public opinion.

The first thing we managed to do was to arrange the paper's regular publication: it has been appearing as a weekly since August 1982. The printing has multiplied six-fold, as compared with the clandestine period, and it is still growing. However, the difficulties are still most tangible: We still have no printing facilities of our own and so have to resort to private printing shops, and meeting the costs of production continues to be a problem.

We are aware that it is very hard to fund the newspaper under the economic crisis which has gripped the country. The receipts from the sale of the paper are the most important source of material support of the communist party's periodical. Just now, the bulk of the printing is circulated among the party's regional committees and party cells, while some copies are made available to readers through the public commercial network, the newsstands, but we regard that as a passive form of distribution, which is why we are seeking to revive the old party tradition of voluntary participation by PCB members in selling *Unidad* over the weekend.

—Who writes for the newspaper?

First, there are the authoritative political leaders from among the Party leadership. Second, there is a small group of professional journalists, including members of the editorial staff, and third, there are the paper's non-staff correspondents working mainly in the big cities, such as Santa Cruz (Bolivia's second largest city), Cochabamba, and a number of mining centres.

At Santa Cruz, a member of the party's district committee is doing very well as the paper's own correspondent, and we are now trying to have district committees in other cities designate those who are capable of acting as correspondents for direct ties with the paper.

—How does *Unidad* help the party to conduct its general line?

It does so, first of all, by vigorously fighting the trends hostile to Marxism-Leninism. The newspaper carries on important ideological and educational work. It has a permanent feature entitled 'Ideological Debate', in which controversial problems are analysed. We are engaged, for instance, in a fairly tough polemic with the weekly *Aquí*, which spreads anarcho-syndicalist views in the working class movement.

We also devote special attention to reporting on organisational matters and problems in party construction. We regularly run editorial articles dealing with the most burning issues in the domestic political struggle and explaining the PCB's line of translating into life the programme of transformations elaborated by the Democratic and Popular Unity bloc.

The intense class fight under way in the country over the process of progressive change, and the ceaseless attacks by domestic and foreign reaction on the popular government put before the party and so also before *Unidad* the task of strengthening the UDP in every way, and consolidating the government's ties with the popular masses, a task which those who work on the party press regard as their revolutionary duty.

¹ In October 1982, the progressive coalition of Democratic and Popular Unity (UDP) came to power in Bolivia with its representative Hernán Siles Zuazo taking the post of President of the Republic. For details see the article by F. Rodríguez, 'A Result of the People's Struggle', in *WMR*, No. 1, 1983.—Ed.

Documents

FRANCE

THE IDEALS OF THE RESISTANCE LIVE ON

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party (PCF) has issued a declaration on the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation from the German fascist invaders. It stresses the achievements of the allied armies which made that historical event possible: the Armed Forces of the USSR, which held down and routed the bulk of the German divisions on the Eastern Front, and notes the role of the US and British troops, whose landing in Normandy on June 6, 1944, marked the start of the battle for France, and of the Free French Forces, set up under the leadership of General de Gaulle.

The Political Bureau stresses the indispensable role of the internal Resistance for the country's liberation. The policy of national surrender and betrayal conducted in 1940, which sacrificed the interests of the homeland and the cause of peace to the defence of the privileges of big capital, favoured the Hitlerite aggression and the invasion of France. But French men and women of every political conviction and social condition refused to accept the defeat, and mounted the resistance against the invaders and their accomplices, a movement which developed in breadth and did much for the victory.

The French Communist Party rose to the struggle from the very outset, and paid an especially heavy price in terms of suffering, torture and blood. While being true to the memory of its heroes and martyrs, the PCF pays equal tribute to all the Resistance fighters, regardless of their political convictions.

Throughout the years of ordeal, the Communists were inspired by this two-fold task: to fight the enemy, and to work for the union of the Resistance with all the patriots. Initially, the party resorted to every form of struggle compatible with the disarray of the moment, but as soon as possible commenced its armed struggle by setting up the organisation of francstireurs and partisans. The PCF deployed all its efforts to ensure cooperation of all the patriotic forces under the leadership of the National Resistance Council, took an active part in framing the latter's programme for military operations, democratic transformations and social progress, and brought the full weight of its authority to have the decision on the uprising taken at the most opportune moment.

As a result of the military operations of the Resistance and the successes of the national uprising, cities and whole departments were liberated, substantially accelerating the liberation of France, helping to save the capital and the territory of the country from the total devastation planned by the Hitlerites, and thwarting the plans of the US leaders who, having removed General de Gaulle and his government from the operations in Normandy, had hoped to put France under their tutelage. The forces of the Resistance, the PCF Political Bureau emphasises, restored the country to full independence and assured it of a place among the victors. The Resistance did so much to invigorate the mass popular movement that the liberation was followed by a period of major economic, social and political gains with the participation of Communist ministers, gains which still have a telling effect on the life of the French society as a whole.

Forty years after those events, says the declaration, we are concerned, together with all the other patriots, to have France and its rising generations know the truth about the Resistance and the liberation. It is up to the working people and all progressives to stand up in the new conditions for the noble ideals of the Resistance: peace and national independence, social justice and freedom. Like the participants in

the action of the 1940s, who were able to join efforts for the country's liberation, the present generation of French men and women must achieve unity of action in the struggle for change, for realising the hopes of 1981, for a better life in a democratic France and in a world at peace.

In the Mirror of the Press

Unsere Zeit

UNITY OF EFFORTS: AN IMPERATIVE OF THE TIMES

Unsere Zeit, the newspaper of the German Communist Party (DKP), has carried an article on the pressing problems of cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats. The unity of working class action is always necessary in the class confrontation, it says, but life now and again tends to make it an especially acute problem. That was how the matter stood in the face of the growing threat of fascism, and the efforts to develop the anti-fascist struggle. That is how it also stood after the defeat of Hitlerism, when the issue was whether an anti-fascist democratic system would be established in Germany, or whether the old imperialist property and power relations would be restored. That is how, once again, the matter stands today, when the Reagan Administration's policy of war and the consequent deployment of US first-strike nuclear weapons in Europe pose a threat to mankind's very existence.

That is a situation, the paper says, in which it is especially important for the working class to reckon with the lessons of the past. The most important of these says: there is a need to bring to the fore in due time that which brings us together, and not that which divides, and to work for cohesion in the struggle, because our strength and invincibility lie in joint action. In the present context this means that if the working class succeeds in uniting and mobilising all its forces, it will be possible to halt the swing to the right, the deployments of US missiles, the accelerated buildup of armaments and the attempts by the ruling big capital to get out of the crisis at the working people's expense; it will also be possible to get development to run along the way of democratic and social progress, and to compel the conduct of a constructive peace policy.

The common class interests objectively create the basis for joint action by the working class, the Social Democrats and the Communists. Their task, the Communists have always believed, is to help all the working people to become aware of such interests, but this has been and continues to be a far from easy task. However, the situation that has now taken shape also forcefully impels the Social Democrats to decide on the need for joint efforts.

In a situation in which both Social Democrats and Communists equally fall victim to unemployment or are faced with the threat of it, while Communist and Social Democratic young people both suffer from the catastrophic shortage of places within the occupational training system, when the 'social dismantling' makes no distinction between party affiliation, and the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe impends over one and all—there is also a growing understanding of the community of interests in the midst of the Social Democrats and a growing area of identical views and demands.

Today one can speak not only of greater potentialities for joint action by the

working class and for cooperation between DKP and SPD members, but also of the fact that it is much more pronounced in practice than ever before. Evidence of this comes from the joint action by Social Democrats, Communists, non-party people and believers among workers and employees in initiative groups in defence of peace, the movement for peace, strike battles for a shorter work-week, and in diverse action against mass layoffs, for job security, and for the right to education and occupational training.

The SDP Board has followed the DKP Board in calling on the working people to take part in the action of the peace movement in the closing months of 1984. Would it not be logical, asks *Unsere Zeit*, to have Social Democrats and Communists together with other democratic forces jointly mobilising the people at the enterprises, in the neighbourhoods and at the academic institutions for participation in these actions?

Discussions are quite naturally held in the course of contacts and cooperation between Social Democrats and Communists, for opinions tend to differ in virtue of the dissimilar world views, and political and ideological tenets. For the Communists, efforts aimed at unity have never implied any repudiation of principle. 'The DKP,' says its Programme, 'seeks to use the slightest coincidence of views as the starting point for joint action for common purposes. At the same time, it is precisely for the purposes of joint action that there is a need for a principled fight against anti-communism, the social partnership ideology, and any attacks on cooperation between Social Democrats and Communists.'

It is obvious, the paper goes on, that some trade union leaders and a large number of leading functionaries of social democracy continue to be oriented towards social partnership in their relations with the employers' associations and the Federal Government, despite the negative experience of social partnership. The Communists will continue to combat 'class peace' conceptions, however these may be substantiated. That is a standpoint accepted by many trade union members and functionaries from among Social Democrats who have come to realise—not least importantly as a result of the strike battles for a shorter work-week—that the working class can stand up for its interests only through struggle in solidarity.

However, the paper says, other views will also be found in the SDP, and one need merely recall the attacks on unity by the chairman of the Trade Union of Workers in the Chemical, Paper and Ceramic Industry, SPD Federal Secretary Peter Glotz, who claimed that 'the elephant and the mosquito' will find it hard to start cooperating with each other.

But everyone knows that the 'mosquito' is capable of action. The DKP has never made the problem of cooperation contingent on whether a partner was big or small, because it always attached fundamental importance to the substance of the struggle and the cohesion of all the working class forces. Besides, 'big' and 'small' are relative notions. The effectiveness of vigorous action by thousands of Communists in intensifying the movement for peace and in spreading the struggle of the working class and extra-parliamentary movements is often assessed more correctly by our class adversaries than by many others.

But the DKP is aware that the prerequisites and potentialities for attaining unity of action tend to increase with the strength of the communist party itself and with its influence in the masses, but this relation does not operate automatically. It always depends on the place assigned to the line of joint action in the Communists' practice, and on how vigorously they work to implement this cardinal line of their policy.

Komunist

PRESSING TASKS

The weekly *Komunist*, organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY),

recently carried an article on the current problems in ideological work. It emphasised that attacks on the party's policy have been growing ever more acute, with multiplying claims about the LCY being ineffective and powerless in solving the problems. *Komunist* warns about the danger of underestimating the activity of the anti-socialist forces, and says that party organisations should concentrate their attention on putting through the long-term economic stabilisation programme.

In the course of an ongoing discussion in the LCY on fortifying the party's leading role, the article says, much is being said about the need to improve ideological work. Hopes are well justified, the weekly says in conclusion, that LCY organisations will bend every effort to fulfil this important task.

VPK Information

CREDIT GOES TO THE COMMUNIST REPRESENTATIVE

The journal of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden (VPK) has described the activity of the party's representative on the municipal council of Göteborg, the country's second-ranking industrial centre.

Berit Johannesson, a member of the Communist Party, has been working on the various commissions of the municipal council since 1977. In 1983, she was elected to the post of counsellor for culture and recreation, and so has a marked influence on the solution of these problems. She has an important say in the allocation of municipal funds, and is concerned with rationally organising the recreation of young people and children, helping in the work of music and other circles and groups, and in the establishment of children's playgrounds in the neighbourhoods. A festival of Finnish culture, for instance, was recently staged in the city at her initiative.

The journal cites some other concrete examples of the vigorous activity of the VPK representative for the wellbeing of all the inhabitants of Göteborg. Last winter, the city's National Theatre found itself facing the prospects of closure, and its actors living from hand to mouth because of a shortage of funds. Berit Johannesson got the municipal council to give the theatre an extraordinary subsidy, and this helped the city to preserve that most important cultural centre. She also took a firm stand in the solution of another fundamental problem involving a proposal from the Volvo automobile works to provide funds for the expansion of Göteborg's symphony orchestra. The bourgeois mass media sang the praises of that generous patron of the arts, while the Social Democrats, who are heavily represented on the municipal council, were inclined to accept the offer unconditionally. While recognising the importance of providing the musicians with funds, the Communists insisted on a more dignified form of support. As a result, the money was paid into the municipal budget, so that the orchestra was not funded by the monopoly outfit but by the city authorities.

A Personal Impression

PARTY SCIENCE CENTRE

The growth of the party's leading role is determined by the scale, complexity and novelty of the problems arising at the stage of building developed socialism, an intricate and multifaceted process ranging over various aspects of

the communist vanguard's activity and implying greater efficiency and high quality of its work, notably in improving party construction. One of the lines along which this task is being tackled in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is described by *WMR* staff member Sergei Yastrzhembsky.

A street in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, which is known as Pionersky Put (The Way of the Pioneer), has no remarkable features at first sight, and runs some way from the much frequented central arteries of the capital, but it is well known to many Bulgarian Communists from one end of the country to the other. In a southwestern suburb of Sofia, it is the site of the Bulgarian Communist Party's scientific centre: the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management under the BCP CC, together with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the centres of the theory and control of the ideological process, party construction and economic management, which are incorporated into the structure of the Academy. A mere listing of these names shows the diversity of the creative efforts being made by Bulgarian social scientists.

Here are a few facts to show just what the Academy is doing. Almost 1,000 staff members are engaged in scientific research, academic work (highly skilled party cadres are trained at the Academy) and administrative work. The scientists engaged in research also lecture and teach. More than 1,000 persons are simultaneously enrolled at the course of varying duration, and one finds that the conditions for their study and life are most favourable. These include spacious lecture halls, comfortable hostels, various athletic facilities and a cinema. In the academic grounds, one will also find the Higher Young Communist School under the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League and the party school of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP, which are administratively independent but which have scientific and academic ties with the Academy.

I must admit that I was tempted to describe in detail the concerns and duties of all these units of the Academy, for each is engaged in a very important, interesting and highly necessary party endeavour and has gained experience that deserves to be studied. But that would take too much space, and so I shall confine myself to describing only one of the Academy's units, namely, the Party Construction Centre, which is engaged in coordinating nationally the study, summing-up and prognostication of problems connected with the most important sphere of party activity.

Its director, R. Rachkov, spoke of the Centre's history and structure, the main lines of its work, and the tasks before it:

'The first thing we did after the Political Bureau of the BCP CC passed a decision to set up the Centre in April 1975 was to review the very approach to the science of party construction, and as in any new undertaking, there was much discussion and clash of opinion, but we eventually managed to prove that it was an independent theoretical science, with its own categories and subject-matter: the uniformities, principles and norms on which the communist party functions. That was the basis on which three key spheres of the Centre's activity were determined: research, consultancy and expertise, and academic studies.'

Working at the Centre are specialists from various fields of science; historians, philosophers, economists, teachers, social psychologists. They are not armchair scientists, but researchers closely in touch with practice studying the natural sphere in which party organisations function and the actual experience of their inter-relations with the masses. Such a style of work fully accords with the BCP leadership's call to tie in Bulgarian social science even more closely with the problems in the life of the working man. 'What are the returns in the Centre's studies? How valid and applicable are they to practice? That is far from being an idle question, because it is one of the most important criteria in assessing the activity of any scientific institution.

There is a wide-ranging book exposition at the Centre among which are a part of its

products as materialised in the collective works, monographs, collections and pamphlets. On the shelves one will find scientific works on such important problems as the uniformities governing the development of the BCP, the regulation of its quality and quantity composition, the effectiveness and quality of party work, the primary party organisation in the work collective, and so on. Comrade Rachkov drew our attention to a small-format book whose preparation and publication are regarded at the Centre as a major success. It is a dictionary of party construction containing nearly 600 entries, the most complete dictionary of all those published in the socialist countries.² The brisk demand for it among party workers best shows just how timely its publication is.

However, the main emphasis of the Centre's practical efforts is, after all, not on the preparation of scientific works, but on consultancy and expertise, which includes assistance to BCP CC departments, and party regional and community committees in studying, summing up and popularising advanced experience, in arranging plenary meetings and conferences, and in drafting their decisions.

The following example will illustrate the mechanism through which the scientists and party committees interact. In early 1984, Sofia's Dimitrov District BCP Committee decided to discuss the improvement of work style, and addressed itself to the Centre. A group of specialists carried out what are known as 'field studies' by visiting enterprises and other establishments, taking polls, and making a detailed study of the style and forms of work of the party organisations (observation, first-hand impressions and direct ties with the masses are the accepted golden rule at the Centre). The information so collected was then summed up, and the conclusions and recommendations discussed at a plenary meeting of the district committee, which mapped out a programme of measures to correct the shortcomings.

Scientists are now working on an assignment from the BCP CC in analysing the ample statistical data relating to the complex problem of effectively applying disciplinary measures with respect to Communists. Specialists from the Centre help to arrange regular party constructive days, weeks and months in the regions to discuss some concrete problems, such as the inter-connection of democracy and discipline, the heightening of the Communists' activity, and so on.

The search for criteria in assessing the quality of party work is a new aspect in the activity of the scientists. The Bulgarian comrades said that the results of the efforts exerted by party committees are nowadays no longer measured by centners of wheat, kilograms of slaughter meat, or number of meetings held, for life demands another approach and different indicators and criteria. Special attention is being given to the scientific and practical elaboration of these problems.

The Centre attaches much importance to the differentiated training of cadres on party construction problems. Representatives of every echelon of the BCP party apparatus and leading functionaries of the YCL, the trade unions, the Fatherland Front, and the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union are enrolled at the full-time, correspondence and numerous short-term courses, to study the theory of Marxism-Leninism, modern social sciences and the BCP's past record and present experience. These studies are based on the problems approach, which helps the students to see the various aspects of the tasks now being tackled by the BCP.

It is hard simply to list all the problems of party guidance of the political, socio-economic and ideological processes on which lectures are offered to students, but it is safe to say that the study process, like the multi-faceted activity of the Party Construction Centre, are in tune with the times, because they are based on that which has been proved by practice, worked out by the party's collective thinking, and produced by the creativity of the masses.

¹ See: Todor Zhivkov, *Report of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the 12th Congress and the Tasks Ahead*, Sofia, 1981, p. 63 (in Bulgarian).

² *Dictionary of Party Construction*, Sofia, 1983 (in Bulgarian).

In Brief

BELGIUM

The newspaper *La Drapeau Rouge* (published in French) and the weekly *De Rode Vaan* (in Flemish) held their traditional festival of the Belgian communist press in a working class neighbourhood of Brussels.

DENMARK

A plaque in memory of V. I. Lenin, the founder of the world's first socialist state, was unveiled at a ceremony in Vasterbrogade Street to commemorate his visit to Copenhagen on the occasion of the Eight Congress of the Second International (August-September 1910).

FRG

The German Communist Party increased the number of its seats on the city assemblies from 20 to 26 in the course of communal elections in North Rhine-Westphalia, the country's largest Land. DKP candidates were also elected to three district councils, to two of them for the first time.

GREECE

Rizospastis days were held in Athens to mark the 10th anniversary of the resumption of legal publication by the organ of the Communist Party of Greece. The discussion and meetings arranged on the occasion drew thousands of the paper's readers, prominent members of Greece's progressive movement, and numerous representatives of the international communist press.

MONGOLIA

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has passed a resolution on measures for further improving the system of party studies. Among other things, it introduces eight main forms of study, including schools for young Communists, party and economic activists, seasonal schools for livestock breeders who are party members, and the like. Higher school graduates will be offered special courses upon graduation from which they will be awarded young-specialist diplomas together with propagandist certificates.

SAN MARINO

Giuseppe Amici, a member of the leadership of the San Marino Communist Party, has been elected one of the two Captains-Regent of the Republic for the next six months.

exchange of views, discussion

Anti-Communism: An Obstacle to Social Progress

The *WMR* Commission on General Theoretical Problems has conducted a round-table discussion of anti-communist ideological slogans and policy lines in the 1980s.

Taking part in the discussion were **Felipe Rodriguez**, CC member, Communist Party of Bolivia; **Orel Viciani**, representative of the Communist Party of Chile on the *WMR*; **Raul Valdés Vivó**, CC member, Communist Party of Cuba; **Agamemnon Stavrou**, CC member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus; **Farid Mougahed**, CC member, Egyptian Communist Party; **Donald Ramotar**, CC Executive Committee member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana; **Ibraheem Malik**, CC member, Communist Party of Israel; **Rupert Lewis**, CC member, Workers' Party of Jamaica; **Ahmed Aziz**, Jordanian Communist Party representative on the *WMR*; **Naim Ashhab**, CC Political Bureau member, Palestinian Communist Party; **Cesar Jiménez**, Peruvian Communist Party representative on the *WMR*; **José Lava**, CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of the Philippines; **Sémou Pathé Gueye**, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, Senegal Party of Independence and Labour; **Ahmed Salem**, Sudanese Communist Party representative on the *WMR*; **Samuel Behak**, Communist Party of Uruguay representative on the *WMR*; and **Ho Chi Bang**, Communist Party of Vietnam representative on the *WMR*.

The round table participants noted that in today's world, anti-communism was an ideological and political weapon of imperialism turned against existing socialism, against the policies and social objectives of communist parties and against Marxism-Leninism. All this spotlights the reactionary social role played by anti-communism, as well as its political and ideological slogans.

Viewed in historical terms, anti-communism is the foremost tool of reaction in its attempts to bring social progress to a standstill. In the context of specific, everyday realities it is a special policy the bourgeoisie resorts to in order to defeat the communist movement and crush the struggle of the working masses for social equality and emancipation from capitalist exploitation. From the ideological standpoint, anti-communism draws on the entire arsenal of bourgeois ideology, primarily on the more obscuratist bourgeois social concepts.

What, then, are the more general political and ideological aspects of anti-communism currently in the foreground?

Participants in the discussion stated that the ultra-reactionary quarters of contemporary capitalism — finance oligarchy, military-industrial complexes, neoconservatives, fanatical fundamentalists, imperialist and neocolonialist interests — used anti-communism in their attempt to stem the tide of all three streams of the world revolutionary process: existing socialism, the working class struggle in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement. Here, efforts to weaken communist and workers' parties, the vanguard of today's social movements, are among the more

"radical" methods by which major problems of contemporary capitalism are supposed to be solved. This has always been the strategic course of our class opponents. However, the speakers noted, today it takes especially flagrant forms on all fronts of the political battles.

While vigorously making use of underhand political scheming and propaganda frauds, anti-communists now obviously tend to resort to the more crude and violent methods of suppressing communist and democratic forces by reckless military and political ventures. Imperialism has chosen anti-communism to spearhead the "crusade" against these growing forces and is trying to turn it into the "pivotal principle" of the ideology and politics of the bourgeois class. Simultaneously, steps are being taken to encourage and ensure continued operation of the so-called positive version of anti-communism which opposes Marxism-Leninism by advancing the "new trends" conceptual programmes of the bourgeois social system or by advocating "third ways" between capitalism and socialism. At the international level however, this "positive" version is relegated to the background, yielding the priority role to the "shock" type of anti-communism.

The speakers held that further intensification of anti-Sovietism is another of the more significant shifts in the ideological and political structures of anti-communism in the 1980s. There is nothing new in the anti-Soviet objectives of dismissing and compromising the economic and social accomplishments of the USSR, slanderously interpreting the ideology of Marxism-Leninism as utopian, discrediting the Soviet state system as "totalitarian", Soviet foreign policy as "aggressive", and domestic policy as a Juggernaut which "dehumanises" social relations. Never before has anti-Sovietism been injected so widely into global problems, never has it pushed its way so brazenly into international relations, into issues of war and peace. The "crusade" against the Soviet Union is the key idea permeating the global strategy pursued by the extreme right wing of imperialism, above all of US imperialism. The perverse logic inherent in this type of thinking presents Soviet "subversion" as the source of all social change anywhere in the world; the anti-communism of the 1980s proclaims its credo of "rolling back" communism and dumping it on the "ash heap of history" throughout the world, above all by means of military and political suppression.

As noted in the discussion, all these salient features of contemporary anti-communism which recent years have thrown into particularly bold relief are, in the final analysis, a reflection of the convulsive efforts of the world's reactionary forces to reverse the march of history.

Given the importance of analysing, in these circumstances, both the shifts in anti-communism as such and the changes in its social role, the speakers made a number of points assessing, from two angles, the distinctive features in the objectives, essence and methods of this ideological and political phenomenon. On the one hand, they examined the positions of anti-communism vis-a-vis the world revolutionary process in connection with the issue of peaceful coexistence of the two systems and with the development of national liberation movements. On the other hand, they offered specific descriptions of some features of anti-communism at the national level which were prompted by the growth of working class political consciousness in this or that country by the degree to which democratic institutions were developed there, by the character of the political dictatorship of the ruling classes, the intensity of the social struggle, etc.

Ideological and Political Reaction on the World Scene

Since the world revolutionary process is now inseparable from the content of international relations, the ideology and politics of anti-communism are substantive factors of these relations.

The intensification of the pragmatic function anti-communism discharges is the

immediate reaction to the internationalisation of the social struggle and its increasingly close ties with the struggle for peace. Attempting to take on the role of coordinator in the anti-social and anti-socialist policy pursued by state-monopoly capitalism in international affairs, anti-communism offers a false and insidious dilemma to mankind: either the world accepts and adopts the organisational and hierarchical structures and spiritual values of "cosmopolitanism", "planetary thinking", and "Americanism" and the economic principles of transnational corporations — or humanity will inevitably face the horrors of "global terrorism", "totalitarian rule" and the "Soviet military threat".

These stereotypes not only completely distort reality; they also transplant, deliberately and without justification, the concept of ideological confrontation to the sphere of intergovernmental relations, completely misrepresent their essence and peddle false logic: since, as Marxism admits, capitalism and socialism are ideologically incompatible, physical extermination of existing socialism, not peaceful coexistence of the two socio-political systems is the only political solution to the problem.

To substantiate this cannibalistic concept fraught with grave danger to mankind's future, ideologists of anti-communism refer to the actually existing and quite natural trends towards internationalisation of the world's economic and cultural relations and cite the emergence of truly global problems (prevention of nuclear catastrophe, preservation of the environment, etc.). But all this is presented as "proof" that socialism has no future, that the world will be inevitably dominated by the political and organisational structures a la "postindustrial" or "technotronic" transnational capitalism. This was examined thoroughly by **Sémou Pathé Gueye** and other speakers.

In their analysis of this aspect of anti-communism, participants in the discussion singled out the following facts. First, the aggressive "planetary" ideology of imperialism, an ideology claiming to create a world order that suits imperialism, is rooted not so much in the socio-economic interest and ideological precepts of the entire capitalist class as in the requirements of the state-monopoly quarters which are vying for domination on a supranational, global scale. This is what prompts anti-communism to expand beyond national boundaries and makes it in to an ideological and political factor in the exacerbation of international tensions. In actual fact, this course stems above all from the imperial ambitions of the US ruling quarters. Second, anti-communism is connected with the fears felt in the three major centres of the capitalist world (the United States, Western Europe and Japan) that revolutionary processes will prejudice their economic survival. Third, the efforts of transnational corporations which try to consolidate their neocolonialist positions also stimulate anti-communism.

José Lava, Samuel Behak and **Rupert Lewis** stressed that on the other hand, the "propaganda warfare" machinery which anti-communism had launched into top gear was now an additional and, to a certain degree, even independently operating factor which enhanced the political influence of the militarist and reactionary factions of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The essence of **anti-Sovietism**, a major component of contemporary anti-communism, was discussed in greater detail. The role this component plays is obvious. Success in the efforts to avert the nuclear threat and in the struggle of working people for emancipation from class and national exploitation will depend to a great extent on the peace policy conducted by the USSR, on its vigorous involvement in the worldwide anti-war movement. Since it pursues objectives diametrically opposed to the goals of this policy of peace and social progress, anti-communism fights this course under the banner of anti-Sovietism. **Ahmed Salem, Orel Viciani** and **Raul Valdés Vivó** noted that today, two methods of stimulating anti-Sovietism were gaining strength.

One of these can be described as the groundless and much-publicised assertion that Soviet foreign policy is "no longer guided" by class, social interests. Anti-communist theorists offer a one-sided interpretation of international relations as purely

"geopolitical" and reduce them to nothing more than "national" or regional conflicts. In this way the social content of socialist foreign policy, ultimately aimed at ensuring the necessary conditions for the working masses' peaceful and creative life and for turning society into a humanitarian entity is dismissed summarily. The "geopolitical" approach denies the internationalisation of revolutionary processes, a distinct feature Marx noted long ago, when he said that "the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor national, but a social problem, embracing all countries".¹

Today, revolutionary movements in individual countries and on the global scale are linked especially closely with the international political solidarity of the progressive forces, with Soviet support. In the words of **Agamemnon Stavrou**, this is precisely why negation of the role of the USSR as the mainstay of peace and national independence, as the creator of new social relations, is increasingly often becoming the ideological backbone of contemporary anti-communism. Washington persists in its attempts to sever the spiritual bonds linking the working masses and national democratic movements with the Soviet Union.

According to **José Lava**, **Ho Chi Bang** and other speakers, the disguise anti-communism uses in Asian countries includes the outwardly neutral concepts of "the two superpowers", of "equidistance" from them, as well as the tendency to interpret any event only in the "East-West", "North-South" or some such context.

Holding forth on the direct "confrontation" between capitalism and socialism in Latin America, allegedly inevitable because of the geographical contiguity of the United States and Cuba, US imperialism makes use of the Monroe Doctrine and the doctrines of Pan-Americanism and inter-Americanism. Central to these doctrines is the notion of a "Red peril", of a "Soviet military threat". On the basis of a concept claiming that there is a common "internal" and "external" enemy, the need is proclaimed for a single system of "national security" involving the United States and Latin American countries. And, under the pretext that the third world war is already on in Latin America which has allegedly become a theatre of operations, anti-communist propaganda calls for anti-Sovietism and attacks against Communists there to assume violent, "wartime" forms. **Orel Viciani** noted that against this background anti-communism in the Western Hemisphere was stepping up its psychological warfare against the USSR and other socialist countries.

In the opinion of **Sémou Pathé Gueye**, playing on certain differences in the positions of individual communist parties with regard to this or that specific issue has always been another important means of fomenting anti-Sovietism. This method is no novelty. In his time, Lenin pointed out that anti-communists had long tried to use the "strife" of various trends within the international socialist movement, that they had sought to benefit from the struggle of socialist opportunism against international revolutionary Social Democracy.² Today this insidious policy is pursued with increasing sophistication. According to **Donald Ramotar**, anti-communism usually makes underhand and demagogic attempts to foist on the working class and democratic movement, on communist parties in capitalist countries the notion that they should demonstrate the "independence of their views and policies from the Soviet Union".

But this is not all there is to the insidious methods of anti-communism, emphasised **Ho Chi Bang**. In many cases it allies itself openly with right-wing and "left" revisionism, since moves by these quarters often present fertile opportunities for anti-socialist propaganda. For example, the Reagan Administration tries to discredit existing socialism and its ideals by pointing to the bloodbath the Pol Pot regime unleashed in Kampuchea. On the other hand, anti-communist theorists are ostentatiously and vociferously debating, say, whether the Soviet Union and Cuba "export" the revolutionary process or "block" it for reasons of "national security", whether this breeds contradictions among the socialist countries, etc. Ideas and facts are juggled clumsily in order to convince progressive movements in developing

countries that the Soviet union is inevitably "losing its revolutionary spirit" and acting almost in collusion with imperialism.

In other words, the speakers stated that anti-Sovietism was now the cornerstone of anti-communism and that to artificially divide the two, the way some quarters tried to do, was a fallacy dangerous to the cause of peace and social progress.

Passing to the examination of the ways in which anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda affected international public opinion, participants in the discussion noted that in capitalist countries these activities relied to a great extent on support from government bodies and influential political quarters. **Ibraheem Malik** cited the example of Israel which had been turned into an integrated ideological centre of sorts in the capitalist world, its activities aimed at falsifying literature on Marxist theory, and at searching for new and sophisticated methods of implanting anti-Soviet stereotypes in people's minds.

Many speakers noted that, nevertheless, socialist counter-propaganda was effective in neutralising anti-communist subversion increasingly often. The great strength of our propaganda, **Raul Valdés Vivó** emphasised, is that it is truthful. Its effectiveness is considerably enhanced by the practical steps taken by ruling communist parties to realise working people's interests. Naturally, the building of a new society which aims at meeting the growing requirements of the people, the sole master of this social system, is in itself a complex task involving great difficulties. Besides, the hostile policy of imperialism and the need to allocate sizable funds to defence inevitably aggravate these difficulties, and our enemies cite them in an attempt to malign existing socialism. The relevant experience of socialist Cuba demonstrates that the masses support their revolutionary government with particular enthusiasm when the actual state of affairs is explained to them, when they realise that it is impossible to overcome all difficulties at once but that everything possible is being done to overcome them and to correct possible mistakes. These explanations help to mobilise the masses which communist parties inspire and direct in the building of socialism.

Participants in the discussion stated that effectiveness in the revolutionary working class parties' efforts to rebuff their ideological and political enemy would depend on the degree of their proletarian internationalist unity, on the vigour of the broad anti-imperialist front fighting for peace and social progress.

Relying on Bourgeois Nationalism

The distinctly national peculiarities of anti-communism in the capitalist world are products of the direct and open confrontation of the two principal political forces. On one side there are the communist and workers' parties which are at the head of revolutionary democratic movements; on the other side there are the reactionaries who try to decapitate the former both physically and ideologically. Reaction disguises these moves by claiming to uphold "national" interest, by labelling Communists "irresponsible spokesmen" for marginal groups and anti-national interests, by calling them "cat's-paws of Moscow" and the like. It follows that "local" anti-communism is nurtured above all by bourgeois nationalism.

Naturally, this does not mean that at the national level, anti-Sovietism or the obsession of anti-communism with military and political ventures are in any way weakened. As a rule, anything goes in fighting against Communists, although here the order of priorities is sometimes different from what it is in "supranational" anti-communism. To the latter, the most important task is to weaken world socialism and only then, individual communist parties. However, at the national level the foremost task of the reactionaries is to eliminate local communist parties; the struggle against the world communist movement and existing socialism being an additional means of undermining national revolutionary democratic forces. Of course, this differentiation between the priorities is very relative: imperialism is trying to conduct its offensive along all inter-related lines and at all levels.

Analysing the philosophy and the political action methods of "national" anti-communism, many participants in the discussion noted that the idea of violence was becoming increasingly prominent in such of its components as bourgeois nationalism, religious fanaticism and petty-bourgeois socialism.

As **Samuel Behak** pointed out, counter-revolutionary wave orchestrated by US imperialism and the local oligarchies swept Latin America in the 1970s. The coups and violence against the people in Chile and Uruguay — and earlier, in Brazil and Bolivia and then in Argentina — fell back on doctrines which preached "internal security" and "internal struggle" against the people. Here, the weapons were the more reactionary elements in the army command, those trained in the Pentagon's and the CIA's schools. Distinctly different programmes and modes of action were applied in different countries. For example, in Uruguay the dictatorship openly switched to fascist terrorist methods in the mid-1970s and tried to restructure the state "vertically" along the lines of Franco's and Mussolini's regimes. It launched an offensive against the country's democratic traditions and declared that it would banish the Communist Party and all progressive political forces from public life for 50 years. Recent events have shown that the people of Uruguay have succeeded in routing the dictatorship and have struck a blow against anti-communism.

Cesar Jiménez examined a broader range of the ideological and political forms of anti-communism in Latin America. He said that in Peru, the more reactionary, oligarchic and proimperialist political forces included truly fascist elements which advocated brutal reprisals and terrorism. There are also ultra-rightist social Christian trends within the People's Christian Party bearing the imprint, among other things, of West German Christian Democratic ideology. In contrast to this, the influence of the so-called theology of liberation is felt in the bourgeois national reformism of Peru's Christian Democratic Party. Besides, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance comprises a broad range of ideological and political trends — from openly proimperialist, anti-communist and profascist to bourgeois reformist and even revolutionary nationalist with their less blatant or disguised anti-communism. On the other hand, there are those Social Christians on the country's political scene who advocated socialism and have joined the Communists in the United Left, but who nevertheless retain a certain prejudice with regard to communism and the socialist countries. Finally, there are the ultra-leftist quarters which outwardly expound extremely revolutionary views but in actual fact engage in petty-bourgeois reformism and spend more time attacking the socialist countries and the PCP than criticising US imperialism.

Participants in the discussion also described the so-called transitional ideological and political forms of anti-communism rooted in the concepts claiming that, due to certain distinctive features, Latin American capitalism was in opposition to the United States and NATO. Sometimes, within the framework of these forms, commitment to "regional" concepts is proclaimed; these deny the leading role of the working class and confer the role of the social leader on a nation's intellectuals, but they do advocate democratic and anti-imperialist transformations. Still, this type of anti-communism, too, incorporates anti-Soviet and "national reform" slogans in its policy demands. In some cases, these reflect the ideology of social reformism and in others, that of leftist trends.

Several participants in the round table described the ideological currents of anti-communism arising in the Middle East. **Farid Mougahed** noted that in Egypt a conservative and a liberal current could be roughly singled out. Sadat was typical for the former. The trend is trying to work out a particularly malicious theoretical rationale of anti-communism, echoing the obscurantist religious principles of the Saudi leaders and the anti-Soviet slogans of US reactionaries. Among other things, the conservatives finance scores of research projects at Cairo University, promote anti-communist features in the newspaper *Al Ahram*, etc. Their political base is made up of

organisations of the Moslem Brothers type; since their establishment in the 1920s, they have been advocating extremely reactionary views and been active in many Moslem countries.

At the same time, the liberal bourgeois trend in anti-communism also plays a substantial ideological and political role in Egypt. Its spokesmen — for example, the journalist M. Kheikal, the leaders of the recently established New Wafd Party and renegade members of the Egyptian Communist Party — reject Marxism-Leninism and attempt to create a platform of their own which would combine ideological elements of Marxism, Islam and bourgeois liberalism. It appears that generally, these trends will be more dangerous to Egypt's Communists than virulently anti-communist conservatism because they are based on sentiments that are rather well established among Arab bourgeois nationalists.

Ahmed Aziz stated that in Jordan, anti-communism was nurtured by cultural and ideological factors. On the one hand, there is the extreme conservatism of certain Islamic figures. On the other hand, there is American culture and traditional Western bourgeois ideology which enter the country via many channels, particularly the education system.

Ibraheem Malik stressed that anti-communist tendencies were becoming increasingly aggressive in Israel. Contributing factors include the exacerbation of the economic and political crisis in the country, the advent of the state-monopoly stage of capitalist development, the fact that power has passed to representatives of the ultra-conservative wing of the bourgeoisie, as well as the militarisation of the social fabric.

Sémou Pathé Gueye spoke about the distinct forms of the "moderate" type of anti-communism (moderate in terms of recourse to violence) taking its nourishment from the ideas of "traditionalist socialism" and religion in Black Africa. Underlying this trend is the unscientific concept which presents African social relations as "unique" and dismisses Marxist ideology as "foreign", "imported" and alien to the "African spirit". Addressed to the indigenous intellectuals, this kind of demagoguery is aimed at isolating the masses from socialism and Marxism which allegedly advocate "violence" and "totalitarian rule".

Analysing the ratio of "cannibalistic" and "moderate" forms of anti-communist ideology and policies, participants in the discussion noted that the ruling quarters of a given country might use the two forms either alternately or simultaneously. For example in the opinion of **Orel Viciani**, the Pinochet regime is about to exhaust its potential for survival by violence. For this reason the more reactionary financial interests are moving to effect a political reorganisation in a bid to preserve, with the fascist dictatorship clearly facing the prospect of a fall, their domination by different methods. Even US imperialism, while still supporting Pinochet, is aware that this card may be played.

As the discussion of the distinctive features of anti-communism operating at the national and regional levels concluded, it was noted that the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and of the national liberation movements was growing increasingly active amid the fierce struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the ideology which played on the extremism of bourgeois nationalism. This is a pitched battle. First, reactionary forces are often quite successful in feeding on the growth of the masses' national self-awareness. Second, the particular vulnerability of the masses' spontaneous consciousness to bourgeois ideology is explained, as Lenin wrote, by the fact that this ideology "is far older in origin than socialist ideology, that it is more fully developed, and that it has at its disposal *immeasurably* more means of dissemination"; he said that "the younger the socialist movement in any given country, the more vigorously it must struggle against all attempts to entrench non-socialist ideology".³

At the same time, participants in the discussion stressed that the historical prospects of bourgeois nationalism were limited because neither its theory nor its political practice was capable of ensuring social progress in today's world. Inevitably,

nationalism is suppressed by transnational capital and by the imperialism of the leading capitalist powers. And so, without cooperation with the international working class movement and with the socialist community it is virtually impossible to ensure durable peace or economic, scientific, technological and social progress of developing countries. Therefore, the enhancement of international consciousness in the masses, a process promoted above all by communist parties, is indispensable for working people to gain a class awareness and grasp the social nature of all relations permeating bourgeois society.

The discussion concerning the distinctive features of national anti-communism, particularly those emerging in the Third World, also touched upon the question of religion. **Donald Ramotar**, **Sémou Pathé Gueye** and others pointed out that obscurantist religious dogma often became an additional argument of anti-communist ideology and was a factor contributing to its extremist social manifestations.

Naim Ashhab stressed in this connection that the objective of our enemies was to play on the contradictions between communist ideology and religious dogma; this could be seen easily from the way reactionary regimes operated in the Middle East.

In the view of **Rupert Lewis** and **Ahmed Salem**, the fact that anti-communists use the current "neoconservative upsurge" in capitalist countries and the religious sentiments of the masses to combat communism is a development typical of recent years. In this context, Reagan's "Christian" pulpit-pounding is no accident.

Naturally, there can be no uniform approach to the problem of Communists and religion. It is now common knowledge that in the struggle for peace, some ecclesiastical quarters advocate views which coincide in part with the policy of the socialist countries. Communists and believers share common ground with regard to many issues of the social struggle. **Felipe Rodriguez** noted that for this reason it was becoming increasingly difficult for anti-communism to use the Catholic Church — for example, in Latin America — against revolutionary movements. The inability of imperialism to turn the religious feelings of Nicaragua's rural population against the revolution is a case in point. **Farid Mougahed** added that in Egypt, too, there was now an ideological and political current of Islam which incorporated democratic elements, relied on the Islamic precepts proclaiming ideas of equality, opposed anti-Sovietism, etc.

Nevertheless, participants in the round table also emphasised that anti-communism drew its energy from the fundamental difference between Marxist-Leninist ideology and religious philosophy and made vigorous use of the support it received from reactionary clericalists. True, thanks to resistance by Communists and all democratic forces, this support is far from always effective. Such shifts are occurring in spite of the fact that the leaders of several Arab countries, above all of Saudi Arabia, are supported by Moslem fanatics who proclaim the objective of "halting the advance of Communism".

* * *

Summing up the analysis of the distinct socio-ideological features, forms and political methods of contemporary anti-communism, round table participants stated that its reliance on the postulates of bourgeois nationalism and on religious dogma was capable of producing merely eclectic and retrograde ideological programmes in which the principle of political violence, anti-Sovietism and historical nihilism increasingly moved to form the core. It is equally obvious that, despite the certain differences in the order of priorities concerning the objectives, arguments and action of anti-communism at the international and national levels, it performs one and the same social function bourgeois reaction and imperialism have charged it with. Finally, the record shows that anti-communism is trying to take "social revenge" on the communist movement by stepping up psychological warfare.

In the opinion of the speakers, all these salient features of contemporary anti-

communism are by no means of abstract concern to the revolutionary democratic forces in all countries. The international situation is now so tense and the class struggle so acute that the future of the world and of social progress depend to a great extent on the ability of communist parties to apply original, creative propaganda and conduct vigorous political work in order to capture the masses' consciousness and use the subjective historical factor in the interests of the working class movement. This makes it incumbent on Marxist research centres and all elements of the party apparatus connected with the mass media to have a thorough knowledge of the strong and weak points of anti-communism. Only this knowledge will make it possible to spot and expose the fraudulent theoretical tricks of anti-communism and to rebuff its policies and propaganda by marshalling convincing arguments and well-balanced scientific reasons.

If the working class in different countries is clearly aware that anti-communism is trying to consolidate a system of class exploitation, if the national liberation movements realise with greater clarity the sinister connection between anti-communist obscurantism and neocolonialism, if the growing front of peace and anti-imperialist forces places an insurmountable obstacle in the path of militarisation and nuclear catastrophe, anti-communism shall not pass.

The round-table consensus is that the analytical research, aimed at securing these objectives and conducted by the fraternal parties, into effective methods of countering anti-communism by ideological, political and propaganda means is developing, bearing fruit and contributing to the successful struggle of the working masses for peace and social progress.

* Some aspects of anti-communist theory and practice were discussed in previous *WMR* issues (See: Michael O'Riordan, "Anti-communism and the Threat of War", No. 3, 1984; Hans Pirsch, "Psychological Warfare in the Strategy of Confrontation", No. 5, 1984; Ernst Wimmer, "Anti-Communism in the Field of Theory", No. 6, 1984; "Anti-Communism's Ideological Bellicosity", No. 8, 1984).

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers Moscow, 1969, p. 19.

² See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 352-353.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

Comments Awareness of a Common Moral Obligation

REGARDING the question of reciprocal recognition of binding foreign policy norms — a question raised by the Soviet Union — I believe it would be quite useful to take account of the factors listed below.

In operating on the world scene, all states should abide in principle by the same moral obligations as are current in relations between individuals or social groups. Definite forms of relations have already become established in the sphere of international law. But the question arises whether states respect these forms solely in their own interests or because they are aware of a common moral obligation to apply them. Regrettably, there is no supranational authority that could enforce the satisfaction of moral demands by any country against the will of its regime. Furthermore, declarations made by states about their intention to make definite norms

the basis for their mutual relations are virtually not binding. However, this does not detract from the importance of these norms.

In the international community there already exists — primarily under current international law and the UN Charter — a practice and a declared intention of states to respect universally accepted rules in mutual relations. Obviously, confirmation in a period of confrontation of allegiance to these rules, as well as their more precise formulation, could help create an atmosphere of confidence and promote detente. But declarations of intention would acquire particular significance if further confidence-building measures were adopted, including mechanisms of mutual control of such declarations.

I think it is highly important that the peaceful proposals put forward by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, be considered in specific terms at broad forums involving international opinion. It would be a welcome development if the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe now deliberating in Stockholm discussed the important Soviet initiative in the context of accomplishing its general task.

Professor, Dr. Rudolf Weiler,
Catholic Theological Faculty,
Vienna University

viewpoints

The Partition of Cyprus: A Threat to International Security

Donis Christofinis — CC Political Bureau
member, Progressive Party of the Working
People of Cyprus (AKEL)

LAST summer the people of Cyprus marked the tenth anniversary of one of the most tragic events in their difficult history, the seizure of the northern part of the island by Turkey. The invasion doomed hundreds of thousands of refugees to hardships and suffering and increased intercommunal enmity. Its ultimate effect was an escalation of the policy of dividing the country and undermining its sovereignty.

The situation went from bad to worse when, in November 1983, the Turkish Cypriot leadership proclaimed the territory overrun by foreign troops the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC). A month later a "transitional government" was formed there which last April exchanged "ambassadors" with Ankara, the inspirer of the unlawful action.

AKEL General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou, analysing the situation, pointed to the dangerous consequences it could have for world peace. He stressed that Turkey and its occupation troops are backed by the United States and NATO, which are intent on turning the island into their naval, air and nuclear missile base. And he added: "Israel, Turkey and Pakistan form a triangle with whose aid US-NATO imperialism wants to carry out its plans for aggression against the Soviet Union, other socialist community countries, progressive Arab countries and other states."

International peace-loving opinion condemns the armed intervention in our state. This is also the attitude of the UN General Assembly and Security Council. Resolution

541, adopted by the Security Council in November 1983, demanded that Turkey revoke its proclamation of the TRNC. Last May the Council re-affirmed the resolution and called for the prompt and effective implementation of its provisions; it declared the decision on the exchange of "ambassadors" between Turkey and the TRNC null and void and called on all countries to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned policy of the Republic of Cyprus.

However, this resolution, like earlier ones, remained a dead letter. There is no doubt that behind the secessionists are influential foreign circles tacitly applauding the policy of the present Turkish military government and the situation as a *fait accompli*.

"Demographic Operation"

What happened ten years ago? The Greek "Black Colonels" junta in power at the time was seeking *enosis*, or the forcible annexation of Cyprus to Greece; it masterminded a conspiracy against the government of the republic and the then President, Makarios, a consistent fighter for the independence and sovereignty of the country, a champion of non-alignment. And while the conspiracy failed, the situation was exploited by Turkey, one of Cyprus' guarantors under the Zurich and London agreements.¹ A Turkish army many thousand strong landed in the north of the island on the pretext of "restoring order". And even though the government had the situation under control a week later and the "Black Colonels" soon disappeared from the scene, the invaders refused to get out.

Ever since then, over one-third of the island's territory has been occupied by a 40,000-strong Turkish force. Economic ties that had taken shape in the course of history were upset; the annexed areas supplied nearly 70 per cent of the national income of the republic, over 40 per cent of its animals products and more than half of its mineral output.

For ten years now, a "green line" running across the island has kept the zone under Turkish control cut off from the rest of the country. To the north of this ugly scar official Ankara, backed by the chauvinist leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community, has been steadfastly transforming the lands seized by it into a 68th province of Turkey.

The first stage saw a massive resettlement of Greek Cypriots, who were made to move from the northern areas of the country to the south while at the same time the Turkish population migrated to the area controlled by the invader. About 200,000 Greek Cypriots had to abandon their homes and became refugees in their own country. As many as 37,000 Turkish Cypriots were resettled in the northern part of the island. Simultaneously "settlers" from Turkey began to arrive; their number has topped 50,000 to date. They were handpicked in Anatolia, primarily on the principle of loyalty to Pan-Turkist ideas.²

The purpose of the "demographic operation" went beyond proving that the Greek and Turkish communities "cannot live in harmony" and that the partition of the island is therefore "justified" and "inevitable". The intention to alter the ratio of Turkish to Greek Cypriots was a further important consideration. In the northern areas, now proclaimed an "independent state", the authorities are out to bring about a predominance of chauvinist elements; the "settlers" in the severed part of the country already add up to 25 per cent of the electorate.

The North is also being colonised economically at a fast rate. Sea shipping and air transport as well as the postal service have been put under Turkish control. The Turkish lira is the official monetary unit. The Turkish Agrarian Bank has set up a "Central Bank of the Turkish Federal State".

Progressives analysing these measures note that immediately after the 1980 coup in Turkey the new head of state, General Kenan Evren, proclaimed Cyprus a "continuation of mainland Turkey" and demanded its annexation to Turkey on the pretext of "geographical proximity".

Evren went as far as to call the Turkish army the "guarantee" of the "happiness and wellbeing" of Northern Cyprus. His hypocrisy is only too evident today. Indeed, how can anyone speak of wellbeing in an area where the standard of living has dropped considerably in the years of occupation? Citizens of the newfangled "state" are increasingly hit by threefold exploitation on the part of their own bourgeoisie, the occupation troops and the "settlers"

Who Is Against Intercommunal Talks?

In an attempt to justify their secessionist action, the leader of the TRNC now allege that they were compelled to resort to it because efforts towards solving the Cyprus problem had "produced no results". However, this argument will not hold water. Any reasonably unbiased analysis reveals the fact that the talks on a settlement of the situation were run into a blind alley by Turkish Cypriot community leaders. It is by no means an accident that this step raising political roadblocks was taken just when UN Security General Javier Perez de Cuellar, acting on a mandate of the UN Secretary Council, took the initiative of sponsoring a meeting between President Spyros Kyprianou of Cyprus and Rauf Denktas, the Turkish Cypriot leader, in an effort to help make headway towards resuming intercommunal negotiations.

With a view to completely blocking the road to a settlement in Cyprus under the auspices of the UN, the more reactionary spokesmen of the Turkish Cypriot community are doing their utmost to foment ultra-nationalist sentiments. Their aim is to frighten progressive Turkish Cypriots into renouncing attempts to reach intercommunal understanding and cooperation. One cannot help drawing a historical analogy with the fact that before World War II the nazis turned the German minority in Czechoslovakia, chiefly in the Sudeten area, into a "fifth column" that was subsequently used for partitioning that sovereign state.³

Ankara, too, has its Henleinites. They are grouped in the Union of Turkish Militantes (TMT), a terroristic organisation of Turkish Cypriots. A leaflet published by it formulates the aims and methods of the TMT with outspoken shamelessness. "There are people in the Daughterland," the leaflet says (with reference to the TRNC, which the TMT looks on as a "blood relative" of Turkey. — *D.C.*), "who, in close cooperation with Greeks, are trying by their communist propaganda to make us forget our Turkism, nationality and national consciousness. They are trying to educate youth by their communist tactics against the ideas of Turkism. . . We warn the people that they will always find us, the sworn members of the TMT, before them. . . Our Mecca is Ankara." This could hardly have been put more clearly.

These are the facts, and the only conclusion that can be drawn from them is that the establishment of a secessionist puppet entity in Cyprus serves to divide our republic and annex part of it to Turkey. At the same time the circumstance that this new blow to the independence of Cyprus coincides with the escalation of US aggression in Central America, the Caribbean and the Middle East and with the beginning of the deployment of US cruise and Pershing—2 missiles in Europe entitles us to consider the divisive action in the overall context of imperialist policy, as a further factor endangering international security.

Strategic Strong Point of NATO

The partition of Cyprus is a long-standing aim of militarist sections of imperialism. British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan called for it as far back as 1957. US Secretary of State Dean Acheson planned it in 1964. President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made a deal with the Greek junta in the early 1970s as a step towards partitioning Cyprus. Ten years ago Washington and London allowed the Turkish army to translate the dream of partition into reality and then to try to finalise the dismemberment of our country by setting up a secessionist "state".

Irrespective of whether each new plan was named after a US or British official, the

invariable aim was to turn the island into a strong point of global imperialist strategy. This was revealed in the report MC/SF/75/3 submitted by the Military Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly to the Foreign Ministers of NATO in 1975. Listing the countries on the "southern flank" of the bloc on which "stability throughout the region" was said to depend, the report described Cyprus as a source of destabilising crises in the Eastern Mediterranean and hence an area requiring a "special approach".

Our small island lacks oil, diamond, gold and uranium deposits but its strategic situation plays a very important part in plans for the imposition of US world domination. A country at the crossroads between Asia, Africa and Europe and in close proximity to the Suez Canal and the oil-rich Middle East, Cyprus is seen by NATO strategists as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the region.

From the point of view of imperialist "big politics", Cyprus is a major bridgehead for aggression against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. It is to be used for undermining the national liberation movement in the Middle East and Africa and for shoring up reactionary regimes there. US-NATO policy-makers believe that the bases in the area could in definite circumstances help preserve the social status quo in NATO countries.

It has long been well known that inasmuch as the stakes are high, the imperialists will stop at nothing to achieve their aims. "Unfortunately," wrote Clifford P. Hackett, an American expert on Western Europe, in an article headlined "An Isle in Distress and No Saviour in Sight", "the United States now displays the same tolerance of military rule in Turkey as it did for the Greek junta. . . In both cases it seems to be telling allies that military cooperation and US base rights are more important than a restoration of democracy or human rights."⁴

However, the use of Cyprus by every type of conqueror has become a bad tradition. It was from our shores that in the last century Field Marshal H.H. Kitchener of Britain launched operations to seize the Sudan. In 1956, British bases on the island were used during the British-French-Israeli attack on the Arab Republic of Egypt. Throughout the Zionist wars against Arab peoples these bases were used by the US imperialists, who were aiding their surrogate, Israel.

Even the granting of independence to Cyprus provided from the outset for measures restricting it; the most dangerous of these was that Britain was permitted to retain its "sovereign bases" on the island. To this day Britain has three military bases there exceeding 250 sq. km. in area. Proceeding against the people's will, the Cyprus government allowed four NATO countries operating under the flag of a "multinational peacekeeping force" to use the airport and seaport of Larnaca for attacking Lebanon. Naval bases are being built in the occupied part of the island, in the Xeros and Kerinia area. There is evidence that an underground nuclear missile dump is under construction on the Karpasia Peninsula.

Washington's Words and Deeds

The partition of Cyprus offered still greater opportunities to militarise the territory occupied by Turkish troops. At Lefkoniko, the Pentagon built a new airfield as part of the huge base of the US "rapid deployment force". Washington's strategists would like to make the Cyprus bridgehead a connecting link between NATO forces and US and British bases in the Indian Ocean.

Shouldn't we see all these developments as factors preventing implementation of the decisions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council on a fair settlement of the Cyprus question? Aren't these also the real causes that predetermined the US-British collusion with Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership on the island regarding the formation of the TRNC?

These are purely rhetorical questions, of course, for everybody knows that the secessionist action was carried out with the tacit approval of Washington and London. The fact that neither the United States, nor Britain has yet recognised the puppet

"state" is no clue to their real stand on the matter. This was shown by President Reagan's attempt to whitewash Denktas in his report to Congress on the situation in Cyprus. The report confirmed the existence of a virtual deal between US ruling quarters and the secessionists.

US Administration members of lower rank are even more outspoken. At a meeting with US citizens of Greek descent, a certain Haas admitted that the USA wants a "stronger Turkey"; he tried to describe this as also being in the interest of Greece and Cyprus.

Utterances of this nature destroy the illusions of those in Cyprus and elsewhere who still imagine that the White House is against the proclamation of the TRNC. They also sap confidence in the ability of the USA to "solve" the Cyprus problem "on a fair basis" as the only country said to be able to "pressure" Turkey.

Washington does have the economic, military and political means needed to exert pressure on General Evren. But the point is their *purpose*. And so it will only be right to say again at this point that the United States and its NATO allies were the inspirers and main culprits of the Cyprus tragedy and are still committed to ending our independence.

There is yet another serious and dangerous delusion. Some believe that tension between Greece and Turkey is weakening NATO, to which both countries belong. But it must not be ignored that this tension is accompanied by an upsurge in chauvinism, which is always reactionary. Besides, Washington takes advantage of it to provoke a rivalry between the two governments in securing greater military aid and other favours from the USA and the NATO bloc as a whole. The result is that both countries are being dragged into the arms race more than before, helping build up the strength of the aggressive NATO machine.

Our People Are Not Alone

The Cyprus problem is undoubtedly one of the knottiest and most explosive problems in today's world. Even so, we Communists regard it as perfectly soluble. To bring this about, it is necessary to proceed from unqualified recognition of the highly important, fundamental thesis that the deep roots of the Cyprus problem lie in neither internecine strife between the two Cypriot communities, nor the territorial dispute between Greece and Turkey. They go back to the fundamental contradiction between the desire of the indigenous population of Cyprus to see its country sovereign and non-aligned and aspirations to the contrary cherished by imperialism and its agents. It is a question of the Cypriots' struggle for their freedom, for the right to decide their internal affairs as they see fit.

The Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus are integral parts of the island's population. They have lived in peace and cooperation for centuries and can continue doing so. Our peoples are in a position to settle any internal dispute peacefully, by negotiation and agreement. Imperialist interference is the only obstacle to this.

Annulment of the "guarantees" forced on Cyprus in 1959 as a precondition of granting independence is a prerequisite for a final settlement of the problem, that is, an end to Britain's military presence. The way for such a settlement could be cleared by a representative international conference under the auspices of the UN which the Soviet Union proposed in 1974 with support from both Cyprus and Greece. As regards the withdrawal of Turkish occupation troops from the territories seized by them, this is not a subject for debate but a legitimate and self-evident demand.

Last August the CC Political Bureau of AKEL expressed approval for the new initiative of the UN Secretary General in favour of talks with representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities⁵ to help ensure the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island. The party leadership warned the people that a torpedoing of this initiative by our side would have a very negative effect on the settlement of the Cyprus question and could be used by the Turkish Cypriot leadership

as an excuse for perpetuating the partition of the island and irrevocably frustrating settlement on federal lines. This, the Political Bureau stated, "is fraught with the danger of new, still worse misfortunes for all Cypriots: Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites and Catholics".

We Communists never isolate ourselves from the peoples championing peace, the right to life, independence, democracy and social progress. This is why our CC plenary meeting last October adopted several important decisions whose aim is to increase the Cypriot people's contribution to the common cause, the struggle against war. The chief task set by the meeting is to take a stand against the deployment of new US medium-range missiles in Europe, for nuclear disarmament, detente and a demilitarised Cyprus: all of which should be seen as part of the fight for independence.

We know that the people of Cyprus are not alone and have other peace-loving peoples of the planet on their side. Our island, which is defending its independence, enjoys support from non-aligned countries, the Greek people and the progressive forces of Turkey being held down by the same top military as are tyrannising Cyprus. We can count on the full support of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. All this gives us confidence that in spite of their small numbers, our people can neutralise imperialism's attacks.

For obvious reasons, the fraternal support we are given by the Communists of Greece and Turkey is of special importance to us. Harilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the CC CP Greece, said late in August 1984 that a task facing the Communists of Greece is to contribute to the Cypriot people's effort to establish an independent demilitarised federal state on the island and resist the forces impeding this, primarily the United States. The proclamation of a separate "state" in Cyprus was sharply condemned by the Second Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party of Turkey CC (June 1984). "Keep Ankara's hands off Northern Cyprus!" the meeting demanded in a resolution. "There is no peaceful solving the Cyprus problem unless Turkey withdraws its troops from the island."

If we want international solidarity to persist and grow stronger we must uphold the republic's foreign policy positions still more actively, allowing nobody to discredit its policy of non-alignment. And we consider that we must do all in our power to induce the Democratic Party and the President of the Republic to fully resume the Minimum Programme⁶ guaranteeing cooperation among all forces committed to defending the freedom and independence of Cyprus.

The road to victory leads through closer democratic cooperation and patriotic unity of action, through preserving efforts for a rapprochement between the Greek and Turkish communities, especially their democratic organisations advocating independence, unity and non-alignment. AKEL is doing its best to contribute to the positive, anti-imperialist policy of non-alignment. To renounce this policy would be a crime against the republic's neighbours, friends and supporters and ultimately a blow to our country itself. We consistently expose anti-communism and its most common form, anti-Sovietism. We also come out against imperialist propaganda ploys, such as publicising the thesis about the allegedly "equal responsibility of the two superpowers" for the dangerous upturn in international tensions and about the need for "equidistance" from both.

Vital interests of both the Cypriots and other peoples of the planet demand a just settlement of the Cyprus problem by peaceful means. A complete demilitarisation of the island could constitute an important step towards transforming the Mediterranean from an area of military-political confrontation into a "sea of peace". However, should Cyprus become definitively a US-NATO "unsinkable aircraft carrier" anchored off the southern boundaries of the socialist community area, in close vicinity to vast regions of Asia and Africa, this would immensely heighten the danger of a universal nuclear catastrophe.

This explains why Cyprus' Communists are emphatically against the partition of the

country, a development which helps realise belliose imperialism's plans for aggression, posing a threat to international security as a whole. We are combating this threat, sparing no efforts, seeing this as our duty to all Cypriots and to peace-loving humanity.

¹ The agreements (signed in February 1959) provided for granting Cyprus independence on terms virtually undermining its sovereignty. Under them Britain retained its military bases on the island while Turkey and Greece were allowed to deploy a limited number of troops there. — *Ed.*

² Pan-Turkism, a reactionary chauvinist doctrine of the upper sections of Turkey's bourgeoisie and landed proprietors which arose in the early twentieth century, advocates the unification of all peoples speaking Turkic languages under Turkish rule. — *Ed.*

³ In 1938 Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia's Sudeten area on the pretext of "defending" persons of German origin and annexed it to the Reich. The Sudeten German Party under Konrad Henlein, founded in 1933, was the nazis' mainstay and chief agent at the time. — *Ed.*

⁴ *International Herald Tribune*, September 6, 1984.

⁵ The Secretary General began talks with leaders of the two communities last September in New York. — *Ed.*

⁶ For details, see Ezekias Papioannou, "The Future We Want" in *WMR*, No. 9, 1982. — *Ed.*

None Can Be Neutral when Peace is at Stake

Oiva Björkbacka — CC Secretariat
member, Communist Party of Finland (CPF)

THE struggle for peace has always been a major objective of the Finnish working class movement. As early as 1899 the founding congress of the Finnish Workers' Party declared: "The burden of military expenditures must be reduced substantially; the idea of peace must be promoted and translated into reality." Finland's Communists follow this peace-oriented tradition of the working class movement unswervingly; this is consonant with the overall position of the Communists who are now the prime force in the struggle for universal peace, against the arms race and the nuclear war threat.

While imperialist-induced local armed conflicts and sometimes full-scale wars do flare up in various parts of the globe, Europe has lived in peace for almost forty years. Perhaps this is the reason why in Finland, public opinion long treated the war threat as something very remote which had nothing to do with us. The situation changed dramatically by the late 1970s. Unfortunately, even after the 1975 Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation and the 1978 Special UN General Assembly Session on Disarmament the arms race kept on escalating and poisoning international relations.

The deployment of US medium-range nuclear missiles which began in Western Europe in late 1983 marked a new and graver stage in the growth of the danger of nuclear catastrophe. The fact that the United States went ahead with the manufacture of neutron weapons demonstrated the aggressive thrust of the US war plans. Furthermore, Washington's military strategy now openly envisaged a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. It was therefore natural for the latest, 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Finland held in May 1984 to accord priority to issues of averting the nuclear threat, defusing the arms race and upholding universal peace.

The Principal Task: to Prevent Nuclear Catastrophe

In "The Will of Nations Guarantees Peace", a document adopted by the congress, our

party stated: "The intensification of the arms race is by no means a sign that imperialism is growing stronger; this is its way of trying to prevent the erosion of its influence and to regain lost ground."

Today's world tensions differ from the postwar years of the cold war in that now the forces of socialism and progress wield much greater power and have seized the historical initiative. In response to that imperialism, led by the United States, has sharply exacerbated world tensions in a bid to recapture its erstwhile military superiority. It is common knowledge that an overall military equilibrium has been established between the two social systems. Now the United States is trying to upset it in its favour. This is what is behind the distinctive situation of the 1980s when, on the one hand, the forces of peace are more powerful than ever before but, on the other, the nuclear threat of mankind's complete annihilation has also increased.

The CPF resolutely condemns the imperialist policy of military superiority; it advocates arms reduction on the basis of equal security. Universal and complete disarmament and dissolution of military alliances are our fundamental goal. But the most pressing need of the moment is to stop the nuclear arms buildup and to bring about agreements on the complete cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Chemical weapons must be banned, and a treaty must be signed to prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space. To brandish, let alone plan to use weapons of mass destruction is a crime against humanity. It is of the utmost importance to ensure that the United States follow the Soviet example and renounce first use of nuclear weapons.

It is imperative for nations to draw on their desire for peace, pool their efforts and secure withdrawal of the US first strike missiles from Western Europe; this would open the way to arms reduction and make it possible to return to detente. To us in Finland it is especially important to expose the aggressive nuclear strategy of imperialism, a strategy that is being perfected in the course of military exercises conducted in our region too, and to resist the growing influence of militarism in capitalist countries, for militarism always opposes democratic forces, especially the peace movement. We are for a stronger international anti-imperialist solidarity, for closer unity and cooperation in the international peace movement. Expansion of economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries contributes substantially to the strengthening of universal peace.

Our party congress paid particular attention to the potential of Finland's municipal and commune authorities for aiding in the consolidation of peace and friendship among nations. "Given today's tense situation," a congress resolution states, "decisions taken by municipal authorities assume great importance. It is their duty to fight for peace. They can and must support the valuable work performed by civic organisations in the field of safeguarding peace and assist the solidarity and friendship movement based on international trust and understanding.

"For their part, communes can contribute to international cooperation and friendship by, say, expanding friendly, peaceoriented contacts with their counterparts abroad. Communes play an important role in broadening our country's economic, trade, cultural and other ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist nations."

Viability of Peaceful Coexistence

The congress affirmed in its documents that, in the opinion of the Communist Party of Finland, peaceful coexistence was indispensable as the only policy guaranteeing peace. The postwar Finnish-Soviet relations offer an example of peaceful coexistence. The 1944 armistice between Finland and the Soviet Union opened a new stage in our country's foreign policy.

The left working class movement had championed such relations since Finland's independence in 1917, thereby upholding the traditional cooperation of Finnish and Russian revolutionaries. Operating underground, the Communist Party of Finland was tireless in its demands of normal relations with our socialist neighbour — an

important fact some quarters would like to consign to oblivion. The bitter experience of the war brought home the realisation that the communist viewpoint was valid for Finnish foreign policy. This policy has always been an object of struggle, and the Communists and the working class bear great responsibility in it.

The principle of peaceful coexistence was codified in the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Together with distinctive features rooted in the history of Finnish-Soviet relations, the treaty outlined important aspects of the policy of peaceful coexistence: efforts to ensure the security of the two countries and the concomitant obligations, the struggle for international peace and security, the pledge not to conclude alliances aimed against the other side, economic and cultural cooperation, respect for each other's sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in domestic affairs.

In conditions of peaceful coexistence and democratisation of international affairs, small states play an increasingly important part in world politics. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance laid the basis of Finland's independent and peaceful foreign policy. Our nation's record proves that this course contributes to the people's material and spiritual wellbeing.

Many forms and methods of cooperation currently used by countries with different social systems were introduced for the first time by Finland and the Soviet Union. The five-year trade agreements and the long-term programme for developing and enhancing commercial, economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation are a case in point.

The Soviet Union has consistently observed the principle of peaceful coexistence in its policy. Gradually, this principle has become the pivotal factor of international relations. Europe's postwar experience has demonstrated that peaceful coexistence is an alternative to war and to the threat of war. The nations of Europe to whom the two world wars have brought untold suffering hold this alternative in high esteem.

In assessing the current situation in Western Europe, it should be noted that the contradictions which have emerged between the United States and West European capitalist countries go beyond the usual confines of imperialist competition. The popular masses see the US nuclear first-strike strategy as a policy aimed at the destruction of Europe. A certain part of the bourgeoisie has no intention of foregoing the fruits of detente the 1970s brought, and especially of giving up the profitable commercial ties with the socialist countries. The "Soviet threat" stereotypes disseminated by American propaganda are far from unanimously shared by the ruling quarters of West European countries. The US policy of confrontation with the socialist world runs counter to the interests of Western Europe.

However, the awareness of the need for peaceful coexistence as a principle of international relations is existing against the background of rising tensions and a growing war threat. In the 1970s detente was, unfortunately, accompanied by an arms buildup. At that time the Communists, together with many other peace champions, demanded that detente be extended to the military sphere as well. We realised that political detente could not last long without military detente. In those years, several treaties and accords on security and arms control were concluded. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe laid down ten principles guiding international relations; in actual fact, this developed the policy of peaceful coexistence further. The signatories of the Final Act also pledged their assistance in attaining disarmament.

Washington violated these obligations by choosing a different course. It gave a new impetus to the arms race and started to erect obstacles in the path of broader international cooperation. By pursuing this policy, the United States openly violates the provisions of the Helsinki document. The European Conference had a historic significance which it retains to this day. It strengthened the hopes of European nations for a future of peace and security, a goal they can attain by stepping up their anti-war action. The struggle should be spearheaded against aggressive imperialism. In several

leading bourgeois countries big capital has put reactionary forces in charge; these forces are the source of the ever-growing threat of war. And so we hold that the foremost task of the Communists and all democrats in the 1980s is to preserve in strengthening peace. In our view, the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe must produce positive results.

For a Vigorous Policy of Peace

The CPF has stated repeatedly that the basic interests of the Finnish people would be best served by a vigorous policy of peace and not by a passive position justified by references to neutrality. As early as 1960 President Urho Kekkonen noted that Finland was not neutral in questions of war and peace. We are for a policy of peace and against a policy of war, for disarmament and against nuclear weapons. This is especially important to emphasise now that international tensions have increased and it is all the more important for our country to make a tangible contribution to the drive for disarmament.

Since 1955, as a member of the United Nations, Finland has taken part in the drafting of international agreements on the issue. Naturally, it has signed and ratified the agreements in force, such as the instrument on banning biological weapons, etc. Since 1970 a special commission on disarmament has been active under the Finnish Foreign Ministry; one of its functions is to conduct scientific research into the subject.

Our country is a vigorous advocate of nuclear arms reduction and elimination. This position is a logical product of the 1947 Peace Treaty under which Finland pledged not to possess, manufacture or test nuclear weapons. This is why our country played a positive part in the conclusion of the Test Ban Treaty and voted at the United Nations in favour of the nuclear no-first-use resolution. The Finnish position on this matter was expounded in detail in the speech of President Mauno Koivisto at the UN General Assembly session in September 1983.

Finland works to contribute to greater European security as well. Its role in the preparation for and deliberations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe earned international appreciation. The country's broad democratic strata support these activities fully. Established in 1970, the Finnish National Committee for European Security in which all political parties, trade union, women's youth, student and other organisations are represented, did much to explain the need for the convening of the European Conference and has since worked to assist in the implementation of the Final Act provisions and in the continuation of detente.

The proposal on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe is a well-known Finnish initiative. President Urho Kekkonen advanced it in May 1963 and called for joint action by the Nordic countries. Over the two decades that have elapsed, Finland has reiterated this proposal repeatedly. Discussion of the matter has grown noticeably livelier in the 1980s. The declaration of the North of Europe a nuclear-free zone became a particularly topical issue with the deployment by the NATO bloc of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The question of the zone is being discussed at meetings of the Nordic countries' foreign ministers. Governments should act on the will of their peoples in this matter. We hold that joint action by the entire Nordic working class movement, based on a common realisation of the need for such a zone, would be of particular significance here. Simultaneously, we support the proposals on a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe and on a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

The overall upsurge of the peace movement has diversified its forms and methods. Earlier, demonstrations, circulation of petitions and the sending of messages to governments and the United Nations were the dominant forms. Recent years witnessed the emergence of new forms of mass mobilisation, such as a cycle relay race for peace and international marches (for example, the Copenhagen-Paris Nordic Women's March, the Moscow-Minsk-Washington March). Finnish writers, artists and performers have organised and launched a special peace train which has visited many

cities and towns, staging concerts, exhibits and discussions at industrial enterprises and in schools. The writers published a joint anthology of anti-war works in connection with this tour. A majority of the Finnish medical profession has joined the Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War movement. Finnish journalists sponsored a meeting of West European journalists to discuss their role in the defence of peace. The meeting was held in Helsinki in October 1983.

Finland's trade unions participate broadly in the anti-war movement. A peace committee has been active under the Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions for several years now. The metalworkers' union has set up a special working group which has compiled a report and worked out specific recommendations on converting the military industry to peaceful uses.

For five years now the UN — sponsored Disarmament Action Week has been held in Finland — as in other countries — in October. An organising committee comprising representatives of all political parties, trade unions, religious and various civic organisations has been created to prepare the Week's events. Hundreds of thousands take part in the Week's demonstrations held in over 100 cities, town and communities against the arms race, for disarmament and for the elimination of nuclear weapons. Many other events are also organised. Reports and discussions are followed by anti-war concerts by professional and amateur performers.

A five-minute work stoppage at noon on one of the Action Week days is a new form of nation-wide peace action. For example, this year municipal transport came to a halt, church bells were ringing and people displayed lighted candles in their windows in Helsinki and other large cities. The mass media provide positive coverage of the Disarmament Action Week.

Although there are individuals and groups in Finland who would like to impart an anti-Soviet bias to the peace and disarmament movement, their attempts fail to produce results. Our countrymen are too well aware of the foreign policy and peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This is why the Action Week demonstrations' slogans are "No to the Euro-missiles!" and "For Detente, for a Nuclear-Free North and All of Europe!" Also typical are anti-imperialist slogans in support of Grenada, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

At its 20th Congress the Communist Party of Finland called for cooperation — especially in the struggle against war — of the Social Democratic Party, the Centre Party, the peace movement, the trade union movement and various civic organisations, including those comprising women, young people, environmentalists and others. We Finnish Communists hold that today, no task is more important than to stop the insane and deadly arms race, to uphold peace and preserve life on earth.

Safeguarding the Progressive Option

Mahmoud Ben Taleb — CC Political
Bureau member, Party of the Socialist
Vanguard of Algeria

LATELY, as other Mediterranean nations, Algeria has been coming under growing direct and diversified imperialist pressure. Our present and future are threatened, but, regretfully, this threat is as yet not quite clearly appreciated by the public at large: despite the nation's will, it is becoming a victim of imperialism's mounting preparations for a nuclear war. This threat has now come close to our region on

account of the deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, particularly, on nearby Sicily. The situation has grown even more explosive after the USA caused the negotiations with the Soviet Union in Geneva to break down and started a new spiral of the nuclear arms race.

The imperialists see the Maghreb¹ as NATO's southern flank and they want to involve the nations of the region, including Algeria, in their neocolonialist, anti-socialist plans. Today, when we are within reach of the US nuclear missiles designated by the Pentagon for "limited" wars, it is no longer merely a question of increased blackmail and a bigger threat to our national independence. At stake is the people's continued existence, their life being menaced by those who did not hesitate to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Some people still entertain illusions, believing that a nuclear war will bring devastation solely to member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. But it cannot be limited to one continent. If, unfortunately, imperialism does unleash such a war nobody will survive. Everybody will die in its flames or as a consequence of mortal radiation.

Algerian political leaders have quite justifiably stated time and again that the problems of security and peace in Europe and in the Mediterranean are inseparable. We Algerians, as other Maghreb peoples and the peoples of the whole planet, need peace to promote our national economy and organise our social, cultural, and spiritual life on a democratic basis. We have no desire to be victims of imperialist brigands and thereby contribute indirectly to the buildup of the USA's nuclear armaments.

That is why we are confronted with the vitally important task of fighting for world peace with all the means at our disposal. This implies actions against the imperialist rapid deployment forces and the nuclear weapons in the Mediterranean, and compelling the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of the warships carrying nuclear death on board. Of first priority here, in our view, is to mobilise the masses, public opinion, to ensure concerted actions by the peoples and progressive governments. Without this, all official statements remain good intentions that the imperialists ignore entirely.

Under Imperialist Pressure

In the current perilous situation the policy of bringing pressure to bear on Algeria pursued by imperialist monopolies (for instance, the American Trunkline and Panhandle corporations, and the Spanish Enagas company) combines with the fanning of military tension on our frontiers by the Moroccan monarchy, which is backed by the USA. The imperialists are out to compel Algeria to renounce its socialist option and gradually direct its development into the channel of so-called "liberal" capitalism. To this end they are using, in particular, the circumstance that, regrettably, more than 90 per cent of the nation's foreign trade is oriented on the capitalist markets. Moreover, the external debt likewise remains a serious and disturbing problem, although in recent years something has been done to halt its growth trend.

Further, despite the continuing internal discord, world imperialism has been able to agree on a redistribution of roles and zones of interests in its camp. In particular, some European social democratic circles are tempting Algeria with the possibility of a relaxation of economic pressure if it consents to play a less active role in support of peace and progress and ceases its public denunciations of imperialism, especially US imperialism.

Nevertheless, there is a growing number of Algerian patriots who are refusing to succumb to this blackmail, for their own experience is giving them an increasingly clear understanding of what imperialism stands for. For instance, *El-Moudjahid*, newspaper of the ruling National Liberation Front Party, wrote in connection with the tenth conference of the heads of government of seven industrialised capitalist countries (London, June 1984) that it dealt superficially with the problems of Third World

nations. The question of the artificially maintained high bank rates, which are inflicting colossal losses on them, remained unresolved, and none of the participants ventured to finger the country chiefly responsible for this state of affairs, namely, the USA. They limited themselves to agreeing to postpone settling the problem of the debts of developing nations.²

As at the Cancun³ summit (Mexico) and other analogous international meetings, the London conference provided further evidence of the hypocrisy of the policies pursued by the imperialist powers, which make promises generously but in fact refuse to relax neocolonialist exploitation.

The struggle for a restructuring of economic relations on a basis of equality must be conducted in such a way as not to leave our or other developing nations facing the adversary single-handed. For that reason it is imperative to expand commerce with socialist countries (today this commerce does not account for more than 5 per cent of Algeria's foreign trade), which by the nature of their own system embody the new international economic order. In parallel with efforts to promote national production, the broad development of all-sided relations with countries of the socialist community is one of the vital conditions for building a solid and dependable base for economic independence.

However, the facts indicate that far from everybody in Algeria sees the significance of this objective need, whose satisfaction has been consistently urged by the Party of the Socialist Vanguard of Algeria. We abide by this strategic orientation because we believe that without a substantial expansion of relations with the socialist world our economy will remain extremely vulnerable to the destabilising pressure brought to bear by the imperialist transnational corporations.

Progressive Gains Threatened

At the stage of the national democratic revolution, in which Algeria still finds itself and whose hallmarks are the exacerbation and deepening of social contradictions the battle for production remains the central strategic task. Precisely in the course of its fulfilment we should work for unity of action by patriots. The conditions for drawing together the communists and other patriotic, progressive forces are created in this day-to-day battle. Moreover, joint actions to attain and consolidate genuine economic independence cannot be separated from the efforts to safeguard the material and spiritual interests of the working masses.

But in Algeria's state apparatus there are influential quarters who wish to give certain steps towards improving the economy a content and form capable of opening the road for strengthening capitalist elements and even establishing capitalist domination. Indeed, many of the so-called "improvement" measures in the economic, social, and cultural spheres are more and more often utilised to subvert the public sector and curtail the rights of working people and other citizens.

The tendency to doubt the progressive orientation is to be seen in many areas. In this article I should like to deal at some length with the situation in agriculture. The example of its development is today as indicative and symbolic as the agrarian reform of 1971-1972, which was one of the many steps to consolidate the socialist option.

Our party's newspaper, *Saut el Cha'b*, constantly draws the attention of the forces of progress to this problem, urging them to be vigilant and fight against inroads into what has been achieved. I mean inroads such as the recent heightened rate of the fragmentation of cooperative land into individual plots and their transfer to private ownership. In fact, cooperative members are compelled to work individually and to renounce the advantages of collective labour.

The official press says nothing about these harmful practices conducted on the sly with feverish haste, on the basis of verbal instructions, with the clear intention of escaping the attention of patriotic and progressive opinion and placing it before an

accomplished fact. Even without this the cooperative members are in a difficult position: advance payments on the future harvest have been halted and they are no longer granted agricultural credits. Large areas of arable land are under risk of remaining unploughed, and this will lead to a diminution of production in agriculture. Strength is being regained by the big landowners, who cynically declare: "Our time has come!"⁴

Some multipurpose agricultural communal services cooperatives now confine themselves to distribution and marketing. To all intents and purposes, the peasants are no longer loaned farm machines and equipment, which was formerly the basis of the material assistance extended to them by the state. The buildings and other structures of the services cooperatives put on sale fall into the hands of prosperous businessmen. If this situation persists, the cooperatives will disappear and the toiling peasants will fall into bondage to the owners of capital active in agriculture. The latter will in fact have the monopoly on machinery and equipment, for the loan of which the peasants will have to pay exorbitant rent. With land and other means of production in their possession, the businessmen will be able to hike prices sharply for food, especially for vegetables. This will unquestionably hurt the workers and other working strata in the towns.

In connection with the serious threat hanging over agricultural production as a result of the liquidation of the services cooperatives and the auctioning of thousands of tractors and other farm machines, our party demanded, in April 1984, and national debate. Unfortunately, there has been no response from the National Union of Algerian Peasants. Meanwhile, the country's interests are being prejudiced as a result of the nullification of the role played by mass organisations and the voluntariat⁵ of the agrarian revolution. The suppression of democracy clears the road for the big proprietors and the nouveaux riches.⁶

Two months after we demanded a national debate, the apprehensions regarding the prospects for agrarian development unfortunately came true. Taking advantage of the disintegration of the services cooperatives, wholesale dealers and other big middlemen, who had earlier been given permission to buy standing crops, seized practically total control of the fruit and vegetables market. They raised to unprecedented levels the prices of staple foods and, throwing down a challenge to the government, provoked small shopkeepers to stage a strike against state price controls.

The NLF weekly *Révolution Africaine* strongly condemned the efforts of the wholesale dealers to dictate their terms: "How much longer are we going to let a handful of unscrupulous persons impose their political will on producers, consumers, small shopkeepers, and the state itself? By means of a price war the wholesale dealers and their allies are seeking in fact to gain control of the distributive network and, consequently, of farm production in both the private and socialist sectors." Reaction is thus "hoping to reshape the course followed by the political leadership, bringing it under its control, and not only liberalise property in land and the market but also erode our socialist option". The danger is growing also because these reactionary intrigues are "precipitating a steep decline of the purchasing power and are thereby becoming the potential factor generating social disturbances and conflicts".⁷

Lessons of the Agrarian Reform

The NLF weekly raised a very acute political problem of paramount significance, which it analysed boldly and correctly, from revolutionary-democratic positions.

However, in its very next issue *Révolution Africaine* (again in an editorial) gave the problem a different slant. Under cover of calls for "realistic thinking" and even "patriotism" it in fact tried to justify the continued line towards curtailing progressive gains in agriculture and whitewash (deliberately or not) the anti-socialist trends. Being unable to deny the fact that reaction has planned attacks against the people's

purchasing power and that it has challenged the public sector and the socialist option, the journal diverted readers from this issue and urged them to create what it called a "common front of producers and consumers". The editorial contained no mention whatever of the attempts being made by wholesale dealers to dominate the market. It went so far as to juggle with the facts: touching upon the abolition of some state structures and agricultural cooperatives, the journal asserted that the "spectre of penury has receded into the distant past".⁸ However, as everyone can see from himself, if some foodstuffs are now available in larger quantities in the shops, the reason is that large numbers of consumers cannot afford the price.

In the article there is a clear-cut national-reformist leaning: under the guise of formally supporting the agrarian revolution it is an attempt to dissolve or even reject the economic and political core of revolutionary reforms in agriculture. For instance, it claims that "in the atmosphere of high passion, typical of the early years of the agrarian revolution, the problems that arose in the course of the unfolding movement were not taken into account (or, perhaps, simply ignored)."⁹

But nobody ever said that the agrarian revolution was a simple matter. The resistance of thousands of big landowners and their allies was broken only ten years after the nation became independent. It was only then that it was decided to enforce radical reforms in agriculture.

Does this imply that the agrarian revolution proceeded in ideal conditions and yielded all the expected results? It obviously does not. But the shortcomings and even some of the serious miscalculations that were made when the agrarian reform was planned and enforced were by no means due to "excessive haste", to "excessive revolutionary drive" (as is claimed by those who vacillate or urge compromises). On the contrary, individual vulnerable elements of the reforms were due to the strong pressure from the national-reformists, who were frightened by reaction and had little interest in the socialist option. Succumbing to pressure, the revolutionary democrats tried to soften the inevitably revolutionary character of the agrarian reform.

Meanwhile, we, the Communists, strove and took steps to prepare the political groundwork for the agrarian reform and isolate the most dangerous of the reactionary forces. This possibility existed. But to put it into practice required the nationalisation of the land, or even part of the land of the 8,000 big landowners, and its distribution among poor peasants immediately after independence was won.

Despite all our efforts, the reactionaries were not isolated, and ultimately the revolutionary democrats had to start the reform in a more complicated political situation. Although the voluntariat was very important, this movement (which, incidentally, was legalised by the late President Boumedienne) proved incapable of single-handedly neutralising the malicious attacks of the big landowners and the subversion by their allies at all levels of the state apparatus.

On the other hand, the revolutionary democrats somewhat underestimated the alignment of class forces in Algeria. Instead of "calming" the middle strata of town and countryside, by acting with determination against only the big landowners and appealing for assistance to all working people and mobilising them against their principal exploiters, they preferred to nationalise the property of absentee landowners. The property not only of big but also of innumerable small landholders living in towns and urban communities was subject to alienation. The proponents of this brand of "radicalism" justified their actions with the argument that they were not directed against a definite class but merely expressed a striving for a greater degree of social justice.

We made it clear that the accent on nationalising the property of absentee landowners was weakening the class content of the agrarian revolution, enlarging the opposition's social base, and making it easier for the reactionaries to conduct anti-reform propaganda. While making every effort to facilitate the reforms, the Communists constantly drew attention to the fact that the level of agricultural

cooperation was overstated, while its forms were decreed from above. Our party repeatedly indicated (alas, in this, too, we received no understanding) that it was vital to promote democracy facilitating the narrowing of the discrepancy between the consciousness level of the cooperative members and the sophisticated forms of cooperation. Further, the Communists called for assistance to tens of thousands of small peasant households.

Being unable to depose the present regime, the reactionaries had recourse to manoeuvring and conspiracies. Aided by their puppets in the central and local apparatus, they tried to get the peasants to turn away from the agrarian revolution en masse. In this situation, the Communists and their supporters, including many young revolutionary democrats, made a large theoretical and practical contribution (this is acknowledged both by our allies and by our adversaries) to the struggle against the intrigues of the reactionaries.

Nevertheless, as is noted also in *Révolution Africaine*, the situation has lately changed perceptibly. True, various projects for making "self-managing farms"¹⁰ profitable" (including the project of leasing them to capitalists and big landowners) were rejected. But the proponents of the so-called "middle" or, as we call it, "third" way, succumbed to pressure from the right and agreed to dismantle the cooperatives, recommending, however, that in individual cases they should be joined to state farms.

For Unity of the Patriotic Forces

In March 1984, as part of our resistance to the efforts to reverse progressive processes, we suggested that transfer to private ownership should only be permitted in the case of land which by virtue of natural conditions and soil qualities was found to be unsuitable for modern agrotechniques; that land should be given, in the first place, to employees of state farms for ancillary husbandries and also (not for total ownership but in accordance with the terms of the agrarian revolution) to peasants who would cultivate it by themselves.¹¹

Moreover, we are constantly suggesting concrete ways and means of improving the situation in agriculture. Through their newspaper *Saût el Cha'b* the Communists have, in particular, urged the strengthening of the public sector as an indispensable instrument for the planned development of agricultural production as required by the day-to-day needs of the population. The way to this lies through modernisation of the public sector's material and technical basis; the boosting of the professional know-how of workers, office employees, and managerial staff of state farms; and an improvement of the socio-economic condition of the people employed on these farms. Moreover, it is important to develop and introduce flexible, efficient methods of management which presupposes the democratic enlistment into it of farm labourers belonging to trade unions.

Further, the enlargement of the mass base of the anti-imperialist struggle and an increase of the contribution being made by hundreds of thousands of small households to the production of foodstuffs would be facilitated by effective assistance to working peasants through state and cooperative organisations, and by safeguarding the social rights of farm labourers in the private sector. It is of immense significance to prepare the material and technical basis for the gradual transfer to the state of the sale of staple foods in order to protect the purchasing power of the working people and guarantee fair incomes to small producers; it is vital to enlarge the industry manufacturing farm implements or processing farm products. We urge a strengthening of relations with socialist and non-aligned states, the import of more foodstuffs and farm equipment from these states, and the study of their experience in agriculture.¹²

It is the party's opinion that the situation continues to be serious, especially in view of the steadily increasing sub-version of the very foundations of the national democratic revolution's economic, social, and democratic achievements. Many of the "alterations" introduced under the pretext of correcting economic development are

quite obviously aimed at debilitating the socialist option and encouraging capitalist development.

Algeria is one of the few non-socialist countries in Asia and Africa with a relatively stable growth rate and pursuing a visible anti-imperialist policy in a number of areas. However, taking advantage of our economic and social difficulties, imperialism combines pressure from without with growing pressure by private-capitalist elements from within. Members of various strata of the bourgeoisie are doing their utmost to block and fundamentally undermine the public sector. They have drawn lessons from past setbacks, when reaction acted openly against the socialist option, and are now skilfully using individual socio-economic difficulties and imbalances to introduce elements of capitalist development.

Concern over the resultant situation was expressed in the message, permeated with a spirit of unity, that our party sent to the 5th Congress of the National Liberation Front (1983). Although it contained serious criticism, this message was received with acclaim by many delegates, who managed (the message was not read at the congress) to acquaint themselves with its contents. In this document we stressed, in part: "The masses and large sections of patriotic people are disturbed by the falling purchasing power, the decline of culture, and the growing role played by the private capitalist sector. Of course, this sector should be present in our economy but not to the detriment of the public sector and the people."

The people can be rallied to resolve the problems of national construction only on the basis of consciousness and organisation. For that reason today, as never before, Algeria stands in need of vigorous, dynamic, and genuine representative mass organisations. This presupposes the wide use of democratic rights by the workers, working peasants, young people, women, and intellectuals. The development of democracy will foster growing militancy among the population in all areas of national life. That is why the Algerian Communists are calling upon their brothers-in-arms — militants of the NLF and supporters of the National Charter — to fight for broad patriotic unity of action on the basis of what unites us, relegating to the background, in the interests of the nation, differences even if they are significant.

In foreign policy we feel that concessions and "moderation" in reply to imperialist aggressiveness only encourage imperialism in its efforts to resolve its own deep crisis at the expense of other nations, of the working masses. The desire of the Algerians for peace demands a more active mobilisation of all forces against the danger of a nuclear war overhanging the planet, for disarmament and for the dismantling of the bases that the imperialists use to threaten freedom-loving nations with aggression. The growth of anti-imperialist elements in foreign policy, alongside the reinforcement of the internal patriotic front, would largely facilitate the growth of Algeria's prestige in the international community, and the preservation and consolidation of the esteem won by our country by the selfless actions of the people and the great sacrifices borne by them.

This is the significance of the struggles conducted by the Algerian Communists. As all conscious patriots and revolutionary democrats, we see our main objective in creating a broad alliance of progressive forces and reinvigorating them regardless of whether or not they are represented in the organs of power. This would help to disrupt the destabilising manoeuvres of imperialism and reaction, and enable Algeria to continue building a society of peace, progress, and justice, a society visualised by the millions of patriots who fought in the war of liberation, the 30th anniversary of whose outbreak is being marked this year.

¹ Arab states in Northwest Africa.

² See *El-Moudjahid*, June 12, 1984

³ This conference, held in 1981, considered the economic relations between capitalist and developing countries. — *Ed.*

⁴ See *Saût el Cha'b*, December 28, 1983

⁵ The collective name given in Algeria to voluntary workers.

⁶ See *Saût el Cha'b*, December 28, 1983.

⁷ *Revolution Africaine*, June 15 to 21, 1984.

⁸ *Ibid.*, June 22 to 28, 1984.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Estates of former colonialists that become state property after Algeria was granted independence.

¹¹ See *Saût el Cha'b*, March 1, 1984.

¹² *Ibid.*, February 5 and March 1, 1984.

Monopolies Batten at Labour's Expense

Victor Perlo — CC member, Chairman,
National Economic Commission, CPUSA

THE US economy is afflicted with three kinds of interacting economic and politico-economic crises: the general crisis of capitalism, the structural crisis and the cyclical crisis of overproduction.

The most important and pervasive is the *general crisis of capitalism*, the irreversible, mortal crisis of capitalism. This is manifested, most decisively, by the social revolutions that take place in one country after another, where the people take power to eliminate man's exploitation of man and build socialism, a more progressive, just and democratic system. There is also a spread of movements for national liberation.

The most decisive economic feature of the general crisis of capitalism is the systematic gains of socialism in competition with capitalism. Politically the most reactionary centres of world imperialism try to reverse the course of history by destroying, militarily, socialist and other progressive states and movements wherever they emerge — Vietnam, Angola, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Grenada, and Lebanon, among others. The imperialists now threaten to end human life on this planet in a war whose prevention is the most urgent task facing all people everywhere.

Incurable Disorders

Like the whole capitalist system, the United States is in the grip of a comparatively recent structural crisis, which is a feature of the deepening general crisis and contributes to its severity. The basic components of the structural crisis may never be resolved while capitalism lasts.

Specific features of the structural crisis include a slowdown of overall economic growth in the main centres of world capitalism; the persistence of permanent high-level unemployment through all stages of the business cycle; the drastic weakening of steel, important branches of heavy machine-building and transportation equipment — the very foundation of industrial power — in the United States and most other imperialist countries. This is accompanied by a noticeable deterioration of the infra-structure. There is also a military distortion of the economy. Huge government budget deficits have developed in all the major capitalist countries. A downward trend in real wages and mass living standards appears to be long term.

Along with this, a veritable explosion of monopoly profits, partly masked through a variety of devices, has occurred in the United States. There is a permanent and rapid growth of inflation and usurious interest rates. A parasitic superstructure of finance, advertising, speculation, gambling, drugs and crime, corporate bureaucracies, wealthy

coupon clippers, and an uncontrolled "underground economy" have been proliferating.

Uneven economic development of various countries, and expansion in international economic relations have run in ways that intensify instability. The surging growth of transnational financial, industrial, corporate and billionaire power, which is beyond the control of governments or international agencies, results in even greater instability and unpredictability of prices, currency values, trade. Currency transactions at the New York banks reach a *trillion dollars* (i.e., a million million dollars) *a week*, dwarfing real economic transactions. We are witnessing the end of any stable system of international currency exchanges; the emergence of systematic huge trade and payment imbalances; and massive, unpayable debts of Third World countries to the imperialist money centres, banks and governments.

There is an accelerating transfer of major lines of production from the United States and other developed countries to Third World countries, mainly to those that are occupied by the United States or are under US military domination. This is exerted directly by the transnationals, and by compradore, locally-owned companies. As a result, the runaway industries benefit by a 90 per cent or more reduction in wages, a differential outside of all manageable bounds that has a grossly destabilising and often catastrophic impact on the working class of imperialist countries, and leads to repression of the new proletariat of the developing countries.

Some of these features have been in evidence during particular structural crises in earlier periods. However, this structural crisis is unique in its complexity and severity.

From Crisis to Crisis

World capitalism is in the process of an uneven and uncertain recovery from the latest cyclical crisis of overproduction. The recovery is definite in the United States and Japan, but production is still depressed in Western Europe, while large parts of Latin America and some Asian countries remain in the very depths of depression.

This latest crisis of overproduction, lasting in the United States for three years — from 1980 to 1982 — was the most serious since World War II. As with the previous cycle of the mid 1970s, it was roughly coincident throughout the capitalist world in its crisis and depression phases. During this last crisis, the separate contradictions came together in acute forms, marking the emergence of the long-term structural crisis.

The dynamics of the business cycle are indeed complicated. But we must not forget this fundamental, summary formulation of Marx's: "The ultimate reason for all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as opposed to the drive of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as though only the absolute consuming power of society constituted their limit."¹ Thus, in the United States, the doubled rate of exploitation of labour in the last three decades and the increased deprivation of the working class tend to make successive crises more frequent and severe, and recoveries and economic growth more restricted in time and extent.

During the 1950s and 1960s, bourgeois economists largely dismissed from consideration crises of overproduction that were less serious. They even developed the theory that the business cycle had essentially been solved through state and inter-monopoly regulation, to be replaced with minor fluctuations, "recessions" — a term they still use, but without its former optimistic flavour.

The capitalist class has lost confidence in the stability of its economic system. Its economists debate not whether there will be another crisis, but when it will come, and whether it may not be even more serious than the last. Their consensus is that the next crisis will break out in late 1985, that is, long before many capitalist countries will have completely recovered from the last crisis, so that the working class in the United States and most other capitalist countries would be in a worse situation than at the outbreak of the 1980-1982 crisis.

But capitalist anarchy — the influence of powerful political events, such as wars and revolutions, and/or far-reaching financial catastrophes — can greatly influence the course of cyclical developments, advancing or delaying the onset of any particular crisis.

Offensive Against the Working Class

The past dozen years have seen the most prolonged, far-reaching deterioration in conditions of the US working class in its long history. The fundamental basis for this is the extremely rapid, unprecedented increase in the rate of exploitation of labour, or surplus-value, in US manufacturing over the past three decades.

In 1953, the 148 per cent rate of surplus-value,² while considerably higher than it was in Marx's time, was at about the average level for the period since World War I. Thereafter it "took off", increasing virtually year by year to reach the rate of 290 per cent for 1980. From other data, however, there is little doubt that the rate of surplus-value has increased further, and rather rapidly, in the years since 1981. Labour's share in the values created, which was more than two-fifths in 1953, is now down to an exceptionally low one-fourth.

For some time, due to the rapid increase in labour productivity, the rise in the rate of exploitation of labour was accompanied by a modest rise in average real wages. The peak in officially calculated real wages was in 1972. By 1983, average real wages of production workers in the private economy had declined by about 14 per cent.

However, due to the increase in unemployment, the overall condition of the working class has deteriorated by more than the decline in real wages of employed workers, especially under the Reagan Administration. The average rate of unemployment increased from 3.9 per cent in 1966-1970 to 6.1 per cent in 1971-1975, 6.8 per cent in 1976-1980, and 9.0 per cent in 1981-1983. According to US Labour Department estimates, about 50 per cent can be added to the number of unemployed to allow for so-called "discouraged workers"³ and some of the workers involuntarily put on part time. Thus, allowing for this minimum undercounting, there were approximately 16 million workers, comprising 14 per cent of the working class, who were actually unemployed in 1983.

The cyclical recovery has reduced officially counted unemployment by only about 3 million, leaving it higher than in most post-war crisis and depression periods. The surge of unemployment in Western Europe was even sharper in this last crisis, and has remained at its peak.

How the hard-won gains of the US working class are being lost is dramatically revealed by the rapid elimination of unemployment insurance protection. While 54 per cent of unemployed workers received unemployment insurance in the crisis year of 1958, 43 per cent so benefited in the crisis year of 1975, and the proportion dropped to 33 per cent in 1982 and 27 per cent in 1983, falling further to 23 per cent in the fourth quarter of last year. And those workers who received unemployment insurance get a fraction — considerably less than half — of their regular wages. In this respect, US workers fare far worse than West European workers.

Under Reagan, all other forms of relief for unemployed and otherwise poverty-stricken workers, such as food stamps and aid to dependent children, have also been slashed.

The number of persons with incomes under the official poverty level gradually declined during World War II and for some time thereafter, until "only" 25 million were so classified in 1968. In the following decade, there was no further drop, and the number soared thereafter, reaching 34.4 million in 1982. Undoubtedly, there has subsequently been a further rise. More realistic counting would show that nearly a quarter of the US population lives in poverty.

The deterioration in conditions of Afro-American workers has been especially serious. There has been an increase in discrimination all along the line, overtly

encouraged by Reagan and his Administration. By 1982-83, the Afro-American unemployment rate was 2.5-3 times that for white workers, reaching, for instance, 24 per cent in Cleveland, 26 per cent in Pittsburgh and Chicago, and 34 per cent in Detroit.

The ratio of Afro-American to white family income — 61 per cent in 1970 — was down to 55 per cent in 1982, and the actual relative loss was even greater if the change in method of calculation by the Census Bureau is taken into account. The percentage of Afro-Americans living in poverty was three times that of whites.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the militant civil rights struggles of the Afro-American people — with the support of major sections of the trade union movement — achieved significant legal and practical gains in employment, and in eliminating the most brutal apartheid practices. However, the Reagan Administration launched a head-on offensive against the affirmative action programmes that are the heart of the civil rights gains. He has, in effect, given employers an open invitation to discriminate, and landlords to segregate. They have taken advantage of it.

During this period, there has also been a major offensive by capital against the labour unions, the main organisations of the working class. The offensive has been most conspicuous in the basic industries, where employers have used various tactics, such as plant shutdowns, concentration of declining production in non-union areas and in foreign countries; robotisation; incitement of divisions among workers on the basis of race, immigrant status, male supremacy, etc.

The percentage of wage-workers in trade unions fell from 35.5 per cent at the end of World War II to 27.4 per cent in 1970 and 22 per cent in 1980. The most dramatic drop was in material production (mining, construction, manufacturing) and transport and the utilities, where union membership declined from 15.4 million, or 55 per cent of employment, in 1970, to 11.6 million, or 38 per cent of employment, in 1980. Let us recall that at the peak, about 70 per cent of all production workers in industry were members of unions. This sharp drop is a serious blow to the entire working class and is not compensated by a slow rise in the percentage of service industry workers organised into unions.

Benefits to the Monopolies

The rapid increase in the rate of exploitation of labour in the United States and the mounting plunder of developing countries — through direct investments and through usurious interest on loans — have yielded unprecedented profits for the monopolies.

Examples of the extremely high rates of profit of major monopolies early in this century were given by Lenin in *Imperialist the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.⁴ These rates have now been surpassed by the leading US monopolies. But it is not enough to consider so-called net income after taxes, which has increased rapidly both in amount and as a percentage of equity capital. In conditions of the deepening general crisis, increased shares of surplus-value — gross profit — are going to finance capital in the form of interest; to the major billionaires in the form of profits of control, huge executive salaries, expense accounts, stock market profiteering; to promoters, lawyers, advertisers, etc.

Thus, in 1983, Exxon, which reported a "net income after taxes" of \$5 billion, reported a "gross profit" of \$32.8 billion, or 90.4 per cent of total invested capital of \$36.2 billion. And IBM, which reported a net income after taxes of \$5.5 billion, reported a gross profit of \$23.8 billion, or 73.6 per cent of its total capital of \$32.3 billion. preliminary indications are that the gross profit of all corporations and unincorporated capitalists in 1983 approximated \$1.7 trillion, or half of the gross national product. By contrast, total wage and salary disbursements in the private sector were only \$1.3 trillion, including the salaries taken by corporate executives and managers.

The gross imbalance in the national economy leads to greater extremes than ever of exorbitant wealth, at one pole, and mass poverty and hunger at the other. It accounts

for the slow growth of the overall economy and for the increasing gravity of cyclical crises. It stimulates the mushroom growth of the variety of parasitic, speculative, gambling and criminal activities, as well as — most destructive of all — the militarisation of the economy.

In 1982, a crisis hit the international credit system of imperialism. In the last decade, some 40 countries have built up huge debts to imperialist private banks and the US-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF). These debts cannot possibly be repaid through the ordinary sale of goods by the developing states to the capitalist countries. Most of the loans did not help develop Third World economies: the funds went to pay transnational oil companies multiplied prices; they temporarily absorbed the cost of the "price scissors" against the goods and resources of the debtor countries. Tens of billions were appropriated by Latin American (and African and Asian) dictators, capitalist generals and politicians. But even more damaging was the \$100 billion in interest paid by the Third World, and the direct investment profits garnered by the transnationals. By 1984, the mass revolts in several Latin American countries and the Philippines were a reflection of their people's unwillingness to bend to the dictates of the banks and Washington.

The imperialist states have been using the IMF to divide and rule separately each of the developing nations, but the progressive forces in the Third World are urging joint resistance, mutual cooperation and stronger relations with the socialist world to enable their countries to resume economic growth, raise living standards and achieve independence from neocolonialist rule.

At the risk of provoking a nuclear war, the US imperialist are trying to weaken and defeat the resistance forces by military intervention in several Central American and Caribbean countries. But their neocolonialist plunder of the Third World cannot continue indefinitely. The financial crisis of international indebtedness is bound to end in large-scale repudiation or write-downs and drastically reduced interest payments, transferring the financial crisis to Wall Street and the money centres of Western Europe and Japan.

The timing and severity of this next stage of the crisis will, essentially, be determined by the development of mass struggles by the working class and its allies in the debtor countries, and the degree to which these struggles are united and take revolutionary, consistently anti-imperialist forms.

Two Ways of Development

The world capitalist system is unable to sustain the economic, social and political competition with socialism. Both the United States and the USSR have, of course, had problems in recent years. But the problems are different in character and in order of magnitude. The US problems are those of decline and decay; the Soviet problems are those of growth, problems inescapable in a society in transition from an industrialised, modern socialist society to the more complex, advanced socialist system that will achieve the highest living standards in the world. Difficulties in the socialist world are being overcome, and the pace of economic growth is once again picking up. There are rapid gains and improved coordination among the CMEA nations.

With their planned economy and the mass participation of their people, they can cope with any problems without harming the interests of the working people.

Militarisation is doing the people of the United States a lot of harm and is depressing their living standards. Reaganism is the most dangerous militaristic trend of imperialist policy since nazism and, like it, has an unlimited appetite for world domination. But the agents of monopoly capital are unable and unwilling to evaluate correctly the balance of forces in the world. The reality is that in the early 1980s the US economy has fared worse than under any other US Administration since World War II, and worse than the average — by every major economic indicator, except big

business profits. Meanwhile the advance of socialism in the competition with capitalism has reached a qualitatively new stage.

The USSR, although still below the USA in total industrial production and national income, has surpassed the United States in those basic industries that provide the sinews of future growth and power. The last year in which the United States produced more steel than the Soviet Union was 1973. Between 1973 and 1983, US steel production declined 43 per cent, while Soviet steel output increased 16 per cent, reaching 153 million metric tons in 1983, almost double the US output.

The peaceful gains of socialism also strengthen the peace forces in the capitalist world by emphasising the losses suffered by working people in capitalist countries as a result of the policy of the militaristic circles. Even though consciousness of the advantages of socialism is much less developed in the United States, the working class, including the main trade unions, are now coming out strongly for a switch from military spending to social spending, for restoring the slashes put over by the Reaganites.

The struggle for peace, combined with the struggle for a policy that will meet the vital needs of the working class, is best formulated in the programme of the Communist Party of the United States. It calls for halving the military budget, for withdrawal from foreign bases, for a no-first-strike policy, for a nuclear freeze and rapid disarmament.

The CPUSA's programme is formulated to meet the basic needs of the people: rebuilding the infrastructure, providing health and educational services, erecting affordable, good-quality housing for the tens of millions who are poorly housed and homeless; providing 15 million jobs and ending large-scale unemployment through government programmes and by effecting a six-hour workday with no reduction in pay plus a national programme of jobs for youth; opening up trade with socialist countries, which would bring about, along with other measures, the revival of basic industries as well as advance the cause of peace; ending the gross discrimination against Afro-Americans, Hispanics and women, and the plunder of Third World countries, and assisting them to develop on the basis of economic independence; nationalising banks and basic industries to end the domination of finance capital over the life of the country; shifting the tax burden from labour to capital, the freezing and rolling back monopoly prices.

For the US working class, still suffering from near-depression conditions, the prospect of any early new crisis poses a serious danger, which can be warded off only by action powerful and united enough to improve labour's situation regardless of the stage of the business cycle.

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, New York, 1967, p. 484.

² Rate of surplus-value equals 100 x surplus-value divided by wages.

³ Those who lost their jobs long ago and are vainly trying to find one, but are no longer on the official register. — Ed.

⁴ See, V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 207-208, 232-236.

the book scene

A Principled, Consistent Policy

A.A. Gromyko, *Leninskim Kursom Mira. Izbranniye rechi i statyi* (Following Lenin's Policy of Peace. Selected Speeches and Articles), Politicheskaya Literature Publishers, Moscow, 1984 735 pp.

In our disturbing time public opinion is very closely following Soviet foreign policy because, as is universally acknowledged, the destiny of the human race largely depends upon it. Hence the inevitably wide international response to the statements made by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Andrei A. Gromyko, who has devoted many years of his life to giving effect, enriching, and developing this policy. The book under review is a continuation of the publication of his speeches, articles, and other works started in 1978 (with the volume entitled *For the Triumph of the Leninist Foreign Policy*).

This new volume shows various facets of the international policies of the CPSU and the Soviet government. This enables the reader to understand these policies in a broad socio-historical context, to understand them as a process steadfastly expressing socialism's fidelity to peace, especially at a time when the increased bellicosity of imperialism, chiefly of US imperialism, is threatening our planet with a total thermonuclear disaster.

Andrei Gromyko shows compellingly that socialism's peaceableness is due to objective factors. It stems from the nature of the new social system in which there can neither be nor are classes and social strata interested in war, in preparations for war. The preservation and consolidation of peace are a basic condition of socialism's successful progress and hence the socialist state's central foreign policy objective. This is the keynote of this volume. It is shown on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology, by analysis of the extensive experience of Soviet foreign policy. The essence of the latter is expressed in the principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In singling out major features of Soviet foreign policy, Andrei Gromyko stresses that this policy grew out of the socialist revolution and serves society's transformation. This is an internationalist policy, for the interests of the Soviet people coincide with those of the working people of all countries of the world. It is permeated with the spirit of solidarity with revolutionary, progressive forces. Its distinguishing features are its profound, genuinely democratic character, its recognition in fact of the equality of all countries, races, and nationalities. It is truly humanist because it is consistently a policy of peace. Socialism has no other objectives save its concern for the interests of the broadest masses, and this predicates, above all, its tireless efforts to prevent war (p. 9).

The emergence and development of socialist foreign policy are bound indivisibly with the work of Lenin, who, as Andrei Gromyko stresses, was the first to link the theory of scientific communism with the foreign policy practice of the working people's state. "One can only speak with admiration of Lenin's fundamental contribution to the charting of Soviet foreign policy and the organisation of the Soviet diplomatic service. This includes the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of this policy, the scientific prevision of the course of the revolutionary and liberation struggles, the utilisation of inter-imperialist contradictions, and the skilful application of socialist diplomacy's entire arsenal of forms, ways, and means. Lenin's handling of foreign affairs has been and remains a most vivid and lasting example of commitment

to the party, lofty principles, and ability to assess social, economic, and political processes and phenomena in their inseparable and contradictory relationship, and respond speedily to changes in the international situation" (pp. 509-510).

The book shows the beneficial influence of the socialist policy of peaceful coexistence on international affairs. the purpose of this policy is, as Andrei Gromyko shows, to settle the most burning issue of our time: the exclusion of war from the life of society and the assertion, world-wide, of lasting, just, and democratic peace. At the same time, this policy has nothing in common with concessions to imperialism's war-mongering circles, and combines consistent peaceableness with firm resistance to aggression.

The introduction of the principle of peaceful coexistence into the relations between socialist and capitalist nations is linked directly to the growing might of socialism as a social system. Its enhanced strength and cohesion and its ever firmer alliance with all progressive and anti-war forces, and the steadily growing understanding by sober bourgeois leaders that there is nothing in the calculations to resolve the historic confrontation between capitalism and socialism by war — all this created the conditions for the turn in international relations, that started in the 1970s, from the cold war and confrontation to detente and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Those same years saw the settlement of what earlier seemed to be unresolvable problems that had been contaminating the international atmosphere for a long time. Political contacts, including contacts at the summit, began to develop in the relations between countries with different socio-economic systems. Many important treaties and agreements were concluded and there was a significant expansion of trade, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and other relations. "The changes," Andrei Gromyko writes, "that took place on the world scene in the 1970s, especially during the first half of that decade, confirmed that differences in the social system, ideology, and world view are not an insuperable obstacle to the maintenance between nations of normal, constructive relations, such as facilitate the positive development of the situation in the world in the interests of everybody" (p. 444).

Of course, socialism's conversion into a leading factor of the world's progress and its epoch-making achievement — namely, the establishment of a strategic military equilibrium with the capitalist world — the development of the liberation movement of the peoples, and the evolution of detente into the predominant trend in international affairs obviously came into conflict with imperialism's general policy. Frightened once again that world development is not quite or, to be more exact, not at all following the channel it would like — the more its possibilities for dominating other nations contract the more savage becomes its resistance — imperialist reaction has launched an attempt to halt or at least slow down the course of history. In pursuance of this aim, Andrei Gromyko notes, imperialism is endeavouring to reverse the detente process, launching an unprecedented arms race and seeking to tilt in its favour the strategic military balance between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

By whipping up the arms race US imperialism hopes to create the conditions for retrieving the positions it has lost, exhaust the socialist states economically, and cut back their rate of development. The USA interferes in the internal affairs of socialist countries and intensifies psychological warfare against them. Andrei Gromyko writes: "In the attempts to discredit the socialist countries, their social system and their policy of peace use is made of all sorts of inventions. Besides, those who contrive them engage in a sort of contest for the most stunning lie.

"They go so far as to predict the 'early decline' of socialism. All the indications are that these people have an enviable imagination but only a very vague notion about the objective processes of historical development. Are they looking for the decline where it should be looked for? Are they not confusing the direction?" (p. 292).

Andrei Gromyko's speeches are vividly expressive of the consistent peaceableness of the fraternal socialist countries and their profound confidence in their strength and in

the future of socialism. The content of this volume is irrefutable evidence that nobody can put back the clock. The USSR and the other socialist countries will live and develop in accordance with their own laws, which are laws of the most advanced social system known to humanity. Socialism's policy continues to be aimed at preserving and consolidating peace and detente, at bridling the arms race, and at expanding and deepening cooperation between states, including the relations with the USA.

Andrei Gromyko points out that while it is taking forced steps to strengthen its own security and that of its allies, the USSR, the leadership of the Soviet Union, neither is nor will relax its efforts to avert the threat of war to humankind and to improve the international situation. The Soviet people reject the fatalistic view that for humanity there is no way other than stockpiling armaments and preparing for war. It would be a mistake to underestimate the growth of the war threat. But it would be an even greater mistake to turn a blind eye to the available opportunities for preventing a catastrophe.

Filled with facts and documented statistics and offering compelling, clear, and lucid arguments, Andrei Gromyko's book helps people to understand the truly titanic efforts being made by the CPSU and the Soviet government to curb the arms race and block the road to nuclear madness.

Juli Oganisyan, Dr. Hist.

Forever with the People of Chile

Joan Jara, *Victor. An Unfinished Song*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1983, 278 pp.

"As I stepped on to the plane at Pudahuel Airport, Santiago, escorted by the British consul, on 15 October 1973, I was a person with no identity. . . I looked at my two small daughters scrambling into their seats ahead of me, both of them pale and subdued, not even quarrelling about who should have the window seat, and I was only too aware that they depended entirely on me now. . . I knew that a part of me was dead, he died with a man whose body was now lying in a coffin, in a concrete niche, high up on the back wall of the General Cemetery of Santiago.

"I had left the niche covered with a rough-hewn stone which said simply: 'VICTOR JARA. 14 de Septiembre 1973.' The date was wrong. At the time there was no way of knowing exactly which day my husband had been murdered. I had left no space for flowers. The usual little troughs in front of the niches look bare and sad when they are empty. I could not know that Victor's grave would never be without flowers, that unknown people would go to any lengths to climb up and tie tins and pots with bits of wire and string in order to leave their offerings, even though in doing so they risked arrest" (p. 1).

This is how Joan Jara, widow of a great artist, a man the Chilean people loved, begins her book *Victor. An Unfinished Song*. Written in English and published in London, it is a passionately told story of the long and courageous struggle waged by the Chilean working people, of the gains they achieved in the short but glorious period of the Popular Unity government led by Salvador Allende. It is also a saga of the savage brutality and inhuman essence of fascism which attempted to plunge the country into darkness. It is a book written by a person who witnessed the people's revolution and who has firsthand experience of the atrocities perpetrated by the Pinochet regime. In her foreword, Joan says she feels duty bound to tell the world about Victor Jara, whose life and work were inextricably linked with the struggle of his countrymen.

Born into a poor peasant family, the future poet, singer and composer had to fight against great odds since childhood. His father, frustrated by the poverty he could not

escape, gave up his family responsibilities and sought refuge in the bottle. Victor's mother shouldered the burden of raising the children alone. She died when Victor was fifteen, and thus began his travels around Chile, hunger and privations. Thanks to his exceptional talent, Victor succeeded in struggling free of this condition, but he remained intransigent to social injustice to the end. He understood the causes behind the people's suffering and, logically, became a Communist.

Victor Jara was a truly revolutionary artist. His songs were about the people, about their lives and aspirations, and so they were weapons which dealt painful blows to the oppressors. And the oppressors fought back — with slander in the press, with sneak attacks by goons hired by the reactionaries. Victor sang at demonstrations organised by Popular Unity, he sang for trade unions and schools, he sang in the streets for his poor neighbours, for all those who could not afford a theatre ticket. He sang not only in Chile but in other countries too.

Victor Jara's profoundly patriotic songs helped to enrich the best cultural traditions of Chile, as a biting reply to US imperialism's attempts to impose alien ways on the people. The Communist Party of Chile has good reason to take pride in the fact that many of the finest artists fully dedicated to the cause of the people joined it. The art of outstanding personalities such as Pablo Neruda and Victor Jara aroused working people's hopes for a better life and rallied them to the struggle. Songs, poetry, dance performances and the theatre were an extremely useful channel which linked democratic intellectuals with the people.

Victor Jara was inspired greatly by his trips to Cuba and the Soviet Union. He arrived in Cuba the year after the revolution and witnessed the remarkable strides made by the newly established popular government.

His trip to the USSR made an indelible impression on Victor. He wrote to his wife from Leningrad: "I am amazed at the Soviet Union. Everything I see, day by day, makes me anxious to study. It is much more impressive to see the results in person than to read about them" (p. 63). He added that "the Russians teach you how to live together. They have in them a spiritual steadfastness which makes them serene, kind and firm at the same time. I should like to be like that, with convictions and objectives to lead me on" (ibid).

The victory of Popular Unity and the advent of the Salvador Allende Government in the autumn of 1970 were of historic significance for the Chilean people. For the first time the working man felt that he had a stake in the government. In the words of the author, "it was a celebration like no other for a new sort of president. The people felt that they had entered the Moneda Palace with him" (p. 156). The new government nationalised the commanding heights of the economy, abolished the ownership of huge land estates, reduced unemployment and actively involved workers and peasants in the running of their enterprises. The victory released the energy of the people, and life took on a new meaning for those who had been oppressed.

Far-reaching changes occurred in the cultural fabric too. Art was enriched as a means of national self-expression. A cultural upsurge swept the country. The masses were being drawn into it as vigorous participants, and this revival, in turn, helped many to combat any feelings of passivity which were encouraged by reaction. The book tells the story of Rosita the washing woman — a story typical of what many Chilean working people were before and during the Popular Unity government. At first, "Rosita had no ambition in her life, none for her children — she was almost resigned to them growing up to be thieves and pickpockets. There was nothing else" (p. 178). The revolution transformed Rosita. "She was working in the local organisations, active and busy, feeling that she was contributing to her community and to her family" (ibid.). She gained new confidence in herself when she organised ballet shows and dance classes for young people in her community.

However, aided by US imperialism, the reactionaries exacerbated the difficulties of the process and staged a counter-offensive. When the putsch occurred, Victor Jara was

among thousands of people who were jailed. He did not despair, even though he knew he would be killed. Badly beaten and bleeding, he continued writing poetry in prison: "The blood of our President, our compañero, will strike with more strength than bombs and machine guns" (p. 251).

The book includes the account of Victor Jara's final hours: "Then once more being publicly abused and beaten, the officer nicknamed the Prince shouting at him, on the verge of hysteria, losing control of himself, 'Sing now, if you can, you bastard,' and Victor's voice raised in the stadium after those four days of suffering to sing a verse of the hymn of Popular Unity, 'Venceremos!' Then he was beaten down and dragged away for the last phase of his agony" (p. 249).

Victor was convinced that, having tasted freedom, the Chilean people would rise against the fascist regime. The funeral of Pablo Neruda on September 25, 1973, two weeks after the putsch, became a powerful demonstration of protest against fascism. People recited his poems throughout the procession. At the grave of the great poet, the defiant shouts of "Compañero Pablo Neruda, presente, ahora y siempre!, Compañero Victor Jara, presente, ahora y siempre!, along with the singing of 'The International' sounded" (p. 256).

Now that the Chilean people are fighting the decisive battle against fascism, the songs of the bard of freedom have gained new and greater strength. Victor Jara lives in the hearts of the Chileans, of progressive people everywhere. In the words of the well-known US singer Pete Seeger, "as long as we sing his songs, as long as his courage can inspire us to greater courage, Victor Jara will never die". And new singers, born of the struggle, will complete his last, unfinished song — 'Venceremos!'

Donald Ramotar

Whom do Anti-Soviet Myths Serve?

Hubert Reichel, *Die Russen kommen – pünktlich* (The Russians Come — Punctually), Frankfurt on the Main, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1983, 212 pp.

"He who wants peace must know who is endangering it. He who wants to avoid dangers must know whom they come from. Not a day passes without government politicians and the media dishing up new versions of the lie about the 'threat'. For every infamous deed of imperialism and alleged threat from the Soviet Union is invoked."¹ These words, spoken by DKP Chairman Herbet Mies at the Seventh Party Congress (January 1984), could have been used as an epigraph to the book under review. The book aroused so wide an echo in our country that a second edition had to be brought out a few weeks after the first.

What is the reason for this success? Credit is due to Hubert Reichel's sarcasm, imaginative style, vividly journalistic approach and interesting selection of facts, all of which lend the book the quality of an absorbing political detective story. However, the main reason for the success scored by the author, deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Unsere Zeit*, is that the problems raised by him are topical and that the book is consonant with the current mood of the West German public, concerned as it is about the fate of peace.

The book looks back at the genesis and utilisation of the myth about the "Soviet threat". It shows that this falsehood is not of recent date but was invented immediately after the October Revolution. It was then that the world bourgeoisie raised a hue and cry about the "Red danger", following it up with a military campaign against the newly-founded Soviet Republic. Big capital and the reactionary military, backed by right-wing social democratic leaders, did their utmost to "safeguard" the workers of

their countries against the revolutionary influence of the "Russian example". Reichel cites many revealing facts of the frank slander which was used in Germany and other capitalist countries to discredit Communists. It was in the atmosphere of a hostile, hysterical campaign against the Communist Party of Germany that Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, held in great affection by the German working class, were treacherously murdered. The book demonstrates that reaction uses anti-communism as a weapon against labour leaders and even sober-minded bourgeois politicians.

The author devotes special attention to fascist ideology and practice. This is justified, for the general reader in our country, who is influenced by reactionary propaganda, has but a vague notion of the nature, objectives and political practices of the Third Reich. Gross provocations against the Left went hand in hand with the physical destruction of Communists. The nazis resorted freely to various acts of subversion. The Reichstag fire was one of them.

As the result of a radical change in the international situation since World War II, Reichel writes, anti-communist practices have changed somewhat for their part. However, the nature of the phenomenon is the same as before — intransigent hostility to Marxist-Leninist ideas and the forces of peace, national liberation and social progress. Also intact are such of its components as the myth about the "Soviet threat" and the accusation that socialist countries are aggressive and export revolution.

The lie about the "threat from the east" translated in the case of the Germans into something far worse than an abstract concept or a mere indication of a complete lack of principle on the part of the imperialists, their politicians and propagandists. The death of millions and smoking ruins were a materialisation of the lie used by the nazis for attacking the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, many people in the Federal Republic still fall for this lie; they include those who believe fabrications of the reactionary media and live in constant fear of "communist aggression". To reveal the class roots of calumnies and show that the threat to life on earth comes from imperialism — as Reichel does — means opening the eyes of the misled and intimidated to the actual state of affairs, thereby helping swell the ranks of peace fighters.

Psychological warfare is gaining ground in imperialism's arsenal. The author cites various facts to acquaint the reader with the content and objectives of anti-communist campaigns of recent years. These campaigns are designed to discredit the new social system and the foreign policy of socialist countries, indoctrinate people psychologically in preparing for war against these countries and distract their attention from the real causes of the deep crisis besetting the Federal Republic. Last but not least, they are aimed at denigrating the peace movement in Western Europe, which they make out to be "manipulated by Moscow".

What is the connection between the most preposterous anti-Soviet falsehoods of the right-wing press, the deployment of new US nuclear first-strike missiles in the Federal Republic and the new "crusade" against communism? In answering this, Reichel establishes the following reality: every new peace initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries is greeted in the West with a shrill propaganda campaign about "communist expansion", with the obvious aim of lessening its impact on public opinion. At the same time every new round of the arms race started by the imperialists is invariably preceded by a new stage in the slander campaign against existing socialism. The campaign gained in intensity with the deployment of new US medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. To justify this development, every effort is being made to publicise the allegation about Soviet "military superiority", which is rebutted by, among others, sober-minded bourgeois politicians and scientists, as Reichel stresses.

Giving numerous specific examples, the author discloses the role of the bourgeois media in whipping up anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria and fomenting militarism. He lays bare the foul methods of the West German right-wing press and ridicules *Bild*. On March 21, 1980, that newspaper carried an item under the

sensational headline "840 Infants in a Swimming-Pool". "Moscow's No. 68 Hospital," it wrote, "is rearing 840 babies, the Soviet Union's most important children. They are to seize outer space one day. Russian researchers have made all provisions: the babies are born under water and then live for five years in a water tank the size of several swimming-pools. In this way they get used to weightlessness. The man responsible for the programme, long a secret, is Igor Cherkovsky, a well-known Moscow doctor" (pp. 129-130).

The Moscow correspondent of *Unsere Zeit* found out that the only real facts reported by *Bild* are that there is a city called Moscow and a No. 68 Hospital. The hospital treats children affected with hereditary or genetic traumas who include sons and daughters of foreign diplomats and journalists accredited in the Soviet Union. Everything else is a figment of perverse imagination.

"The Russians are coming," Reichel comments sarcastically on the *Bild* canard. "They are coming by sea, land and air. And now from space" (ibid.).

The author deals at length with the subversive activity of West German propaganda centres and secret services against the GDR and describes the ways and means used by them to undermine the socialist achievements of the GDR and misrepresent the reality existing there. "Reaction," Herbert Mies said at the Seventh DKP Congress, "dreads that reality like hell. It would like to turn back the wheel of history and do away with socialism as a social system. It sees its goal in pushing back and destroying the Communists and other progressives all over the world who are fighting for freedom from exploitation and oppression and for socialism. . . This is the actual class essence of the 'crusade against communism' announced by the Reagan Administration. To this end US imperialism is prepared to hazard the destiny of the whole of mankind."

"Whom Is Anti-Communism Spearheaded Against?" is the title of the last chapter. This title is perfectly justified, since the vanguard of the working class is not the only force against which anti-communism is directed. The "Red danger", Reichel points out, is widely used as a pretext for the persecution of the working class movement and democratic and peace-loving opinion. To what absurd lengths fear of communism can lead is attested by a statement of CDU General Secretary Heiner Geissler quoted in the book. When it became obvious that the majority of Social Democrats were against the deployment of new US missiles in the Federal Republic he called the SPD "Moscow's fifth column".

And so, to use a figure of speech, "the Russians turn up everywhere" and always "punctually", that is, when reaction feels that it must make new attacks on the working people, harass spokesmen of the Left, whip up militarist hysteria, escalate the arms race or mount direct aggression with a view to overthrowing a government it does not like.

The West German Union of Journalists, which is affiliated to the Union of Printing and Paper Industry Workers, met in congress in October 1982. The congress adopted an Appeal reading in part as follows: "Journalists and analysts in Germany contributed in decisive measure to the spread of racial hatred and war propaganda, which led to two world wars. This is why they are not only responsible historically but must, particularly in the present situation, work to cover events truthfully and exhaustively."

Hubert Reichel's book accords entirely with the spirit of the Appeal.

Ulrich Sander
Journalist (FRG)

¹ *Protokoll des 7. Parteitages der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*, January 6-8, 1984, Nuremberg, p. 33.

"Information Imperialism" in the Economic Sphere

Information, Economics and Power. The North-South Dimension. Ed. by Rita Cruise O'Brien, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1983, 156 pp.

Information on new technology, patents, foreign trade and investments is gaining in importance as a requisite for the economic growth of developing countries.

Information, Economics and Power throws light on the present situation. It is a collection of articles based on the records of an international conference, "Information Access and International Negotiations: New Directions in North-South Relations", held in Britain.

The conference was sponsored by the Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), in which the USA and other capitalist powers set the tone. They constantly take a negative stand on the demand made primarily by developing countries for a new international economic order and a new system of information exchange. It is therefore interesting to see why the OECD has begun to pay attention to "new directions in North-South relations" while the USA and other members of the organisation are essentially satisfied with the present state of these relations.

The main reason is undoubtedly the fact that the destructive impact of the problems of the Third World on the world capitalist economy has assumed extremely dangerous proportions. The authors of the articles — researchers from the USA, Britain, Canada, Switzerland and Sweden as well as Mexico, Colombia and Chile and the Centre on Transnational Corporations at the UN — are concerned about the deepening economic gulf between industrial capitalist states and developing countries. The "free flow of information" practised by imperialism, the book admits, does not at all guarantee developing countries free access to the latest technological, economic and commercial data. Besides, the expansion of telephonic communications, introduction of up-to-date systems of collecting statistics, the development of printing and duplicating facilities, the library and archives industry for storing information and the training of highly competent personnel are still very remote prospects for many Third World countries. Yet all this is very important today as a means of speeding economic progress and social development generally.

The book points out that the leading capitalist powers are increasingly monopolising "detailed knowledge of the international financial system" (p. 75). Commanding more and more sophisticated information techniques, in particular for keeping track of the state of currency, raw material, energy and technological markets, they are in a position to carry out their global financial transactions more effectively, chiefly to the detriment of the Third World. The authors note that the satellite telecommunication systems of the eighties have increased the cost of receiving information. This means that the majority of developing countries will be unable to pay their access to new systems. As a result, these countries will lag still farther behind, their difficulties will mount and they will become more dependent on imported technology and plant than ever before.

The authors' concern at the situation that is shaping up is justified and deserves support. As for revealing the essence of the problem, however, their contribution is very modest, to put it mildly. They ignore the dramatic reality of economic, political and social contradictions between developing the imperialist countries. This is why, instead of recommending ways and means of resisting the trend towards growing inequality, they make trivial statements, e.g., "information is not an exhaustible product", "the cost of transmitting information . . . is not zero", "property rights"

in the area of information and "the returns from the production of information" are easily lost (see pp. 6-7). The general conclusion drawn by them is as banal as it is hard to use: "the stimulation of competition among sellers and cooperation among buyers will improve the information flow" (p. 22).

The book is an illustration of the inconsistency of bourgeois scholars, who admit the importance of the problem but avoid a search for a radical solution. Nor is this surprising, since such a solution would be at variance with the interests of the monopolies dominating the capitalist information market and refusing to give up their positions.

Stephen Vorstein

The Boss' Class

Joe Joyce and Peter Murtagh, *The Boss. Charles J. Haughey in Government*, Poolbeg Press, Dublin, 1983, 400 pp.

The "Boss" is Charles Haughey, twice Prime Minister of the Irish Republic and since 1979 the leader of Ireland's biggest political party, Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny). The Irish journalists Joe Joyce and Peter Murtagh claim their book to be an investigative analysis of Haughey's last period in office, February-November 1982. It is, in actual fact, the culmination of a hysterical four-year campaign waged by both the British and Irish mass media to oust Haughey from his leading position in Irish politics.

Haughey is portrayed in a bad light being dubbed "the most controversial leader in modern Irish history", Fianna Fail's "achilles heel" (p. 20), and because of his ambition to be leader we are told he has an "un-Irish manner" (p. 84). Near the end of the book (p. 341) he is even compared to Hitler.

The attacks made on Haughey by the authors reflect very accurately the attitude to him on the part of the bourgeois media. This contrasts considerably with the treatment of Garret Fitzgerald, the present Taoiseach (Prime Minister) and leader of the other, and most right-wing bourgeois party in the Irish Republic, Fine Gael (Irish Nation). The image creators in the media knighted Fitzgerald "Sir Garret the Good", fraudulently presenting him as Ireland's great Liberal.

This book, like the barrage of attacks on Haughey since his elevation to party leader and Taoiseach, is a reflection of the sharp divisions that have emerged inside the Boss' class, between the two major groups of the Irish national bourgeoisie. First, there are the commercial and financial interests, along with the ranchers and foreign capital all of whom wish Ireland to remain closely tied to British imperialism. This section is best represented by Fine Gael. Secondly, there is medium and small capital represented by millionaire businessman and Fianna Fail leader Charles Haughey. They see the need for a more independent state — which, however, does not prevent them from offering their country for sale.

Of the two bourgeois parties Fianna Fail is the more complex. Not only does it comprise traditional republican elements, including large sections of the working class and small farmers, but for decades, since the late 1930s, it had been the voice of almost the entire national bourgeoisie and was therefore considered the "natural" party of government. It was a Fianna Fail government in the late 1950s, which decided to open the country to foreign investment and multinational penetration.¹ Haughey being a member of the cabinet throughout the 1960s also played his part in paving the way for imperialism to take the commanding heights of the Irish economy.

But the divisions in the national bourgeoisie which are so acute today, began to emerge with the outbreak of the political crisis in Northern Ireland at the end of the 1960s. The mass demonstrations for civil rights and the retaliatory pogroms on the Catholic working class areas by the forces of repression in the north of Ireland rudely awoke the republican elements in Fianna Fail's rank and file from their complacent slumber. Not only that, it also motivated the young and more vigorous sections of the capitalist class to take a close interest in the developments in the north of the country. They recognised that they could strike an even better bargain with imperialism if they had the whole country to sell; besides, the very unification of the two economies in Ireland promised considerable financial rewards. Haughey became the rallying point of this section of the bourgeoisie and the rank and file of Fianna Fail, when he was forced to resign from the cabinet in 1970, having been charged with smuggling arms to Republican factions in Northern Ireland.

However, the authors of *The Boss* fail to understand the reasons behind Haughey's new-found Republicanism, they are only able to confirm that a change in his politics did take place: "Prior to 1969 Haughey had not been considered to be on Fianna Fail's nationalist wing. He had epitomised the new image of the party, allied to business and setting more store by pragmatism than ideology" (p. 95).

By the end of the 1970s Haughey was challenging for control of the party. The leadership of Fianna Fail had continued to adopt policies overtly subservient to imperialism, which could hardly be distinguished from those of the pro-British Fine Gael. It is therefore of no surprise that when Haughey emerged as the new leader in 1979, it was not long before leading members of his own party were joining with the media and Fine Gael in the campaign for his resignation: Eoin Ryan, the "Fianna Fail leader in the Senate and a pillar of the country's financial establishment . . . declared his opposition to Haughey in no uncertain terms" (p. 258).

It is clear that Britain, after decades of a docile government in the Irish Republic, also feared the volatility of Haughey. Their fears were strengthened with the stand taken by Haughey's minority government during the Malvinas crisis. The Irish government not only opposed the use of force by the British, but also withdrew from participating in EEC sanctions against Argentina. On top of this, Haughey, as the Prime Minister, came out in opposition to Britain setting up a powerless assembly in Northern Ireland as part of an attempt at a British imperialist solution to the crisis. Such actions only added fuel to the already blazing campaign of slander against Haughey. Indeed, it was at this time that the stakes were upped to the extent that large bribes were offered to the deputy head of the government to join in the conspiracy to help oust the Taoiseach.

All of these incidents are covered in the book, but they are not thoroughly investigated. Instead the authors prefer to shrug off as "paranoia" (p. 267) claims that the media and British military intelligence were conspiring against Haughey. The authors' failure to investigate who lay behind the anti-Haughey crusade exposes the hollowness of the book's dedication: "To all those who tell reporters what is really going on."

Nepotism, patronage and corruption, so prevalent in the neocolonial set-up of the Irish Republic, are quite justifiably given a public airing in *The Boss*. However, the authors' failure to show that such practices are just as common inside Fine Gael and the Labour Party further highlights the book's bias against Fianna Fail. However, it also reveals Haughey's inconsistencies on questions such as Irish independence and neutrality. For example, having met the British Prime Minister, Haughey began, in 1980, to toy "with the idea of abandoning Irish neutrality in favour of the defence pact with Britain which might help shift Thatcher towards Irish unity" (p. 147).

The point that needs to be stressed here is that the ending of partition does not in itself mean that the struggle for self-determination has been successfully concluded, particularly if Ireland has to become involved in a military pact with Britain. Political

unification of Ireland on such terms can only work in the interests of British imperialism. This incident, cited by the authors, reveals that Haughey — or any spokesman of the bourgeoisie — is not at all interested in a genuine solution to the national question, as that would require a thorough-going anti-imperialist struggle, which runs directly against the class interests he represents.

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The Communist Party of Ireland does not have any illusions about Charles Haughey. Both the limitations of his commitment to Irish independence and his adherence to right-wing economic policies are more than obvious. However, we recognise that he is the first bourgeois political leader in decades to have brought the national question to the fore of establishment politics, and he has not obsequiously accepted British imperialism's policies. While this is partly due to the interests of the bourgeois quarters he represents, pressure from the grass roots, which tend towards a radical anti-imperialist tradition, he also had a significant role to play.

It is up to the Left to expose Haughey's seemingly progressive policies, revealing to the workers and the small farmers, who are the backbone of Fianna Fail, the reluctance of their capitalist leadership to actually confront imperialism. The point must be driven home that the only way forward in Ireland is for the working class and its allies to develop a really independent political voice, one that will give a lead on both the national and social struggles. If the history of the Irish Republic has taught us anything it is the correctness of James Connolly's statement that "the Irish working class remain as the only incorruptible inheritors of the fight for Irish freedom".

Niall Farrell

¹ For further information on the economic development of the Irish Republic see *WMR* No. 4, 1983, "Multinational penetration of the Irish Republic's economy" by A. O'Muircheartaigh.

surveys, information and mail

The 60th Anniversary of the Lebanese Communist Party

LEBANON'S Communists, working class and all national-progressive forces have marked the 60th anniversary of the Lebanese Communist Party. Its establishment on October 24, 1924 opened a radically new stage in the movement of our country's

working masses for social emancipation and national liberation.¹

The key event which prepared the ground for the establishment of a vanguard Lebanese working class party was the victory of the October Revolution in Russia which was a source of inspiration to oppressed people throughout the world. In terms of domestic developments, the migration of peasants to urban areas was also of considerable importance. The ranks of hired industrial labour, subjected to increasingly brutal capitalist exploitation, were swelling. The workers were beginning to fight for their economic demands, including that of higher wages and shorter work-day. All this made it possible to create a party of a new type which represented the interests of the newly formed working class, of all urban and rural working people and of progressive intellectuals — the Communist Party.

In the spring of 1925 it was joined by the Spartacus Youth League which had a branch in Syria, and the party was renamed the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon (CPSL).

In December 1925 the CPSL, by then forced to go underground, held its first national conference. Immediately after the conference the French authorities arrested and jailed comrades Fouad Al-Chimali, Ibrahim Yazbek and Artin Madoyan, the then party leaders.

Nevertheless, the party lived and fought on.

In April 1930 the second national conference of the party was held underground. According to its decision, the Central Committee drew up a policy document which was published in 1931 and which explained the purposes of the party, its ultimate goal and its position vis-a-vis various problems of the country.

The 1930s were marked by a powerful upsurge in our country's working class the national movement in which Communists were very active. Simultaneously, greater attention was paid to ideological education. Legalised by the occupation authorities in 1936, the party secured the right to publish *Saût el Cha'b (The People's Voice)*, its national newspaper, and took part in the parliamentary election campaign.²

In connection with the growing threat of a world war, a League to Combat Fascism in Lebanon, led by the Communist Antoine Tabet, was founded in May 23, 1937. The League's activities involved various popular and workers' organisations and prominent democratic members of the artistic community. *Al-Tarich (The Road)*, a socio-political and literary periodical launched by the League, played an important part in the dissemination of anti-fascist ideas.

In January 1944 the First Congress of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon advanced a programme of action for the forthcoming period, linking the objectives of national liberation with those of social progress.

Our people's striving for liberation finally forced the colonial rulers to grant Lebanon its independence in late 1943. However, French and British troops still remained on Lebanese soil. Together with other national organisations, the Communists demanded that these troops be withdrawn from Syria and Lebanon completely and without delay. The mounting struggle for this demand was led by an extraordinary committee which comprised representatives of different Lebanese parties, including the LCP. The movement culminated in the general strike and mass demonstrations which swept the country on January 2, 1946. The Soviet Union resolutely supported the liberation struggle of the Lebanese people. The principled and firm Soviet position in the UN Security Council frustrated the attempts by France and Britain, which were acting in collusion with the United States, to retain their military presence in Lebanon. Eventually, foreign troops were forced to withdraw from Lebanon (British troops in October and French troops in December 1946).

On the domestic political front, the party's efforts led to the establishment, in early January 1944, of the General Trade Union Association of Lebanese Industrial and Office Workers, led by the Communist Moustafa Al-Aris. The Association launched a struggle for the introduction of a guaranteed minimum wage and better

working conditions. In 1946 the national trade union centre called a general strike which resulted in a historic victory for the people — the adoption of labour legislation (the Lebanese Labour Act).

From the late 1940s through the mid-1960s our party, although forced to go underground again (in January 1948),³ was in the front ranks of the forces which offered all-round resistance to various forays of the imperialists and their allies in Lebanon and the entire region (The Baghdad Pact, the "Eisenhower Doctrine", the "Islamic Pact", etc.).

The party was also active in the May 1958 popular armed uprising against the reactionary Chamoun-Malek regime which brought in US Marines to prop it up. The uprising lasted until the treacherous regime fell and US troops were withdrawn from Lebanon.

Naturally, our party's glorious and militant path has been neither easy nor smooth. There were times when the LCP was forced to retreat and experienced setbacks. There were both leftist and rightist deviations in the approach to the national front slogan and in the efforts to unite the trade union and working class movement. The role of the working class in the patriotic, national and social struggle was not always assessed correctly, and our work among the peasants lacked the necessary consistency. There were also serious shortcomings and mistakes in the party's internal affairs. These led to red tape, violations of party democracy and Leninist organisational principles, erosion of the role played by the party's leading bodies, and disdain for the principle of collective leadership. All this was at the root of the crisis which the party underwent from mid-1966 to mid-1967.

In July 1968 the Second Congress of the LCP adopted the party's first political programme and Rules. The congress was a historic turning point in the activities of Lebanese Communists. The LCP became a truly class, revolutionary party and worked out a profoundly scientific evaluation of the country's overall socio-economic and political development. This was the basis on which an analysis of Lebanon's class structure was built, and a policy of alliances in the interests of the working class and other working masses was elaborated — a policy displaying the greatest possible flexibility but without any concessions of principle. The congress resolutely changed the party's overall approach to the national question. It defined, in both theoretical and practical terms, the position and the role of the working class and of its vanguard party in the solution of national and patriotic problems and showed that today, when the objectives of national liberation and social emancipation were closely interrelated, no social force was more interested or instrumental in their attainment than the working class.

With regard to organisational matters, the Second Congress was the starting point of efforts to ensure strict observance of Leninist norms and reinstate the principle of democratic centralism. Turning their backs on the period of self-imposed isolation, Lebanon's Communists entered the stage of enlarging their membership by admitting working people, above all workers and peasants, and of creating a mass party.

After the Second Congress the party was legalised, and its membership more than tripled. The vanguard role of the LCP in the class, patriotic and social struggle increased. The correct political line, effective everyday work in various spheres and the sacrifices the party made led the popular masses to recognise this role.

The party elaborated its political line in greater depth at its Third (1972) and Fourth (1979) Congresses. The latter examined the internal and external causes of the civil war in Lebanon, analysed the crisis of the Arab national liberation movement and boldly raised the question of a revolutionary alternative to this movement at the current stage. In a situation when reactionary, fascist quarters had forced the Communists to take up arms, the congress stated that the task of creating a mass militant party acquired increased urgency.⁴

That is understandable. Lebanon is going through the most severe and deep crisis in

its modern history. Imperialism, zionism and reaction would like to turn our country into yet another link in the truckling chain of Camp David, to fragment it, abolish its national independence, break it away from the Arab world, set up a racist, fascist, rigidly religious state along the Israeli pattern on Lebanese soil, and to crush the Palestinian revolution. The national progressive forces are waging a fierce political and armed struggle against these sinister schemes.

The Lebanese Communist Party holds a worthy place among these forces. Guided by the Programme adopted at the Second Congress, by the statements of the Third and the decisions of the Fourth congress it is heroically and proudly holding aloft the banner of national and social progress. Hundreds of heroic Communists, like General Secretary Fara Jallah al-Hélou, have perished defending the interests of the working class and all working masses, the patriotic and democratic aspirations of our people, the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and of the Arab nation, peace in the region and the world.

The more important events which occurred in Lebanon in 1984 include the powerful popular action in West Beirut which forced the US Marines and other NATO troops to pull out of Lebanon, the abrogation of the humiliating agreement with Israel, the collapse of the Phalangists' plans to monopolise power in the nation, and the formation of the national unity government under Rachid Karamé. These historic victories would have been impossible without the correct policy of alliances pursued by the LCP, without the heroism displayed by our people and the Front of Lebanese Patriotic Resistance to the Israeli invaders, without the firm position of fraternal Syria and the Palestinian revolutionary forces, and without the effective and selfless assistance we receive from our loyal allies, above all from the USSR.

The party of Lebanese Communists is approaching its Fifth Congress. It will be a major landmark in the further unification of the Lebanese progressive forces. We are preparing for the congress under the slogan of a broad national democratic front for liberation, unity and far-reaching democratic transformations in our country.

Rafic Samhoun
CC Political Bureau member,
Lebanese Communist Party

¹ At that time Lebanon, like neighbouring Syria, was under a French mandate.

² At the beginning of World War II, the party was banned again. The ban was lifted after the Vichy authorities were driven out of the country in the summer of 1941.

³ The party remained underground until August 1970.

⁴ For more information, see: Rafic Samhoun, "A Mass Fighting Party", *WMR*, No. 2, 1982.

The Reader Wants to Know Disarmament: The Condition of Development

"Some say that the struggle against the arms race has little to do with the developing nations which have their hands full tackling the most acute problems of backwardness, starvation and poverty. But I think that there is a definite connection between disarmament and development. What do the facts and figures say?"

F. Rahman, Bangladesh

The *WMR* Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation has prepared a short review of the problem on the basis of reports by various international bodies, specialised publications and other sources.

TO start with, let us consider a study by UN experts showing the trends in the development of the world's poorest countries in two alternative scenarios: one with a continuing arms race, and the other, with curbs on it (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Development Indicators for the Year 2000 with Two Alternatives for World Military Expenditures

Region	Scenario		Percentage change
	Base	Disarmament	
1	2	3	4

A. Per capita GDP (dollars)

Arid Africa	143.4	353.1	+146.2
Low-income Asia*	136.1	190.4	+ 39.8
Latin America:			
Resource poor	418.2	488.1	+ 16.7
Tropical Africa	244.9	381.5	+ 55.8

B. Industrial employment (millions of man-years)

Arid Africa	20.6	48.4	+134.9
Low-income Asia	134.1	177.6	+ 32.4
Latin America:			
Resource poor	52.8	58.3	+ 10.4
Tropical Africa	41.6	67.9	+ 63.2

C. Capital Stock (billions of dollars)

Arid Africa	57.3	135.8	+136.9
Low-income Asia	364.4	501.3	+ 37.5
Latin America:			
Resource poor	327.5	378.3	+ 15.5
Tropical Africa	110.6	185.4	+ 67.6

Note. The Base Scenario assumes a stable proportion of military spending in aggregate GDP and the Disarmament Scenario, a cut down to 75 per cent of the 1970 figure by 1990, and down to 60 per cent by 2000.*

* Under the UN classification, low-income countries are those which have a GDP per head of not more than \$220.

Source: UNCTAD. *Trade and Development Report*, 1982, New York, 1982, p. 124.

These figures speak for themselves. The developing countries' socio-economic progress would be greatly accelerated if world military spending were reduced, and vice versa.

Let us note that the table illustrates that correlation outside the context of the main danger posed by the imperialist-triggered arms race, namely, the growing danger of a nuclear war, a war which would not bypass the developing states either.¹ But even assuming that there are no nuclear blasts on their territory and that their material and technical facilities are left intact, inevitable destruction would overtake the economy, science and culture in the part of the world from which the young states receive almost the whole of their technology, machinery, equipment, and financial aid, and also a sizable part of their food. As a result, most of them would find themselves plummeting from their present economic level, which is not too high as it is.

But to return from the prognostications and assumptions to the realities of our day. The developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America have a total of more than 0.5 billion starving people, more than 1 billion living in extreme penury, 1.5 billion deprived of medical care, and at least 800 million illiterate, to say nothing of the burning economic, financial, population and other problems faced by the peoples of the former colonies.²

It has been estimated that an additional \$8 billion a year needs to be found in order to provide food for the starving, and another \$22 billion a year to end illiteracy and wipe out the most dangerous diseases. Where could that money come from? The answer suggests itself: it could be taken from the vast world outlays which, through the fault of imperialism's militaristic circles, are now being used to improve the arsenals of war, instead of building and improvement of living conditions.

UN experts estimate that funds coming to 8-10 per cent of the world's annual military spending would suffice to solve the most acute social problems in the developing world. It would take only 0.5 per cent of its current volume to create the necessary prerequisites for making the poorest countries self-sufficient in food over the next few years. All it needs is a halt to the arms race so as to release the funds earmarked for building up military arsenals and to appropriate them for peaceful and constructive purposes.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has proposed a 10 per cent reduction in military budgets, with a part of the funds so saved to be used for aid to the young states and promotion of their development. The Warsaw Treaty countries have proposed that military spending should be cut, instead of being increased. But these initiatives did not meet with any positive response from the United States and its NATO partners and remain unrealised. What is more, the NATO countries have recently committed themselves to further increasing outlays for military purposes at a rate that could double these over the next 20 years.

For the African, Asian and Latin American countries, the global arms race signifies not only potential economic losses. It also substantially worsens the external economic conditions of their development. This is effected through several channels.

Thus their products meet some of the consumer demand in the industrialised capitalist countries, so that the high-cost military programmes which reduce the population's purchasing power (through the mechanism of taxation, and the like) by the same token narrow down the developing world's export potentialities.

The steadily growing cost of armaments is one of the sources of inflation in the industrialised capitalist countries. Inflation results in a growth of the prices of goods, including, of course, those which are bought by the developing countries, and this tends to limit their import potentialities.

Rising military expenditures increasingly make for scarcer funds on the loan-capital market, and this goes to toughen the terms on which loans can be obtained. Their overstated prices (interest rates) inflate the developing countries' external debt, which

in 1984 totalled \$810 billion (as compared with \$700 billion in 1982), according to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

The international tensions being generated by imperialism and the attendant arms race have both a direct and an indirect negative impact on the socio-economic development of the African, Asian and Latin American countries. The fact is that the developing countries themselves have to shoulder a growing burden of military spending.

The bulk of it takes the form of arms imports, 75 per cent of which goes into the Third World, and almost two-thirds of which comes from the United States and its main NATO allies.

In 1980 alone, the developing countries, according to the FAO, imported arms worth twice as much as the total cost of cereals imported that year by the lowest-income states. In monetary terms, arms imports make up nearly one-half of the developing world's deficit on current account. In July 1983, *Business Week* said that some of the 43 countries which put in orders for US arms and military equipment in fiscal 1983 to a total cost of \$23.5 billion were unable to pay their debts.

The buildup of a defence industry by some young states is another outcome of the arms race that has proved to be a very costly enterprise. Some 20 years ago, such industries were virtually non-existent in the developing world, but today more than 30 of its countries manufacture weapons. The most negative consequences here spring from the fact that technical progress and new technologies are used to make weapons, mainly under foreign licences, instead of building up a solid economic base for development.

The embroilment of Third World countries in the arms race tend to increase the disproportions in their economy. Military expenditures tend to grow much faster than their gross national product. Over the past 20 years, military spending has gone up 4.5-fold, and the GNP — only 3-fold. The developing world had already outstripped the industrialised countries in the proportion of their GNP going to military expenditures — almost 6 per cent.³

The following data (see Table 2) show the scale and the pace of the growing military expenditures in the developing world.

TABLE 2
Developing Countries Military Spending

	Expenditures (\$ mln in 1979 prices)	Share of World military spending (per cent)
1972	32,980	7.9
1973	37,296	8.8
1974	48,074	11.0
1975	56,034	12.4
1976	63,946	14.0
1977	63,630	13.7
1978	66,085	13.8
1979	67,838	13.7
1980	71,316	14.1
1981	81,281	15.6

Source: SIPRI. *Yearbook*, 1982, p. 140.

We find that within 10 years actual military spending by that group of countries

multiplied 2.5-fold, while their share of world spending — doubled. The developing world's annual military spending is already close to \$100 billion.

One can easily imagine the harm being done by militarisation to social reproduction in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for it has been absorbing more and more of the funds which should have gone into much-needed investments in the national economy. In this context, Marx once remarked that "in direct economic terms, it is the same thing as if a nation jettisoned a part of its capital".⁴

Let us note that the developing countries' military spending contains a much larger element of "lost opportunities" than it does in the industrialised countries, because the less solid a society's economic and industrial base, the heavier the actual burden of military spending which is similar in GNP terms. It is estimated that for the developing states the burden is 3.4 times greater than it is for the industrialised countries.⁵

The diversion of sizable manpower resources into the military sphere creates considerable difficulties. On the whole, about 3 per cent of the able-bodied population in the developing countries is involved in the military sphere, but in some instances the indicator is as high as 10 per cent and over. It has been estimated that the maintenance of one soldier in the Middle East region requires the equivalent of social outlays for 346 civilians. In Africa, the figure is 364, in East Asia, 146, and in South Asia, 767. The maintenance of one serviceman in the developing world comes to more than 10 times the income per head.

The growth of military spending plays havoc with human-need programmes and depresses the living standards of the masses. The developing countries now spend an estimated six times more on armaments than they do on public health, and three times more than on education. The least developed of these countries, where the mass of the population is underfed, spend as much for military purposes as they do for the needs of agriculture. The World Health Organisation (WHO) says that the cost of military supply orders placed by African, Asian and Latin American countries averages 45 times more than the funds it would take to wipe out the mass incidence of malaria among their populations.

One should also reckon with the fact that the arsenals being built up by the developing countries have been widely used and are still so being used today. One need merely recall that over the first three decades after the Second World War — from September 1945 to 1975 — more than one-half of the 143 local wars and armed conflicts, as a rule provoked by the imperialist powers, were fought in Asia (74), one-third in Africa (44), and one-seventh in Latin America (20). These wars and conflicts lasted for an average of nearly three years, adding up to almost 350 years, a total loss for a life in peace and construction, and that apart from the mass destruction of material and other values which are so necessary for the needs of progress.

Such are some of the characteristic examples showing the inter-relation between the arms buildup and the deepening of a whole range of burning problems facing the developing countries. They are all evidence that the potentialities for solving economic and social development problems of these countries would be altogether different if the arms race were halted, if there were disarmament, and lasting peace throughout the world.

There is a growing conviction in the developing countries about the need for more actively resisting the imperialist power's militaristic line and carrying on a struggle for disarmament, something that will help not only to avoid a nuclear disaster, but also to switch the sizable material and spiritual resources available to mankind from military purposes to the needs of peaceful development. That was emphasised, for instance, in the decisions of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit (Delhi, March 1983), in the Group of 77 Platform at UNCTAD's Sixth Session (Belgrade, June 1983), and in the documents of the Sixth Congress of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (Algiers, May 1984). That is also reflected in the mounting and massive anti-war movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

¹ The US nuclear missiles being deployed in Western Europe have an effective radius of up to 2,600 kilometres and, specialists say, pose a palpable threat to vast areas in Africa and the Middle East.

² See, Fidel Castro, *The World Economic and Social Crisis*, Havana, 1983, p. 196.

³ See, Fidel Castro, op. cit., p. 207.

⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, vol. 46, Part I, p. 67 (In Russian).

⁵ See: P.L. Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1980*, Lessburg, Virginia, 1980, p. 17.

Diary

George Meyers, CC Politburo members, CPUSA, visited the *WMR* editorial office. At an enlarged meeting of the Commission on Problems of the Class Struggle in Industrialised Capitalist Countries he spoke about the situation in and prospects of the US labour movement. Comrade Meyers and the Editor-in-Chief exchanged their views on cooperation between US Communists and the journal.

* * *

H.K. Vyas, member of the Central Executive Committee, National Council, CP India, called on the *WMR* editorial office and addressed an enlarged meeting of the Commission on Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa, speaking on the situation in the country and the Indian Communists' struggle. Cooperation between the CPI and the journal was the subject of a talk with the Editor-in-Chief.

New Books

Kostas Charjiargiris, *Problimata tou agona gia tin irini* (Problems of the Struggle for Peace), Athens, Synchroni Epochi, 1983, 144 pp.

This book has come out in the series "Transactions of the Centre for Marxist Studies". The author shows what makes imperialism more aggressive, prompting it to step up the arms race, and stresses the two-fold aspect of the present balance between the forces of peace and those of war: first, the military and political equilibrium in maintaining which the Soviet Union and existing socialism as a whole play the decisive role; and second, the tremendous moral and political superiority of peace movements over militarism.

Ungdommens kamp og kommunisterne (Youth's Struggle and the Communists), Copenhagen, Tiden, 1983, 68 pp.

Young men and women account for one-third of Denmark's jobless. For some of them, chronic unemployment or switching from one chance job to another has become a way of life. Public opinion, particularly the Communists, is deeply concerned over the desperate condition of school-leavers, who see their hopes of using their knowledge and energy evaporating, and over the inaction of the ruling quarters on this issue. In September 1982, the Communist Party of Denmark called a national conference on the living conditions of young people and the issue of increasing their social role. The book

sets out the problems discussed at the conference. It includes CPD Chairman, Jorgen Jensen's speech and the resolution "The Condition of Youth and the Communists' Struggle" calling for closer relations between young people and the organised working class movement and for more active participation by young people in the struggle against war and in the anti-imperialist solidarity front.

Maria del Pilar Tello, *Golpe o revolucion? Hablan los militares del 68* (Coups or Revolution? Military Men of 1968 Speak Up), Lima, Sagsa, 1983, Vol. 1, 380 pp.; Vol. 2, 357 pp.

These two volumes comprise interviews by the prominent Peruvian journalist with some of the generals and admirals who had been members of the revolutionary government under General Juan Velasco Alvarado, which was in power from 1968 to 1975. It acquaints the reader with interesting, sometimes little-known facts of the period as well as with the more important events of those years. The interviewees' recollections give an idea of the trends existing in the armed forces, in which a struggle is going on between a revolutionary progressive wing seeking radical changes in the country and a reactionary wing advocating continued oligarchic rule and dependence on imperialism.

John Peck, *Proportional Representation*. A Communist Party Pamphlet, Watford, Farleigh Press, 1984, 17 pp.

John Peck exposes the anti-democratic nature of the majoritarian electoral system in force in Britain. "Parliament," he writes, "does not reflect the wishes of the electorate. All majorities in the Commons since 1945 have been based on a minority of votes. In three out of the last fifteen general elections the 'winner' was in fact the 'loser', e.g., in 1951 Labour polled its highest ever percentage of the national vote (48.8 per cent). But it was thrown out of office by the Conservatives who had 200,000 fewer votes. 9th June 1983 produced the latest anomaly. The Conservatives *lost* 686,971 votes compared with 1979, but *gained* 58 seats" (p. 3).

At this stage the CPGB advocates an electoral system based on the principle of proportional representation. The party does not regard it as a panacea but considers it, nevertheless, more democratic than the current system.

Staat, Recht und Politik im Sozialismus (The State, Law and Politics under Socialism), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1984, 303 pp.

The objective of this monograph, written by a team of GDR scholars, is to theoretically sum up the role of the state and law under socialism drawing on the distinct historical experience of the German Democratic Republic. The book explains the essence of the SED policy of managing the country's social affairs and deals with the methods used by the party. Special attention is paid to the new demands the current economic strategy of the SED and the new international situation of the 1980s make on the socialist state and its law.

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Problems of Peace and Socialism

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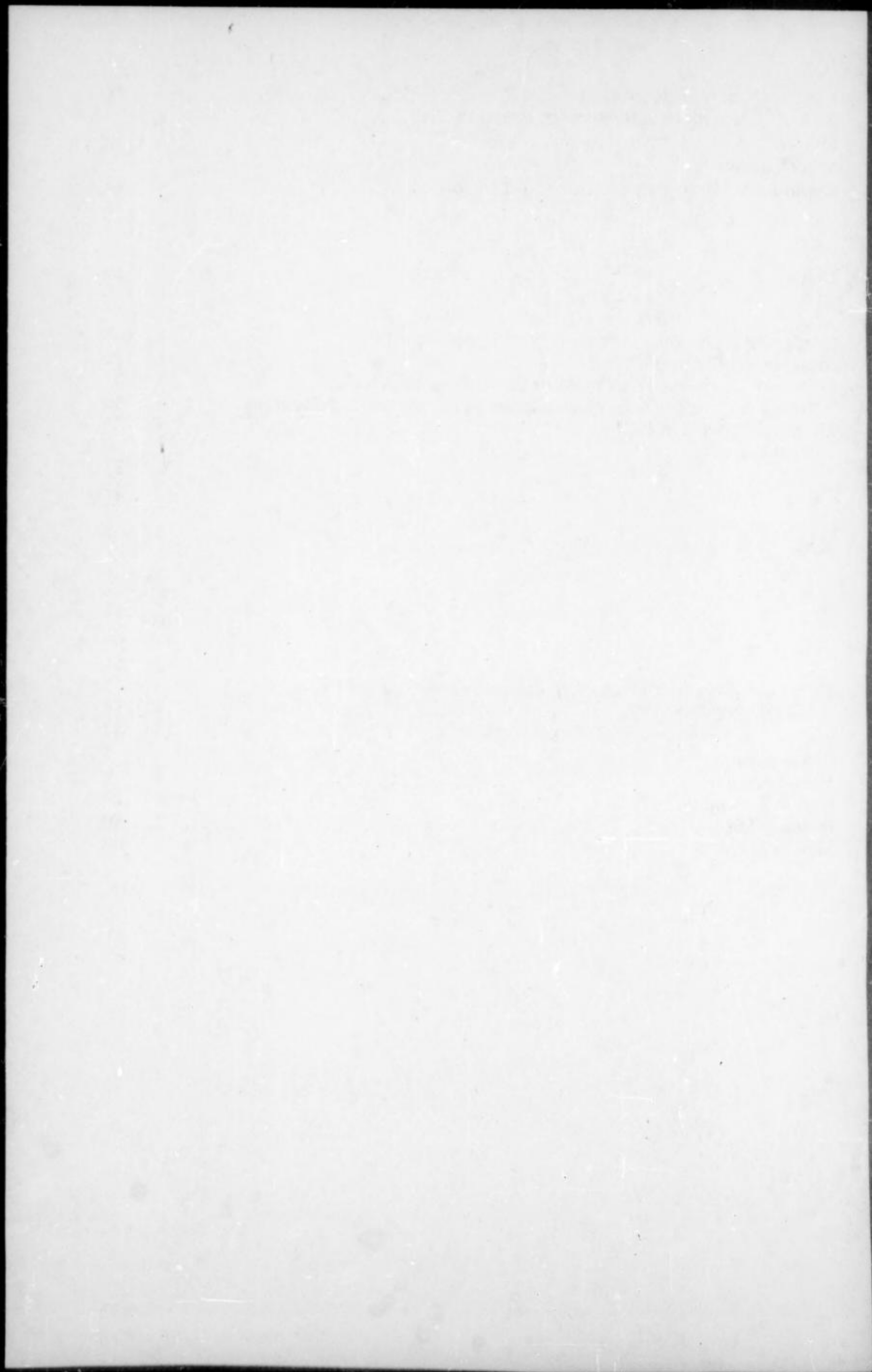
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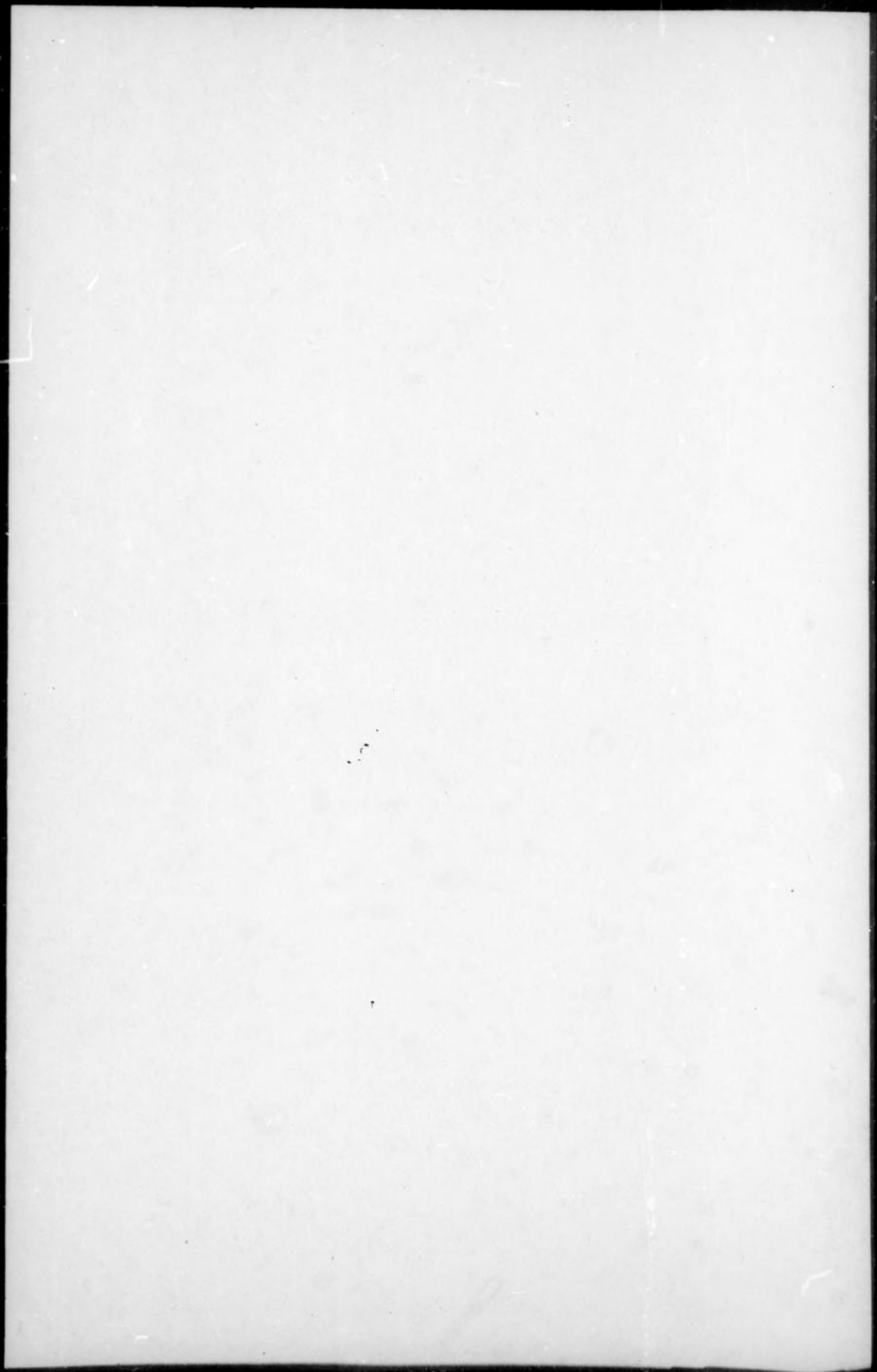
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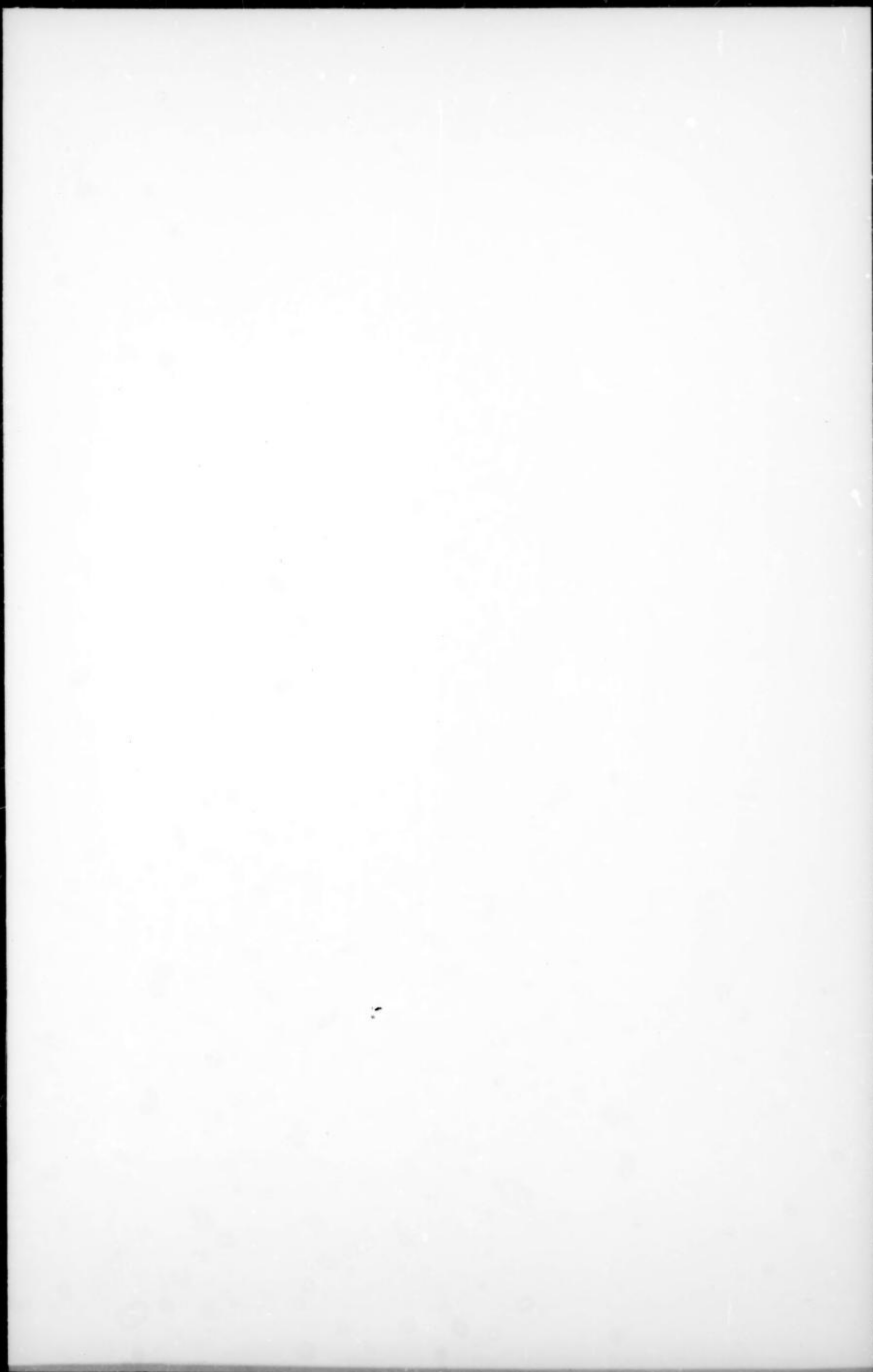
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