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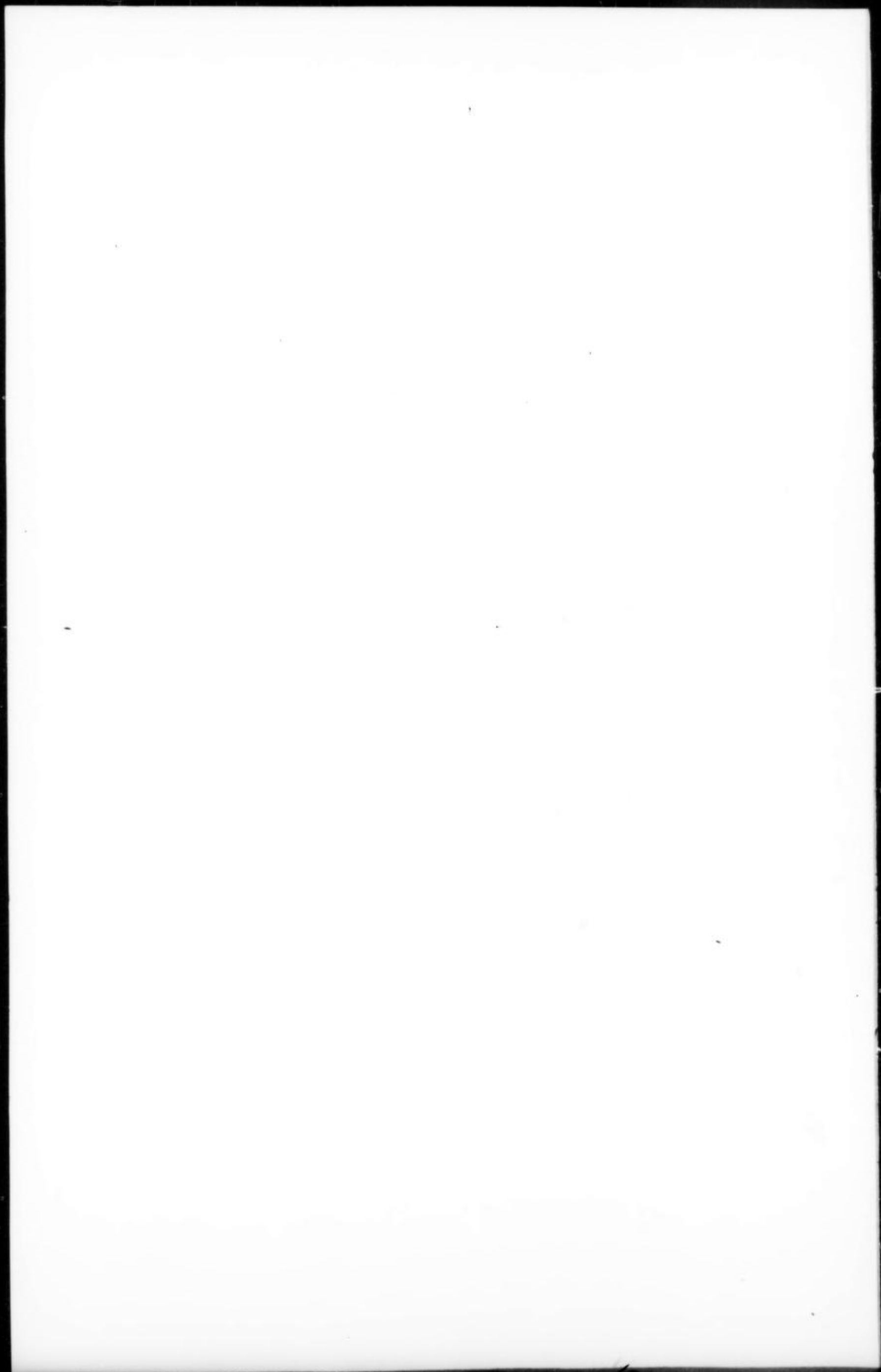
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NEW YEAR'S QUESTIONNAIRE

DURING and after the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October 1917 Revolution and the Moscow Meeting of 178 delegations of parties and movements, *WMR* invited several leaders of fraternal parties, prominent statesmen and representatives of revolutionary-democratic forces to take part in a New Year's survey. The following questions were asked:

1. What would you describe as the greatest political accomplishment — and, conversely, the biggest disappointment — of 1987 on the world scene, in the international communist movement and in your country? What issues moved to the foreground in the work of your party (movement, organisation)?

2. Last year the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia was commemorated throughout the world. What aspects of the struggle fought over the past decades do you believe should be preserved and developed and what should perhaps be abandoned? Are you satisfied with the present level of cooperation among broad left and democratic forces and how do you assess the prospects of such cooperation?

3. What do you expect from 1988 concerning the advancement of the developments and the overcoming of the difficulties you have referred to? What do you think 1988 will bring to your party and country?

Here are the replies we have received.

Harilaos Florakis

General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece

1. The year that has just ended proves that we live in an age not only of great dangers but also of great opportunities. This is borne out by the Soviet-American agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles. Of course, the agreement is only the first step on a road full of serious obstacles, on the long and arduous path to disarmament. Nevertheless, it is a good and auspicious beginning. It gives rise to

optimism which, however, should not make us complacent or less vigilant.

The international climate of 1987 differed from that of the previous years. It is not that the threat of nuclear war diminished. It is not that the more militaristic capitalist quarters, particularly in the United States, abandoned their plans or became less active in their implementation and gave up the idea of 'star wars'. It is that the world felt the favourable impact of the Soviet Union's radical peace initiatives and of the new way of political thinking which created fresh opportunities for an upsurge in the struggle for peace.

As far as Greece is concerned, the grim realities of 1987 again took the shape of an economic crisis, a slump in production and a drop in our country's international stature, resulting in painfully adverse effects for the Greek working people.

The record shows that the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) cannot solve the nation's problems. Its six years in office have not changed the dependent status of capitalist Greece, and its policy is becoming increasingly conservative, particularly in the economic sphere. As a result, the people bear the brunt of the crisis.

Nor can the solution of Greece's problems be furthered by the return to power of New Democracy, a right-wing party with a 'liberal', in fact, anti-popular programme.

The CPG believes that the solution lies only in a firm alliance of the left forces relying on a common programme with a socialist outlook. One can say that the past year created new opportunities for the establishment of such an alliance, and this augurs well for the new year.

2. The scale on which the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia was celebrated throughout the world and particularly in Moscow where, together with Communists, representatives of diverse ideological currents, of progressive and peace-loving forces gathered, demonstrates beyond doubt the recognition of the October Revolution's international significance and of its vitalising impact on developments in today's world.

This broad response was also encouraged by the fact that the anniversary coincided with revolutionary changes launched in the Soviet Union to continue and uphold the cause of the October Revolution.

An element of Soviet society's development, perestroika also meets the interests of all mankind in solving today's global problems. In the masses it raises new confidence in peace, socialism and the future. We have every reason to believe that, just as the October Revolution influenced global developments during this century, so will the current changes in the USSR make a decisive impact on humanity's progress up to the third millenium.

3. We hope that the first agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles will be followed, in 1988, by other accords to further nuclear disarmament and prevent the extension of the arms race into outer space. Such accords would usher in a new historical era. It is obvious, however, that the chain reaction of peace needs, now more than ever before, a further upsurge in the struggle of the world's peoples for peace and a greater contribution from all countries, big and small. Working to attain this goal and mobilising the Greek people, our party will do all it can to help the cause of peace both in our region and in the world.

At the national level the CPG, drawing on the decisions of its 12th Congress, has set itself as the principal objectives of 1988 efforts to raise the living standards of the working people, uphold national independence and democracy, broaden the alliance of left, progressive forces, and, operating in our national conditions, ensure socialist-oriented change.

Heng Samrin

General Secretary, Central Committee, People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea (PRPK); Chairman, State Council, People's Republic of Kampuchea

1. To us, 1987 was the second year of efforts to implement the decisions taken at the Fifth Congress of the PRPK. The consolidation of popular government at local level continued. Party and state bodies and civic organisations were active throughout the country. The armed forces, the guardians of our peaceful life and work and of our national frontiers, increased numerically and improved their performance.

At the same time, we continue to encounter many difficulties, above all those connected with unfavourable weather conditions in 1987. An unprecedented drought inflicted grave losses on our agriculture. The party and the government are paying special attention to improving the standards of living and promoting the people's commitment to the new social system.

The progress made by our revolution and the desire of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos to transform Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability initiated positive shifts in relations among the countries of our region.

With a view to easing tensions, the People's Republic of Kampuchea made its August 27 statement on the policy of national reconciliation. In a statement on the fundamentals of a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem which was released on October 8 the leaders of our republic expressed their readiness to meet with Prince Norodom Sihanouk and with other leaders of Khmer opposition groups except Pol Pot and those closest to him, so as to work out a mutually acceptable solution and achieve national unity.

We agree to hold general elections in the presence of foreign observers after the Vietnamese troops are fully withdrawn from Kampuchea, to establish a coalition government in line with election results, and to assist in the convocation of an international conference which is to draw up guarantees safeguarding compliance with all relevant accords, the independence of Kampuchea and peace in Southeast Asia.

2. Thanks to the ideas of the October Revolution — and we stated that at the celebrations held in Moscow to commemorate the anniversary of that great revolution — the Kampuchean people, who had survived the horrors of genocidal rule, secured their liberation on January 7, 1979 and again became masters of their country and their future. The People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea was reborn on the basis of the truly Marxist-Leninist principles and traditions of the Communist Party of Indochina.

We are greatly impressed by the perestroika drive which is under way in the Soviet Union and which is already beginning to yield results. We believe that its success will be of signal importance to the contemporary communist and working class movement and that it is of particularly high theoretical and practical value to the socialist community countries. Our movement is facing new challenges which require close coordination and cooperation among the communist and workers' parties and all forces of peace and social progress.

3. Kampuchea is and will be doing its utmost to find the shortest way to peace. There are many indications auguring well for national reconciliation. The declaration of the PRK government, statements made by Norodom Sihanouk, the message of seven former Kampuchean political figures and the appeals issued by all truly patriotic forces of our country contain a number of common points — specifically, the right of the Kampucheans to shape their destiny and the desire to see our country independent, peaceful, sovereign and non-aligned. No one wants Pol Pot's regime to be restored.

The people of our country and world public opinion support and welcome our efforts to achieve and secure national reconciliation. We are confident that dialogue is the best way of reaching understanding. Continuing a vigorous search for the settlement of the Kampuchean problem along the road of national reconciliation, we are sure that a mutually beneficial peaceful solution will serve the interests of all our people, of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Alvaro Cunhal

General Secretary, Portuguese Communist Party

1. On the international plane, two developments were particularly important in 1987 — perestroika in the USSR and the practical disarmament steps resulting from the Soviet Union's initiatives, proposals and tireless efforts. One can therefore say that last year was marked by Soviet endeavours — domestic ones to advance socialism, and international ones to champion the cause of peace.

In Portugal, the year 1987 brought about, on the one hand, a negative and dangerous political evolution as a result of the right-wingers' victory at the parliamentary elections of July 19. On the other hand, we felt the strength of the labour and popular movement which, together with powerful trade unions and mass civic organisations, including our party and other democratic forces, reaffirmed their determination to come to grips with the new situation and to defend the interests of the people and of the country and the democratic regime established by the Revolution of April 1974.

2. The 70 years that have elapsed since the October Revolution in Russia have demonstrated that the communist movement is the essential and decisive force for social change and social progress throughout the world. This movement is no longer what it was several decades ago. Profound changes have occurred in it.

In this connection I would like to say a few words on three subjects.

First, the independence of parties. In the time of the Communist International there was an international guiding centre. After the Comintern was disbanded, the parties became not only autonomous but also independent. Although attempts to interfere in their affairs still occurred here and there, they grew less frequent. Today, the independence of parties is a typical feature of the communist movement. Each party is responsible to its people, it should independently analyse the situation in its country, map out its own policy and conduct its activities without any outside interference. That is a positive aspect of our experience, and no one can question that.

However, when independence is interpreted as isolation, when it leads to disdain of the international revolutionary experience, to an attitude which overrates one's own political thought and underrates the political thought of others, which abandons solidarity and internationalist duty, then we witness negative developments. The independence of parties does not rule out but, on the contrary, calls for the promotion of bilateral and multilateral relations, for exchanges of views, for cooperation, joint action and mutual solidarity. Lapses in this practice weaken every party and the communist movement as a whole.

My second point concerns the definition of the communist movement today.

The world revolutionary process has given birth to new forces which direct the national liberation struggle. Some of these forces rule their countries and conduct a policy of social progress that is essentially the same as the Communists could have pursued. This new reality raises the question of the current scope and composition of the communist movement.

My third and final point deals with the ways and means of promoting our relations, cooperation and joint action.

Traditional methods are no longer geared to either the current state of our movement or to today's international situation. We need a collective effort and a collective search for solutions that would enable the communist movement to cope fully with its mission in the present-day world.

3. In Portugal, 1988 is sure to be a year of pitched battles between those who want to continue the counter-revolutionary onslaught until the gains of the April Revolution and of the democratic regime are destroyed and those who are determined to prevent this.

It will be a harsh and uphill struggle in view of the fact that the right-wing parties control the government, have a majority in parliament and intend to revise the Constitution which officially confirms revolutionary gains and is an inalienable component of democratic rule.

Defending democracy and the achievements of the April Revolution, we the Communists will spare no effort to uphold the militant traditions of our party and to live up to the expectations of the workers and of large sectors of the Portuguese people.

Paul Verges

General Secretary, Réunion Communist Party (RCP)

1. At first the year 1987 produced the impression that history was reluctant to move ahead. But then an event occurred that, not long before, had seemed impossible and unattainable — the Soviet Union and the United States agreed to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles. Previously, most people fighting across the world for disarmament did not believe that the race to oblivion could really be stopped. But then a tangible opportunity to do this presented itself. Ahead lies a struggle for new steps along broader fronts — disarmament and development, disarmament and international exchanges, etc. But the most important breakthrough is that the fear of nuclear omnicide has yielded to a great wave of hope.

The highlight of the 1987 situation in Réunion (and in other French Overseas Departments) was that the right suffered an electoral defeat while winning in France proper. For the first time in 30 years, of the five deputies representing our island in the French National Assembly, two were Communists. However, in October 1987 they resigned. That was our party's way of protesting against the Paris decision which, on the pretext of extending limited credits to our island, legally institutionalised inequality between the Réunionese and the French. It was a move without precedent in parliamentary history, and in making it we rebuffed this manifestation of racism. Our stand won public support and emerged as a turning point in Réunion's politics.

2. In the communist movement, changes are under way whose consequences are hard to predict. We have heard a great deal about Stalin's crimes, about human rights violations, about prisons and exile. But there is another regrettable phenomenon for which I think he is to blame: at a certain juncture, the intellectual quest, theoretical work, discussions and exchange of experience — the lifeblood of our movement — were largely replaced with ritual sermons in praise of past accomplishments and with dogmatism and stagnation. Despite all this, the struggle the Communists waged led them to major victories throughout the world. Enough has been said about them, but just think how far ahead we would have been today had we not had to endure such a long winter.

Today we can hope that the communist movement has embarked upon the road of creative quest which will enable it to flourish. It is not that we should worship Marx, Engels and Lenin or keep rehashing the classics. Understanding how the founders of our theory analysed the realities around them and drawing on their experience to tackle the realities of our world is much more important. This can be done successfully only if we have democracy and reject prejudice and dogmatic attitudes.

The present-day situation is reminiscent of the Renaissance which drew Europe out of the Dark Ages, awakened scientific thought and encouraged talent in all fields. The communist movement is now going through a similar period. An uninhibited search for theoretical answers, a worldwide comparison of views and experience would benefit our work in all social

strata. If that is indeed the case, just imagine the excellent accomplishments we will make in all spheres to mark the 80th anniversary of the October Revolution.

3. Having overcome dogmatism which often forced Communists to be on the defensive before other ideological and political currents, we will be able to move faster in tackling the realities of our diverse and vigorous world. For example, the idea of a world without wars has captivated the masses so fully that it is now possible to rally together most diverse forces. This cementing factor — just as the awareness of other major distinguishing features of our age which is moving ahead swiftly in all spheres — is a powerful tool in the hands of the Communists.

There is another issue which, to my mind, has not yet evoked an adequate response in the communist movement — perhaps because the latter still suffers from too much Eurocentrism. I refer to the fact that the population of the world has doubled over the past 37 years and reached five billion — although it had taken hundreds of thousands of years to grow to one billion in the early eighteenth century. By 2025 — quite soon, in fact — the human race will number eight billion people, and the population total of my continent, Africa, will increase by a full billion. But Africa is even now struggling against food shortages, deserts keep encroaching on arable land, and forests are disappearing. How do we cope with that problem?

I think the issue is not confined to environmental protection, to promotion of new technology or to other economic and even political decisions. We should reappraise the concept of human rights. They can no longer be interpreted the way they used to be when people had not yet seen satellite photographs of their small planet. Like the French revolutionaries who proclaimed a new idea of liberty 200 years ago, today we should proclaim global equality as a fundamental human right. This revolutionary attitude is prompted by rapid population growth — and it is primarily the number of the hungry, the illiterate, the sick and the homeless that keeps growing.

Having grasped this obvious and clearly predictable reality and having done away with the moralising to which the powers that be in the West confine themselves, the Communists are called upon to give a new impetus to development and to channel it in the right direction. By proclaiming and upholding the revolutionary idea of global equality, communism will demonstrate its truly humanitarian essence because revolution is much more than the attainment of economic, social and cultural goals: it is also a matter of superior ethics and I am deeply convinced of that.

Felicitimo C. Macapagal

Chairman, Philippine Communist Party (PKP)

1. On the world scene last year, the long series of disarmament initiatives from the Soviet Union bore fruit in the conclusion of the INF treaty at the summit meeting between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov and President Reagan. For the first time, this would involve the physical destruction of one category of nuclear weapons. This is expected to create

conditions for further disarmament measures as well as the necessary psychological and political atmosphere for the elimination of other nuclear weapons. Hence it can lead to further steps towards freeing mankind from nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

We entertained the expectation that the Gorbachov initiatives expressed in the Vladivostok declaration could be pursued further with more concrete efforts and could thus give more importance to the Asia-Pacific region along the 'new way of thinking' in international security. But apparently, the time has not yet come.

On the international communist front, the broadening of the perestroika processes in the Soviet Union has created high hopes for the fulfilment of the planned acceleration of the Soviet economy and for the removal of bottlenecks in the fuller expression of the potentialities of socialism. However, the progress of normalisation of relations between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China had been disappointingly slow.

Our party had succeeded in broadening its open and legal activities, culminating in the holding of its Ninth Congress in public in December 1986. 1987 opened good prospects for legal participation in the Congressional elections early last year. As we prepared, however, for registration as a legal political party with the Commission on Elections, the Aquino government re-enacted the old Anti-Subversion Law which outlaws communist organisations.

2. In our experience, there is a need to sustain and pursue more vigorously the policy to do party work in terms of concrete regional realities of the country and the rejuvenation of party membership.

3. In 1988 we expect very difficult conditions of struggle, with continuing upsurge of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in the Philippines. US imperialism will continue to strengthen and consolidate the forces of the right and pressure the Aquino government to take more repressive measures against the left forces. Trade union rights will be the focus of attacks as foreign capital intensifies demand for 'industrial peace'. We expect US military bases and nuclear weapons to be the focal point of mass mobilisation to oppose the renewal of the bases agreement. By hard struggle and opposition to rightist attacks, there is good prospect for closer contacts and united actions on the part of the left and democratic forces.

Miklós Óvári

Political Bureau member, secretary, Central Committee,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

1. Future historians will perhaps note many events of 1987, but I will speak of what I regard as particularly important.

International relations developed under the impact of the fundamental fact that, in accordance with the demands of the nuclear age, recognition of the need for a new way of thinking spread not only among responsible political figures but also in broad sections of the public. I would lay particular emphasis on the agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles. I do believe that it can become the first step along the historically protracted path leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

Naturally, the changes occurring on the international scene affect the communist movement too. But the reverse is also true — our movement is helping these positive developments. I would accord the greatest importance to the Moscow informal meeting of delegates representing communist, workers' and other left, democratic and progressive parties, movements and organisations. The fact that it was convened is very significant in itself. It has shown that responsible people affiliated in different political parties and expounding different philosophies can cooperate in matters of human survival. The favourable atmosphere that dominated the meeting and made it possible to conduct a collective discussion and even map out the framework of joint action was very important for the future.

In Hungary, the July Plenary Meeting of the HSWP Central Committee was the most notable event of 1987. It approved a programme for the country's socio-economic development. The question central to its elaboration and present-day implementation concerns a socialist transition to intensive economic development and ways of effecting the necessary economic restructuring. That is a task essential to Hungarian society's further progress. The favourable response the programme evoked has strengthened our conviction that difficulties can be overcome only by consistently continuing reform and enhancing socialist democracy.

Today we know that the building of socialist society is a long historical process. And so, without detracting from the significance of what has been achieved, we realise that many complex tasks lie ahead.

2. Over the 70 years that have passed since the October Revolution in Russia, the Soviet Union (and, in a broader sense, socialism) has become a decisive force in the shaping of international relations. It can claim credit for the fact that the sphere of the rule of capital has contracted. It was instrumental in the defeat of Nazism. It ensured important external conditions for the collapse of the colonial system.

The present-day renewal of socialism exerts a strong impact on all world developments, and perestroika in the Soviet Union is the most important component of that factor, which also comprises organically the development of other socialist countries, including our nation's quest. New political thinking, economic reform, more extensive democratic human rights and openness of domestic and international policies enhance the appeal of our ideas and our system in the global context.

The economic renewal and the growing moral prestige of socialism make its foreign policy initiatives more effective. The proposals advanced by the socialist countries open new opportunities for meeting mankind's universal interests — preservation of peace (that means human survival), promotion of mutually beneficial cooperation, and solution of global problems.

Perestroika, new thinking, the practice of reform and our efforts to build a world without weapons and without the war threat are a worthy way of continuing to champion the cause of the October Revolution.

3. Without lapsing into unfounded optimism, we can express our confidence that positive aspects of developments on the world scene, in the international communist and workers' movement and in our country will continue to gather momentum. I think that the necessary conditions are

available.

First and foremost we hope that the Soviet-American dialogue will gain depth and result in agreements on arms limitation and nuclear disarmament. We are anxious for prevention of militarisation of outer space and reductions in the number of strategic missiles to be negotiated as soon as possible. I think that better Soviet-American relations will favourably influence the course of the Vienna talks within the framework of the Helsinki accords on security and cooperation in Europe. The agreement that could be reached there would serve the interests of all European countries.

The search conducted today by the communist and workers' parties is constantly adding to our movement's store of experience. The new forms of interparty relations are to become universal. The wave of renewal that has swept the Soviet Union has imparted an impulse to our movement as a whole. The experience of the People's Republic of China and of other socialist countries also merits attention.

The drive to meet the 1988 targets of the socio-economic development programme is now the biggest task facing the Hungarian people and our party. New steps are being taken to strengthen the economy and to enhance socialist democracy. Our people are ready to act. We also count on support from our allies and on goodwill from our partners in cooperation. That is why I am an optimist.

Maxime Gremetz

Political Bureau member, Central Committee secretary,
French Communist Party

1. We the French Communists have described the INF agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States as historic. Indeed, for the first time in history a whole generation of exceedingly dangerous and sophisticated nuclear weapons is to be destroyed. The result is very significant, but of even greater importance are the process that has been launched and the prospects that are opening for accords on strategic, conventional, chemical and neutron weapons and for a possible cessation of nuclear tests.

The peace movement which is active on all continents has demonstrated its great strength. Together with the constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, this movement made the agreement possible. I am convinced that the peace movement, the vitality of the socialist countries and the changes in their domestic and foreign policy will score other achievements.

At the same time, many obstacles still remain — in Europe, and particularly in France. There, despite the disarmament opportunities that have been materialising, all parties from the extreme right to the Socialists have approved legislation on military programming designed to increase and modernise the nuclear arsenal. Only the Communists have voted against. Attempts are being made to create a European infrastructure for NATO based on the French and British nuclear forces in combination with the conventional armaments of the FRG.

2. The 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia confirms that Lenin made the right choice when he opted for revolution and for the creation of a party of a new type to effect it. The October Revolution enabled the Soviet people to develop, to solve many problems and to live in dignity. It brought them freedom and hope. Besides, it should also be credited with stimulating the emergence of communist parties across the world. The October Revolution was also instrumental in the establishment of the FCP, a revolutionary and profoundly national party that developed on the basis of the old Socialist party.

Socialism is in fact a response to capitalism. The mission of the Communists is to work on the basis of national realities, to open the socialist perspective before their people, and to rally the popular movement together around the goals of justice, freedom, peace and disarmament.

Time means change, and the conditions in which we operate are changing too. I think that the historical record of communist parties points to a major salient feature they share — an ability to adapt to new conditions of struggle with due regard for the changes occurring both at home and internationally.

For example, the ways of transition to socialism are multiplying, and socialism itself is changing. The FCP is fighting, as we say, for French socialism — for a specific response to the specific conditions of our country and our people, a response stemming from an analysis of the crisis of French society and from due attention to the new international realities. Why, then, is it possible for France to advance democratically to democratic socialism? Because such is the state of world affairs. Imperialism no longer dominates the entire world, and that we also owe to the October Revolution.

Of course there are obsolete things that should be abandoned — primarily, dogmatism in thought and action and 'tunnel vision'. We set great store by Mikhail Gorbachov's words to the effect that Marxism is not a collection of readymade recipes. Revolutionary theory is not a bible, not a little red book or anything of the kind. It is a theory that is alive, that constantly absorbs both national and international experience and the ideas of many revolutionaries. And it should be constantly checked against practice. A theory divorced from practice is lifeless.

But does a communist party have to abandon an analysis of capitalist development in order to be, to use a vogue word, modern? Does it have to maintain that there is no class struggle any longer — both in individual countries and internationally? We are urged to assume precisely that. But if we gave up our analysis, if we ceased to inspire the revolutionary movement to act in the thick of the class struggle, we would not be Communists.

Does adapting to the situation mean that we have to accept society as it is? To us, that would mean the loss of our very essence, of our reason for being as Communists. The deeper the crisis of capitalism, the more insistently should the party advance class-based solutions opposing the policy of capital which weakens the country and makes life ever harder.

3. On the international plane, we expect the new year to make further

progress towards disarmament and to advance firmly to a new economic order.

In France, we are working for the nascent popular movement to acquire greater scope in the struggle for immediate improvements throughout the social fabric. Back at its 25th Congress in 1985, the FCP spoke self-critically about the concept of a high-level alliance based on a common programme. That concept weakened the popular movement and, instead of leading it to the forefront of the nation's politics, forced it to follow meekly the directions of the party's headquarters. That harmed the country, the people and our party.

An upsurge of the popular movement demands that the influence of the communist, revolutionary party be strengthened. Today we need that more than ever before.

The presidential elections of 1988 are sure to be a major event in French politics. But one should understand that today — I repeat, today — the right-wing forces and the Socialist Party in France are choosing what from the class-based point of view is one and the same option in both economic and social fields. They have reached a consensus in their class approach — naturally, with the Communists forming no part of it. And so, capital has a choice: whichever party wins in presidential elections, capital can feel safe. It is unity, a grassroots alliance around anti-capitalist ideas, a higher level of mass consciousness and votes cast for the communist candidate which will be really important at the elections. The strengthening of the popular movement will exert a decisive influence on the nation's politics.

Daniel Ortega

Coordinator, Executive Commission, National Leadership,
Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua; President of Nicaragua

1. I see the Soviet-US accord on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles as the biggest political accomplishment of 1987 on the international scene. Conversely, I would describe the obsession of the US government and the US President with developing the notorious 'star wars' programme as the greatest disappointment in the global context because it negates the efforts to scrap medium- and shorter-range missiles.

I think that as far as our continent is concerned, the regional peace agreement concluded by the presidents of the Central American republics in August 1987 was the greatest achievement of the year. It was an event of not only Central American but truly continent-wide importance because it was brought about by consistent peacemaking efforts undertaken by Latin American countries, first and foremost by the Contadora Group and the Group of Support. The Guatemala Agreement is an inspiring example for Latin American countries because it shows that a common standpoint and concerted action enable them to accomplish a great deal. Naturally, what has been achieved does not mean that peace in Central America has been secured. But I am convinced that a step of tremendous importance and moment has been taken in the interests of all Latin American and Caribbean nations.

Again, the greatest disappointment in the context of our continent is

connected with the stance of the US administration which refuses to recognise the accords signed by the Central American leaders and thus defies public opinion in Latin America, the Caribbean and the world.

2. The experience of the October Revolution in Russia — the way it was prepared and victoriously accomplished, the uncompromising stand of Lenin in defending its ideas against various deviations — is of everlasting importance. Now that 70 years have elapsed since that revolution, there is not a single basic principle of revolutionary theory that could be abandoned. However, any revolution calls for continuous perfection, readjustment and enrichment of forms in the course of the transformations it launches. This is confirmed by the process of perestroika which is gaining momentum in the USSR.

The October Revolution lives on, favourably influencing current world developments, leading in the struggle for peace, and advancing peace initiatives that echo the aspirations of the world's peoples. It offers an example of flexibility in relations between the nations that have opted for the revolutionary path and the socialist countries and a model of solidarity with the struggle waged in different parts of the world for independence, against exploitation and racism.

3. The problems and difficulties encountered by the Central American region, by Latin America and the Caribbean are the same that face the Third World as a whole. They are connected with the defence of national sovereignty and the right to self-determination with the struggle against all forms of discrimination and domination. The drive for more concerted joint action is gaining ground in Latin America, based on a search for a new type of economic and political relations with the North, specifically with the United States. As concerns the establishment of a new international economic order which is to ensure genuine independence and opportunities of economic growth for the developing nations, the non-aligned movement to which Nicaragua belongs is, in my view, becoming increasingly militant. I think that these important processes which kept growing throughout 1987 will continue to gain strength in the new year.

As concerns Nicaragua, let me stress that the consolidation of continental unity, the solidarity of the non-aligned countries and the defence of international law help to create more favourable conditions for rebuffing the hostile forays of the US militarists. It is clear that, despite the peacemaking efforts under way and the positive changes that have materialised, Washington does not intend to give up its aggressive schemes. We now have a bigger stake than ever before in greater unity among Latin American and Caribbean countries and among the member nations of the non-aligned movement, because this will enable us to be more effective in resisting — in military, economic and political terms — the interventionist policy pursued by the White House to isolate, undermine and strangle the Nicaraguan Revolution.

With regard to the question about concerted action by democratic and left forces, I would like to note that in this field, the polarisation of the Cold War years is being replaced with growing understanding. I would say that relations of tolerance and respect in a pluralistic context are emerging. Our task is to preserve and develop this in defiance of those who practice

intolerance, in defiance of international reactionary quarters. Today we can see that there is a degree of progress in the expansion of the democratic, progressive and left front. The anti-war movement is being joined by people from different political and ideological currents, and their commitment to the defence of peace is the foremost factor and catalyst of their unity.

This interview is our way of voting for peace. I hope it will encourage better understanding and help to eliminate Cold War barriers. I would like to convey to the readers of *World Marxist Review* best wishes and New Year's greetings from the people of Nicaragua and the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

Marcelino Dos Santos

Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Frelimo Party;
Chairman, National Assembly, People's Republic of Mozambique

1. The drawing up of a *programme for economic rehabilitation* in accordance with our party's decision was Mozambique's biggest political accomplishment last year.

Within a few months, several important changes were effected in the economic sphere: we succeeded in eliminating shortcomings and charting new steps in areas such as factory management, wages policy, workers' financial and moral incentives, the nation's finances and price formation. Distribution of essential goods, including food and clothes, improved substantially. The volume of consumer goods increased, and so did the fruit and vegetable crop. Major steps were taken to encourage family work and agricultural cooperation. In short, the economic rehabilitation programme is yielding tangible results.

2. On the international plane, 1987 marked the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia. The anniversary was a major event which generated widespread international response. The October Revolution paved the way for the establishment of effective, increasingly profound and firm ties between the forces of progress represented by the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community on the one hand, and the world's revolutionary, progressive and democratic countries on the other. The meeting held by representatives of many parties and organisations during the anniversary celebrations in Moscow demonstrated the commitment of Lenin's party to the unity of all champions of freedom, independence, progress, peace, democracy and justice on all continents. For the first time in recent years, the meeting brought together people expounding different ideological views and pursuing different political objectives. However, they were united in their desire to do away with the greatest banes of humanity — with all that oppresses the world's peoples and hampers the attainment of justice and progress.

3. I would venture to hope that 1988 will help to further those phenomena and developments that have recently become particularly topical. We expect the entire international community to voice a conscious and definite historical demand that apartheid be destroyed. We expect every country to take specific steps in this direction and governments and

organisations to act effectively at regional and global levels.

The international community should render full and effective support in all fields — financial, material and military — to the people of South Africa and to SWAPO in Namibia. The world should extend diversified aid to the frontline states, particularly Mozambique and Angola, so that they could get down to socio-economic development and simultaneously strengthen their defence capacity to repel direct armed aggression by the South African racist regime which makes use of armed bandit gangs. Besides, justice will be served by material and financial assistance to the Southern African countries in their efforts to enhance cooperation and coordination with a view to ensuring socio-economic progress and ending their economic dependence on South Africa.

Individual and collective global sanctions should be imposed on the apartheid regime. The UN Security Council should heed the call of the peoples and decide on the application of such global sanctions. We hope that the international community will also render the necessary support in the settlement of the problems involving the peoples of Western Sahara and East Timor. We expect the governments of Iran and Iraq to realise that the war they are waging runs counter to the interests of both their nations and of all other countries, especially those in the Persian Gulf area. We hope that the Palestinian people will finally exercise their legitimate rights and establish an independent Palestinian state. Israel must end its policy of occupation, oppression and persecution. We hope that the people of Chile will take new, important steps to restore freedom and democracy and defeat Pinochet's fascist regime. We would also like to see the Central American countries implement the programme for peace and freedom and in this way move closer to the final victory of the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Reflecting on the prospects of the new year, we expect success to accompany the talks between General Secretary Gorbachov and President Reagan — talks that will give an additional impetus to the cause of eliminating nuclear weapons and further the creation of a firm basis for universal peace.

In Mozambique, 1988 will be marked above all by a more vigorous struggle against armed bandits in order to rout them completely. We will take new steps to implement the economic rehabilitation programme and the plan for emergency assistance to victims of bandit raids and natural disasters. Popular government bodies will develop and gain strength. Finally, large-scale preparations will be launched for the Fifth Congress of the Frelimo Party.

Editor's Note: Replies to the New Year's Questionnaire keep coming in. They will be published in the next issue.

We Live In A New, Changed World

Rodney Arismendi — General
Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Uruguay (CPU)

AFTER the 27th Congress of the CPSU we witnessed a genuine breakthrough in international relations; simultaneously, an internal struggle was launched in the heartland of socialism to use its advantages fully, make it thoroughly democratic, accelerate socio-economic development and overhaul economic management. In a sense, it is also an effort to effect a profound intellectual and moral reform.

These issues are being tackled with regard to the world's first great socialist revolution and in a vast country which largely shapes the world's future and which has become the intellectual and geographical centre of the global revolutionary movement. Therefore, everything that happens in the USSR is of tremendous importance. I think that from this angle one can somewhat schematically single out two major and interconnected subjects from those raised at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, in subsequent statements of Mikhail Gorbachov, during plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, and generally by the Soviet public. They are perestroika and the new approach to international relations which is aimed at ensuring civilisation's survival.

The issue which stems from perestroika and new thinking and is in the focus of world public attention is that of finding, within the framework of the competition between the two systems (or even outside this framework), certain areas that would make it possible to preserve peace by tackling mankind's global problems — its development and the struggle against poverty, illiteracy and the degradation and destruction of the environment. That is an issue of concern not only to the Communists, not only to the Soviet people but to all humanity.

The celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and the open dialogue at the subsequent meeting attended by hundreds of delegates representing Socialists, Social Democrats, ruling parties from the Third World, as well as revolutionary and communist parties have shown that *within an unprecedentedly short time, Soviet initiatives opened new vistas before mankind. Today, that is the most important thing.*

As regards the somewhat ambiguous question about which aspects of socialism we should preserve and develop and which are to be corrected, I would say that viewed in the broad historical context, socialism has triumphed. I mean that the great cause of translating socialism from a utopia into reality — the cause which Lenin, following Marx's behests, undertook in the distinctive conditions of a vast country, opening a future for all mankind — is victorious.

That was accomplished despite great odds. It is not for the sake of simplifying the answer that I always insist on not losing sight of a very important point: the country in question was backward, with a very harsh climate, with two-thirds of the population illiterate, and with numerous

Asian peoples who were living in medieval conditions. Changes of enormous scope were implemented despite the destruction and dislocation caused by the Civil War, foreign intervention, then another war which took a toll of 20 million lives and then, in its wake, despite the nuclear blackmail of US imperialism. In other words, socialism went through severe trials and, in the course of coping with them, encountered realities no one else could even imagine.

The prominent theoreticians of scientific socialism had a clear vision of the general direction the movement was to take. Lenin added depth to the study of the paths no one had yet travelled, but the order of the day was to make socialism a reality in a specific country, in specific conditions, in a specific world. From that point of view, socialism has triumphed. The record shows that this is so not only because a new society has been built, or industrialisation, collectivisation of agriculture and a cultural revolution have been conducted, or the educational and material standards of the population have been raised, but also because even before the war, the Soviet Union became Europe's leading industrial power. I mean that the victory was won in the most important sphere, and the war was its baptism of fire, a test of the people's moral fortitude, political maturity, unity, heroism and selflessness. At the same time, it was a test for the system itself because, supported by European capital, Nazi Germany became a highly advanced country in terms of technology. Nonetheless, its manpower and war material were routed, and mankind was saved from the plague of fascism. Socialism won on the battlefield. But it also won in rebuilding what was devastated by the war; it had to exert stupendous efforts to break through into outer space with its satellites by overcoming numerous difficulties within a short time, and to reach the heights of science and culture acknowledged now by the whole world.

Of course, we veteran Communists know better than anyone else that these accomplishments which changed the entire world radically also involved mistakes, deviations from the charted path, and even tragedies. Mikhail Gorbachov's speech at the 70th anniversary celebrations puts the problem into a clearer and more orderly perspective: Stalin's personality cult dramatically affected Soviet realities and led to differences within the communist movement.

The cult of a personality is as inadmissible as the practice of enforcing dogmatism, replacing the wealth of Leninist dialectics with rigid formulae, or underrating the relations the party and the working class maintain with the intelligentsia. Or take the instances of wrong assessment of international affairs and of one's relations with the world communist movement. In other words, there have been mistakes over a broad range of issues, but the important thing is that *in summing up the historical record, only one conclusion is possible — socialism has triumphed.*

If we ask ourselves where we would be now without that victory, without the Russian Revolution, without the Soviet Union, there can be only one answer: the world would be living under a Nazi dictatorship or, as Jack London put it, under the iron heel of imperialism. The vast majority of humanity would remain slaves of the colonial powers; Latin America, although enjoying a higher development level than Asia and Africa, would

have no memories of the liberation revolutions of the present-day, the second war of independence: there would be no victories in the record of Cuba or Nicaragua. We would not witness new trends in the complex realities of our continent with its changes in political geography, with a map that includes revolutionary elements, newborn democracies and the mounting popular, democratic, anti-imperialist movement as a whole.

Of course, if, in a fit of historical naivety, someone began to guess (as some are wont to do) at what would have happened had this or that event taken a different turn, had Lenin not died early, we could speculate about a different path of socialist development. But history is not made that way. It is an organic sequence of events, and it is made by people whose past is rooted in capitalism and who, bound by the laws of history, are themselves dependent on all sorts of factors — subjective attitudes, chance, their own initiative and their own mistakes. And so, now that we appraise and evaluate our accomplishments, it is not a revision of the role played by the Russian Revolution that is important to me, a veteran Communist. There must be no doubts on this score.

I have before me a book which is the transcript of my answers to the questions of a Uruguayan journalist.¹ It took him 200 pages to set forth my replies to the questions he was absolutely free to ask about anything, including my attitude to Stalin. Now that I have read Mikhail Gorbachov's report I am glad that my replies essentially coincide with his profound ideas about the period of such great difficulties for the revolutionary movement.

As far as the questions of history, in general are concerned, we are fortunate that Lenin, with characteristic brilliance, succeeded in grasping the laws which governed the development of Russian capitalism in the age of imperialism, worked out a revolutionary theory and strategy and a system of alliances, identified the motive forces and the role of the proletariat, and built a party which took power despite great odds. In other words, he acted as a scholar who chose the most difficult way of testing his theory, and he secured the victory of a socialist revolution. The 70 years that have elapsed since then — merely a fleeting moment in broad historical terms — have shaped mankind's future and the state of the world today, with one and a half billion people living under socialism and inspired by its ideals. These years have been decisive in another way too: the fact that we have not perished in the flames of a nuclear war we owe, in the final analysis, to the socialist world which is powerful enough to discourage imperialism (with the help of world public opinion) from engaging in dangerous military gambles.

As I said in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, welcoming the developments now under way in the Soviet Union, that is, perestroika, is, to me the best way of celebrating the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and its achievements. Perestroika highlights the capacity of socialism for self-criticism, its ability to continue the revolution, and its readiness to tackle problems boldly and to advance swiftly to a new and creative stage in its development, not only relying on economic, scientific and technological tools but also appealing to the hearts and minds of the Soviet people, for that is essential to perestroika. However, we know that translating it into reality is a struggle as great as that fought by the people

who built hydropower stations or broke the back of Nazism. It can only be won if the entire people and the entire party are involved, if socialism is perfected through self-governance and democratisation. That calls for unremitting efforts to combat red tape, dogmatism and all the unearned privileges and sinecures that appeared when things were managed by decree and there was no glasnost. One cannot think of a better way to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution than what the Soviet people did. I do not mean only the mass rallies and speeches which were the ideological synthesis of their achievements. The practice of perestroika is very important too because it reveals the advantages of socialism, its capacity for renewal and for comprehensively enhancing the citizens' involvement in all spheres of activity.

One should also remember that in the eyes of the Communists, in the eyes of the world's peoples the Soviet Union's bold foreign policy initiatives to prevent nuclear catastrophe have earned it uncontested prestige in matters of civilisation's survival. By urging people to realise that they have only two options, either nuclear disarmament or annihilation, we are calling on mankind to choose between two camps — either the rabid imperialists, the pillars of the military-industrial complex, and the 'soldiers of fortune' who dream of enslaving other nations and reversing the march of history, or the vast majority of the human race. This majority includes Communists, Social Democrats, Christians, bourgeois democrats, politically unaffiliated people, clergymen, intellectuals, environmentalists — in short, it is the bulk of humanity which also comprises those of the imperialist bourgeoisie who do not want to turn into shadows in the nuclear explosion or to be pulverised by this or that type of monstrous modern weapons.

As I said at the meeting in Moscow, only socialism offers a really effective solution to the problem. Just think that by the time the CPSU convened its 27th Congress the world had reached a dead end. It was trapped, it was attending its own funeral service surrounded by primed and targeted missiles. At that time, a Communist thinking in a primitive way could say, 'Come on, no one will believe that Reagan, Schultz, the imperialists, the trigger-happy US generals will ever agree to the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. You can't really picture Reagan, who says that socialism is devil's work, and Gorbachov, the leader of what the US President calls an evil empire, agreeing to meet, signing an accord on this issue and tackling other problems.' Was it easy to have this first step taken? Oh no, it was very difficult. What an upsurge of political and moral activity had to sweep the world for that step to materialise!

The Soviet position proved to be fruitful in another aspect too. Who would have thought (thinking in the old way) that we would gather together with leaders of the Socialist International, with Social Democrats of various hues, with heads of state from different continents for a straightforward and informal session without an agenda agreed upon in advance and with the sole objective of discussing the great subject of survival, peace and the search for understanding so necessary for joint efforts?

Just think how tremendous this new victory of socialism is on the global

scale! It won a victory by breaking out of capitalist encirclement. It won a victory by routing Nazism — and it not only prevailed but also saved all mankind. It was victorious later, having proved its capacity for development and, at a certain stage, for securing strategic military parity. Today, socialism is winning again by advancing proposals that reach the hearts and minds of the overwhelming majority of humanity. An opportunity is arising for using the released resources for development, to prevent the environment from destruction, to protect people from all kinds of natural disasters. The Soviet programme is comprehensive and global, and the new hopes it encourages — although they are somewhat different — remind us of the turning point at which the cruiser *Aurora* fired its famous salvo and Lenin announced the victory of the socialist revolution. *Now that 70 years have elapsed, mankind is again pinning its hopes on the country of the October Revolution.*

Naturally, one should not regard current developments on the world scene as a sort of chess game or duel in which Reagan defends all that is obsolete and useless and Gorbachov champions all that is new and progressive. The issue will be decided by the working people of the world, by nations and governments. This is clear from day-to-day realities.

Let us now discuss Latin America. Its problems are not always clearly discerned in the communist world. The Cuban Revolution which in the 1960s changed the history and the image of the continent after long years of oppression was a powerful social explosion. Assisted by the USSR and the Latin American peoples, Cuba not only upheld its freedom but also triumphed over the United States. Then, simplifying things a bit, one can say that US imperialism launched a counter-offensive, using facism as a weapon. Although overly bashful academics referred to it as 'right-wing authoritarianism' and thought up other abstruse terms for it, it was plain old fascism, the mossback Latin American kind. It soon came to dominate many countries, and the observers who only noticed superficial things said that it was a long-term development. But the resistance of the masses and the maturity of revolutionary processes which received an impetus from the Cuban Revolution made it possible to pass on to a *new stage*, marked by the Sandinist victory in Nicaragua and by intensified armed struggle in Central America. The dictatorships of the Southern Cone collapsed one after another, and the situation changed radically.

The war launched by the United States against Nicaragua is an integral part of a plan to keep the peoples of our continent from exercising their right to self-determination. However, not only the revolutionaries but also people whose positions are far from anti-imperialist are on the side of Nicaragua and support its government, the way they did at Contadora and, quite recently at Esquipulas.² They vote in the Organisation of American States for peace in Central America and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from that region, thus helping to isolate the United States. Here, in the Western Hemisphere, democratic regimes of South American republics are establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba and other socialist countries and voting at the UN together with the USSR, with developing and non-aligned nations against nuclear weapons, against apartheid and for peace.

Indeed we live in a new, changed world where openness to cooperation has expanded. Of course, in Latin America, too, the people have the final say. But even among the ruling classes of Latin America there are certain — and not revolutionary — elements that are in confrontation with imperialism. They hate to see the United States rob them with the help of the foreign debt, plunder our natural resources and impede the development of local capital. They resent the fact that the United States sponsored the fascist reign of terror which cost us Communists thousands of lives and sent many of these people also to prisons, concentration camps and exile.

I think I have cited enough examples to highlight the degree of openness to cooperation that exists in other parts of the world too. As for the Soviet Union, its openness is linked directly with the striving to ensure peace and deliver mankind from the nuclear threat. Besides, Soviet policy helps in the confrontation with neoglobalism, specifically, in Latin America too, in the defence of democracy, in the defence of Nicaragua. Obviously, all this does not mean that we in Uruguay reduce our strategy to these points only. We are speaking about a strategy of broadness and depth. Those who have not grasped the need to adopt a broad strategy, to *consolidate democracy* in Latin America, do not understand anything. Naturally, within the framework of democracy we strive to consolidate the revolutionary movement, and that is how we interpret a strategy of depth. The working class, the middle strata, the intellectuals must be united to create broad, effective and powerful political fronts. Consolidation of democracy is also linked inextricably with efforts to enhance the role of the working class and of the middle strata, with the development of big communist parties.

No communist party can discharge its historical mission if it is unable to lead the masses of the working class, if it lacks a clear-cut policy vis-à-vis the middle strata in urban and rural areas, particularly intellectuals and students, if it is unable to build a system of alliances as the basis of a democratic anti-imperialist front oriented on popular rule and, finally, if it is incapable of becoming an effective force with deep roots among the masses, with a creative policy geared to the national realities. The party needs to keep growing, and this depends on its ties with the masses, on its correct policy, on broad alliances and on the respect it enjoys among the public. Internally, the party should promote democracy, train its cadres and ensure that its leaders be modest, hard-working and respected by the people and by the comrades. I think that these points could become a major subject to be discussed within the international communist movement.

In 1955 the Communist Party of Uruguay went through a profound crisis which led to a change of its leadership. However, we did not blame all our problems on the previous leaders. The Uruguayan Communists revised their attitudes to issues of theory, ideology and politics, to the methods of work with the masses, to the forms of internal party activities, and to the organisation and operation of the leadership. We drew up a programme, a charter and a strategy which we called the Uruguayan revolution theory. It was aimed at rallying the working class closer together around a single class-based trade union centre with the party playing the leading role, at

drawing intellectuals and students into an alliance with the working class, and at working to create a left political unity front and to increase party membership.

All that was accomplished before the establishment of the dictatorship which tried to eliminate our gains. Still, we prevailed — at the cost of hundreds killed and missing, at the cost of tens of thousands who were arrested and tortured. The CPU emerged from the underground with an image of heroism and fortitude, convinced that its policy was right. In the course of the struggle to consolidate democracy and to pursue a democratic anti-imperialist policy, it proved possible once again to *restore complete working class unity*. A unitary trade union centre is operating in Uruguay, and it has ensured the unity of all hired labour — industrial workers, office workers, civil servants and teachers. Our communist comrades who are active in the trade union movement play a prominent role in that organisation.

We have also done a great deal to defend higher and secondary education and to work out a policy in relation to the intellectuals. I believe that a communist party that lacks a well-balanced and realistic policy vis-à-vis this section of the population is immature. By now we have scored considerable results in our work with the older and younger generations of intellectuals. The CPU has a cultural centre which conducts various types of relevant activities. We are strengthening our ties with the intelligentsia not only on the basis of the party's political theory but also because we do not claim to lay down aesthetic standards, because we do not act as literary or art critics. The party intellectuals are our serious force, and they are helping us in a very important undertaking — that of consolidating the Broad Front which comprises Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, left democrats, clergymen, military elements, intellectuals, labour leaders and others. All that creates an alternative to the existing government, an alternative based on broad parliamentary representation. The Communist Party is an important element of the Front, but it is also developing as an organisation in its own right.

We emerged from the period of the dictatorship and had to heal our wounds. Although virtually everything had been destroyed, we continue to work vigorously. We launched a weekly and then a daily, we joined the management of a major radio station, we publish a theoretical journal and special periodicals for intellectuals, we have the necessary club facilities, etc. As a result, the CPU membership has increased by 30,000 over the past 30 months and besides, 15,000 people have joined the Young Communist League. In terms of composition, industrial workers account for 75 per cent of the party membership; young people, for 65 per cent; women, for 38 per cent; and intellectuals also make up a sizeable part. We are now discussing the *question of advancing to new stages because although the Communists are a force of considerable strength on the national scale, participation in the government is likely to require that our party becomes bigger, more numerous and stronger*.

The key tasks of the party are to grow, organise and educate. These objectives should be achieved through a broad system of party education covering thousands of people who must be trained theoretically and

politically and improve their general educational background. We expect the coming year to be a major landmark in the party's work along these lines. We recently held a three-day meeting of the Central Committee to discuss our prospects for the next two years. We will, of course, be active in the preparations for and in the voting during a major referendum which is to be conducted in Uruguay soon.³ The 21st Congress of the CPU is slated for the end of 1988, and general elections will be held in 1989.

I would like to conclude by saying that, just like to all sister parties, to me, a veteran Communist with a party record of 57 years and a record of revolutionary struggle of more than 60 years, the celebrations commemorating the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, as well as the perestroika drive in the Soviet Union are a source of great inspiration and joy. We approve these changes wholeheartedly, although, as it was noted when they were discussed at a meeting of our Central Committee, while welcoming all that is new and novel, one should not forget to think for oneself. Many of the problems raised are relevant only for the Soviet Union and not for us, but many of them concern us too, and so they should be viewed critically, self-critically and in the context of their development. On the whole, however, we admire the capacity of the socialist system for development, growth and transformation, for this is added proof of the vitality inherent in the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. We see it as an example of what we the Communists can achieve when we really break with dogmatism, when we are not afraid of self-criticism, and merge fully with the popular masses to lead them and to remain their integral part.

¹ A. Barros-Lemez, *Arismendi: Forjar el viento*, Montevideo, 1987. — *Ed.*

² This refers to the Guatemala agreement of the five Central American presidents to look for ways of establishing a durable and lasting peace in the region. — *Ed.*

³ A referendum on the repeal of the law absolving those who committed crimes under the military dictatorship from legal responsibility. — *Ed.*

Cultural Values of Socialism

Culture: Objective And Indispensable Condition

Andrzej Wasilewski — CC
secretary, Polish United Workers' Party

TRANSITION from extensive to intensive methods in the economy (a transition full of difficulties and conflicts) proved especially painful for the Polish People's Republic. Faced with the need to speed up scientific and

Andrzej Wasilewski (b. 1928) graduated from Warsaw University and worked for a long time in the press. From 1967 he was editor-in-chief of the State Publishing Institute and from 1975 its director. Member of the PUWP since 1954, he was for several years alternate member and full member of the Party Central Committee. The Tenth PUWP Congress (1986) elected him secretary of the Party Central Committee.

technological progress, to introduce qualitative changes into production organisation, to raise the role of the subjective factor — the working people's consciousness, responsibility and initiative — and to expand socialist democracy, Poland found itself in a state of socio-political and economic crisis. Weakened by the mistakes of the 1970s' strategy, it became a target of especially fierce attacks by world imperialism. Internal anti-socialist forces also revived.

Extricating the country from the acute crisis and anarchy in the difficult conditions of the early 1980s, the PUWP managed to improve the situation and mapped out realistic ways of socio-economic progress. The Polish Communists enjoyed unanimous support by the entire socialist community. The powerful impulse provided by the 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties stimulated daring plans in the course of our renovation.

The Tenth PUWP Congress completed the drafting of the fundamental documents begun by the extraordinary Ninth Congress (1981). It adopted the Party Programme defining the guidelines for Poland's further socialist development, the programme of simultaneous economic growth and the restructuring of social and cultural life, including education, science and culture. The congress resolution emphasised that *culture shapes the views and behaviour of the people, satisfies and enriches their cultural needs and inculcates humanistic ideals*. This predetermines its important role in our society.

The theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism have always considered culture and especially its mastering by the broad mass of the people as an aim and, at the same time, an indispensable condition for building socialism. They deemed it an aim because they saw in it tremendous original value; and a condition because they knew that it was impossible to build a new society without raising the cultural and moral standards of the people. They proceeded from the fact that culture largely shapes social consciousness, determines the nature of knowledge, the way of life and labour efficiency and people's capability of communication. In its attitude to culture socialist ideology has therefore overstepped the traditional narrow conception of culture as creative activity alone and assigned to it a broader meaning encompassing also a number of other diverse phenomena and taking into account its close dialectical relationship with social life at large.

The socialist revolution has opened up new horizons for those who laid the groundwork for development by their labour but were hitherto deprived of the light of culture. Our party and the state cherish the cultural heritage of the people, provide the conditions for the work of practitioners in arts, democratise the contribution of various strata of the population to this field and promote amateur creative activity.

Access to cultural achievements and participation in augmenting its riches is an inalienable right of the working people guaranteed by the Polish Constitution. Throughout the history of People's Poland this policy has been yielding tangible results. Culture has become an important factor of the people's growing self-consciousness and of social transformation in the country. The more valuable fruits of thought and creative activity are now within the reach of all and everyone.

First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the Tenth Party Congress: "To make man's life better is, to put it in a nutshell, the aim of socialist development. What, however, does 'better' imply? We would not be Marxists if we underestimated the material aspect of living standards. Rising well-being is the chief goal of the socio-economic policy pursued by the Party.

"But this goal would be mediocre and the concept lop-sided, if we meant by 'better life' nothing but the material aspect. It is also a question of social justice, equal rights and opportunities and a worthy, creative and fulfilling life. Collectivism, a sense of comradeship, strong ideological and moral aspirations and the desire to know more, to understand better and to be more active are all the fundamental characteristics of the socialist way of life.

"It is these values that determine the great role of culture in the socialist development of Poland. We have a broad concept of culture as the enrichment of man's spiritual world and as an essential element of labour, social life, communication and customs, and as the production, preservation and distribution of the works of human genius, imagination and emotions."

Our experience and that of the USSR and other fraternal countries make it possible to outline the vitally important problems to be solved at the subsequent stages of the building of socialism. We mean here a sum total of problems. How can we ensure that the progress of society, technology and civilisation should mould people of a new type on a mass scale? What can art do to save man's psychological powers at the time when the nature of labour is changing at an extraordinary speed and being intellectualised? How can we maintain and expand the influence of culture on the determination of the meaning of man's existence? When looking for answers to these questions, thought should be given to strengthening the Marxist-Leninist criteria of the public evaluation of works of art and literature in view of the mounting onslaught by subjectivism (the influence of bourgeois ideology hostile to socialism). It is also important to know how to launch aesthetic education, especially of children and young people, on a mass scale and to develop collective forms of participation in cultural life, which is increasingly being brought into every household with the wide spread of radio, TV and VCRs.

We considered all of these problems during numerous discussions and consultations, which resulted in the 'Report on the Situation in Culture' and 'The Fundamentals of the Polish Cultural Development Programme' discussed and adopted by the Tenth PUWP Congress. The keynote of the two documents is that culture cannot be considered only as a means of servicing the population: it is a power advancing society along the road to socialism and the progress of civilisation. It is, metaphorically speaking, man's daily bread, too. The task is therefore to guarantee that culture, which has reached in Poland world standards in some aspects, should be more apparent in everyday reality.

We are acutely aware, for example, of the fact that outstanding works of art are exercising an insufficient influence on the development of industrial design and production, whereas the aesthetic characteristics of products

are now features of considerable importance in the quality of life. This country has remarkable pieces of music and still we often come across people's inability to listen to them, the underestimation of musical education in schools and the avalanche of deafening noise instead. Poland has a brilliant school of linguistics and literature, which has been translated into numerous languages; at the same time speech is littered with jargon, brimming with vulgarisms and relies on a depressingly meagre vocabulary.

That is why the Party Central Committee deems it exceptionally important to *raise the impact of highly artistic works on the way of life and relations among people*. We attach much attention to industrial design, to raising the significance of the printed word and of the cinema and to introducing new technology into mass media. The Central Committee Political Bureau has also discussed the problem of the aesthetic education of the younger generation.

An up-to-date model of an accessible cultural educational centre should correspond to the cultural values disseminated with the help of latest technology (cinema, printing and sound recording).

We are trying to use the new opportunities offered by the scientific and technological revolution to the mass media, including satellite and cable TV, VCRs and also holography in the near future. Conditions are being created for introducing technical means to promote the dissemination of works of culture among the broad mass of the people. We know that in the capitalist system these means are instruments of propaganda, commercial aggression and low-grade entertainment. We are working on a programme of building humanistic culture harmoniously combining the cultural riches of all times and nations with modern forms and content and with the artistic experiments of our day.

'The Fundamentals of the Polish Cultural Development Programme' pointed out that, both at present and in the future, it is important to use cultural values and institutions so that they should serve the comprehensive development of the personality and the enrichment of the cultural life of our different social strata and regional communities.

Our cultural policy should be determined and conditioned jointly by all those concerned — the creative media, public and political movements, state bodies and organisations, that is, by multifarious social forces and facilities on the basic principle by which "the well-being of the people attained in a socialist state means the highest and indivisible well-being of all its citizens".²

In Polish history the main cultural trends and major achievements have always been a powerful source of inspiration uniting the people around great ideas. Culture paved the way to progressive ideals, nurtured the sense of patriotic community, assembled entire generations around the ideas of democracy and justice and mobilised people for the worker's cause, making an invaluable contribution to the building of the socialist homeland.

In keeping with this tradition the party wants creative associations to be full-fledged partners not only in shaping and implementing cultural policy but also in addressing the *main tasks of social life*. For us the main thing is not the use of culture in advertising socialism but rather the building of a

new system with its help, actively translating into life the socialist ideals.

An indispensable condition in this is to rally the overwhelming majority of the creative forces to the ideas of progress and the public interests of Poland. It is not fortuitous that precisely the Polish creative intelligentsia became a favourite target of imperialism's ideological subversion and Western propaganda's psychological warfare. The moral and social prestige of the creative intelligentsia, won during the Second World War and the Nazi invasion, is so great that for nearly forty years now the adversaries of socialism have been trying to implant reactionary views among at least a handful of leading figures in Polish arts.

In the 1970s the country's political leaders underestimated this pressure and were careless of the growing influence of trends alien to our system. Mistakes were also made in tackling the social and everyday problems facing the intelligentsia; the authorities were too slow to respond to the worsening conditions of creative activity. All this made some cultural figures receptive of hostile propaganda.

Following August 1980³, blatant attacks on the fundamentals of our system were rife among the creative community. The characteristic feature was the strengthening of rightist-nationalistic and conservative clerical trends. Preachers of anarchic-syndicalist and neo-Trotskyist views could be heard ever more frequently. Those views were voiced at forums of artistic unions and associations. They became manifest in science and culture, in the assessment of cultural traditions, in historiography and literary and art criticism. Some members of the opposition spoke out in favour of changing the Polish state system, pinning their counter-revolutionary hopes on the crazy idea of shattering the geopolitical realities obtaining in Europe as a result of the victory over Nazism in 1945. But the overwhelming majority of the cultural figures and intelligentsia generally stayed loyal to socialist Poland and its ideals.

Beginning with December 13, 1981,⁴ our yardstick was: 'What matters is not where you come from but what your stand is today, what your aspirations are and what you are actually doing for the country's development'. Simultaneously, the party and the state waged an irreconcilable war against those who consciously sought to disintegrate Polish culture by whatever means and to bring about anarchy.

The past few years saw organisational and professional stabilisation of the creative media. Its activity is constantly growing, works of substance are being produced and writers, artists and performers are taking an ever more active part in implementing cultural policy.

Artistic unions and associations now work differently than before. The newly formed public organisations — cultural commissions of the Patriotic Movement of National Renaissance and especially the National Cultural Council set up by the Sejm⁵ also operate in a new way. Headed by Bogdan Suchodolski, the eldest Polish educator and theorist, the Council has become an important consultative and supervising body. It launches many initiatives, among them serious discussions of principle, shaping the consensus among the intelligentsia, the scientists and public figures, both PUWP members and the non-members, believers and atheists.

New principles of Communist activities in the artistic community and

cultural institutions have been framed, including the grassroots party organisations, where 'creative committees' operate under the provincial party committees, national associations under the Central Committee Cultural Department representing individual arts and, finally, at the Central Committee Commission for Culture. Opportunities have thus been created for making a better use of the political, ideological and intellectual potential of the party in implementing its programme.

Respecting the right of artistes to creative search and innovation, we want the image of our national culture to be made up by works of a high humanistic and ideological standard, concordant with the needs and experience of the working class and all the working people and reflecting history and modern times in the spirit of the socialist ideals.

The openness of the PUWP policy means that this is *a policy of accord, dialogue and cooperation with all trends which do not oppose the socialist system*. Art works with ideological values, moral motives and principles differing from those of Marxism — in the conditions in Poland this is primarily a matter of religion — also have a full right to existence. The multi-faceted nature of Polish culture (from the point of view of world outlook) reflects the historical peculiarities of the formation of society, its positions and views. Our cultural policy presupposes the active participation of artistes in building socialism. Both today and tomorrow the indispensable criteria must be the genuine worth of works of art and objective aspects rather than subjective ones (say, for example, the author's political background).

The Tenth PUWP Congress set forth the programme of national accord in the field of culture. At the same time we deem it necessary to encourage works which combine high artistic merits with a progressive message and an intellectually innovative content. We are going to support above all those trends in art which are in the mainstream of the socialist development of society. This approach is also a must in publishing, in forming theatre repertoires, in making museum purchases and in organising the economic mechanism of the cinema, and also in pursuing a principled cadre policy.

Culture has always been and will remain to be the scene of bitter ideological struggle reflecting class interests not only inside the country but also on the international plane. This will hold force as long as opposite social structures, antagonistic systems and states exist. That is why, while granting the freedom of creative activity to all those who recognise our socialist state system, we are at the same time consistently opposing its *use for purposes hostile to socialism*, purposes which run counter to the objective interests of national unity, or for nationalist, racist and similar hostile ideas, which are alien to the humane ideals characteristic of genuine culture.

A great role in effecting radical changes in this field is that played by global processes charged with new humanism, first and foremost the dynamic Soviet policy proclaimed by the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress (1986). As a result broad prospects are opening for mutual exchanges with our closest neighbour — the USSR. Polish culture is receptive to the fresh ideas and

concepts springing anew from the inexhaustible variety of Soviet life, and vice versa.

This process of further drawing closer together rests on a sound ideological foundation. The great traditions of friendship between Polish and Russian revolutionaries under tsarism, during the years of struggle for Soviet power, the joint fight against fascism in the Second World War and the more than 40-year-long post-war cooperation have been given a new impetus nowadays. A qualitatively higher level of Polish-Soviet relations has to do with the two countries' development concepts and the identical aims of serious restructuring proclaimed by the 27th CPSU Congress and of the course of socialist renovation set forth by the Tenth PUWP Congress.

The Declaration of Polish-Soviet Cooperation in Ideology, Science and Culture signed by the two party leaders, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachov, in April 1987 points out: "Socialism is entering a new responsible stage of its development. There is a chance and an urgent need to make fuller use of the enormous creative potential of the new social system, to set examples of a full-blooded life, materially secure and culturally rich, and of a rational and efficient organisation of social production.

"At this crucial period of history the PUWP and the CPSU, guided by their responsibility for the destinies of socialism and by the principles of socialist internationalism, are joining their efforts in renovating our social system and making it more dynamic and open to all things progressive. Our goal is to extend democratic gains, to pull down all obstacles to the people's creative self-expression, to provide conditions for the development of economic, political and social initiative among the broad mass of the working people and for the utilisation of the entire wealth of individual abilities and gifts of every citizen."

The Declaration formulates important comprehensive approaches to ideology, culture and science. It states: "The democratisation of our parties' interaction in the spiritual field based on the principle of equitable partnership is to promote the further drawing closer together of our nations and to strengthen mutual respect for and interest in each other."

At the same time our country is open to broad contacts with other states within the framework of the commonly accepted norms of international law.

The key issue of cultural cooperation is the struggle for peace and education in the spirit of peace. Peace is also one of the main goals of our foreign policy. This stems from the historical experience of the Polish nation. After the routing of Nazism, for the first time in many centuries conditions have been created for Poland's security and good relations with its neighbours. The victory of socialism has opened up prospects for the radical transformation of our society and made the people confident of their power. Those who are familiar with Polish accomplishments in culture know that it was characterised primarily by the values that reaffirm man's right to peaceful life. Many an opposite example have been proffered by the West with its novels, films, works of art and pseudo-scientific research, which propagandise war, disseminate revanchist

concepts and sow the seeds of hatred and racism.

We will support *any initiative and any form of struggle for peace and social progress* that may be produced by the creative media of the globe. These efforts, their organisers and activists receive all-round support in the socialist states. After all, war today spells not only the complete destruction of the cultural heritage but an end to civilisation on the earth as well.

It is therefore only natural that the Polish-Soviet Declaration stresses our common striving to do everything possible to ensure a stable peace for the present and coming generations and to speed up economic and social progress on the basis of advanced science and technology and the development of socialist civilisation and culture.

X Zjazd PZPR. Stenogram z obrad plenarnych, Warsaw, 1987, pp. 346, 347.

Zalozenia programu rozwoju kultury polskiej, Warsaw, 1986, p. 28.

At that time the anti-communist forces came to control the Solidarity Movement and launched a political and propaganda onslaught on the PUWP and the socialist state. — *Ed.*

On that day, guided by the need to safeguard the interests of Poland and its citizens and also with the aim of defending effectively the sovereignty and independence of the state, tranquillity and public order, the State Council of the People's Republic of Poland decided to introduce martial law throughout the country. The decision based on Poland's Constitution was repealed in July 1983. — *Ed.*

The Sejm is the highest body of state authority in Poland. — *Ed.*

Trybuna Ludu, May 22, 1987.

The Humane Idea Of Reconciliation

Najibullah — General Secretary, CC, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President, Republic of Afghanistan

FOR years events in Afghanistan were first and foremost associated with reports from the battlefields of the undeclared war unleashed against the Republic of Afghanistan by the counter-revolutionary forces supported by the imperialist powers and their local accomplices. Today the name of our country ever more frequently brings to mind its peace-making efforts. The policy of national reconciliation declared by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) has the simple and concrete aim to put an end to the fratricidal war, which has been afflicting our land, the bodies and souls of millions of the Afghan people for nearly ten years now. The roots of this

Najibullah (b. 1947) has been active in the revolutionary struggle since his youth. He joined the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan at its inception (in 1965) and was secretary of the Kabul party committee after the victory of the Saur Revolution in Afghanistan. He was engaged in diplomatic activity later on, being the ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan in Iran. For several years he headed the state security bodies and was elected member of the CC Political Bureau in 1981 and secretary of the CC of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in 1985. The 18th CC Plenary Meeting (May 1986) elected him General Secretary of the PDPA CC. In late November 1987 the Loya Jirgah (National Assembly) elected Najibullah President of the Republic of Afghanistan.

policy should be traced to the hearts of my compatriots. Our party carried on the aspirations of our people, formalising them theoretically and organisationally in what came to be called the *policy of national reconciliation*.

The PDPA first spoke of searches for an alternative to military confrontation at the 16th CC Plenary Meeting in the autumn of 1985. But the task of implementing that policy called for a clear-cut concept of attaining peace and security, a concept that would take into account the entirety of Afghanistan's specific features and the situation in the region. It took shape in the course of numerous meetings and talks with party activists, scholars, elders and representatives of the most diverse strata of the population. We have gained much by studying the heritage of the founders of the scientific revolutionary theory and the experience of the fraternal parties.

The implementation of the national reconciliation policy began with concrete steps taken on January 15, 1987, when *our army initiated a unilateral ceasefire*. I can now safely state that this noble step has been discussed under the roof of every house in this country. The Afghan people are weary of bloodshed and no longer want to look at each other through the slit of a gun sight.

War has inflicted enormous damage. The cost of things which had been blown up, burned out or razed to the ground exceeds 50 billion afghani'. Hundreds of villages have been turned into ruins together with more than 2,000 schools and hospitals, the activity of many an economic project has been paralysed and agricultural production has fallen dramatically. Fourteen thousand kilometres of telephone lines and half the electric power lines have been destroyed. But how can we gauge thousands upon thousands of ruined lives, the suffering of those crippled and incapacitated or the tears of Afghan women mourning their fathers, husbands, sons and brothers. Mind you, the grindstone of war crushes primarily the flower of our people — their young, in this way depriving the nation of tomorrow.

The Western mass media often seek to present the Afghan people as victims of their own differences. *But this is not a civil war: it has been imposed on the people from without* by those, who, nurturing the counter-revolutionaries, hope to continue the massacre 'to the last Afghani man'. In the past years the US and its allies spent a total of \$4 billion to whip up hostilities in Afghanistan. It is precisely this 'gold rain' pouring into the pockets of the counter-revolutionary gang leaders that turned into a downpour of missiles and shells, death and destruction on our land.

The large-scale socio-political process, which started approximately a year ago, is gradually gathering momentum, and the seeds of peace sown by us have already borne fruit. *The course of the PDPA and the government towards renouncing the military means of settling problems, their readiness for dialogue and reasonable compromises, renunciation of monopoly of government and the passing of laws on political parties, a call for the establishment of a coalition government and the new Constitution* are all the constituents of the integral and consistent programme that induced a considerable section of the opposition forces to go over, albeit slowly and cautiously, to negotiations.

During the latter period 2,300 villages have been liberated by peaceful means and people's rule is now in operation in more than 9,000 villages, 45 cities and towns, including all the 29 provincial centres, and in 214 districts and regions, that is, on a greater portion of the country's habitable territory. Back to their homeland returned 100,000 of our compatriots and the figure could have been much higher, had it not been for the obstacles raised by the Pakistani and Iranian authorities to the Afghan refugees. More than 30,000 rebels from nearly 200 formations have renounced armed struggle and, together with them, another 110,000 people returned to peaceful life. Over 6,000 former members of counter-revolutionary units are collaborating in bodies of local authority and national reconciliation commissions.

Statistics are, of course, incapable of demonstrating what matters most, namely, that the people have regained *hope in the possibility of substituting implements of labour for arms*, rebuilding ravaged villages and irrigation ditches and cultivating land which had for years been sown with mine and shell fragments rather than with grain and profusely sprinkled with blood rather than water.

As could be expected, our initiatives intensified divisions among the opposition, evoking ire among the extremist sections of the counter-revolutionaries. The ringleaders of the Peshawar Seven, the main anti-Afghan organisations entrenched on Pakistani territory, did not respond to the ceasefire call. They even intensified their fire raids especially in the east and south-east of the country and continue committing outrage and violence. These people are putting themselves outside the process of changes.

The national reconciliation course has, indisputably, had a favourable effect on reviving economic activity. In the past year industrial production growth rates exceeded by 40 per cent the mean annual figure of the post-revolutionary period.

Despite the difficulties caused by the complicated military-political situation and the enormous material loss mentioned above, the country has surpassed the pre-revolutionary level in key economic indicators. For example, in the past five years GNP grew by 18 per cent, national income by 10 per cent, while capital investment in the production and social spheres nearly doubled from 12 to 22.7 billion afghani.

A decisive factor of *industrial development* is Afghanistan's close cooperation with the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union. Enterprises built with Soviet aid account for over 60 per cent of overall industrial output. Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania and Hungary are also giving us constantly growing help in economic development.

We pay special attention to *agriculture* which suffered most in the conflagration of war. The guideline here is the same — the abolition of feudal relations and the continuation of agrarian-irrigation reform in the interests of the mass of the peasants. As is known, the just solution of the agrarian problem has always and everywhere been pivotal to national democratic transformations. We believe that the improvement of socio-economic relations in the Afghan countryside and raising on this basis the

peasants' living standards are the key condition of the success of the national reconciliation policy and of expanding the social base of the Saur revolution.

The party and the government show concern for *the needs of the people* by building new schools, hospitals, living quarters, libraries, museums and cinema halls. A special UNESCO medal has marked the fact that more than half a million people attend 25,000 courses to eliminate illiteracy. All this is undertaken in the conditions of war when we have to spend on defence three out of every five afghani of the state budget.

Our position on religion is consistent and clear-cut. We have always proceeded from the fact that the PDPA emerged and is acting on the political scene of a traditional Muslim country. Respect for Islam is graphically manifest in the emblem and national flag of Afghanistan. The documents of the people's government, first and foremost the Constitution of the republic, guarantee the believers all the conditions necessary for observing religious rites. Kabul University has a theological department and an Islamic research centre has been opened of late in the capital. In the years of the revolution 57 new mosques have been built and 527 old mosques and holy places restored in Kabul alone.

The experience of states, such as Lebanon, Iran and Iraq, forcefully demonstrates that the imperialist powers criminally exploit Islam for their own aims. Under its banner opponents of progressive changes in Afghanistan commit most godless atrocities. They are responsible for the destruction of more than 250 mosques and prayer houses and the death of hundreds of patriotically-minded representatives of the clergy.

It's a paradox that *we representatives of the revolutionary government called by our enemies the 'infidels' are restoring and building mosques, showing respect for the clergy, while the 'fighters for Islam' glorified in the West are setting on fire and blowing up Islamic sanctuaries and killing imams.*

Engaging in wishful thinking, the adversaries of the Saur revolution on countless occasions predicted its speedy demise and, together with it, the fall of the PDPA. Nevertheless the revolution is still alive and developing, and the party is carrying on its constructive work, being quite a success at it, to judge by the bitterness of our enemies.

The growing ranks of the PDPA are a convincing testimony of its viability and mounting influence. Veterans remember the times when the party numbered not more than several dozens. By the time of the revolution it had 15,000 and by the first all-party conference of 1982 nearly 90,000 members. The second conference held in October 1987 was attended by delegates sent by 185,000 party members. Incidentally, the declaration of the national reconciliation course triggered a sharp increase in the number of applications for PDPA membership. In the past five years party organisations in some provinces and the capital grew three-fold or so. The total number of grassroot party organisations reached 6,160, with 2,117 of them operating in the army units.

The following figures give an idea of the party's social structure: among the newly affiliated in the period between the two conferences workers accounted for 18 per cent, peasants for 26.5 per cent, artisans and

handicraftsmen for 3 per cent and the representatives of the intelligentsia for 36.9 per cent. More than half the fresh forces were people under 30. Women account for one-tenth of the membership which the Central Committee considers inadequate and intends to change for the better.

The steady growth of the PDPA membership is not an aim in itself for us. The party shows strict concern for the healthiness of its ranks and will not tolerate neglect for inner party discipline or the principles of democratic centralism. *The grim realities of our day demand that the style and methods of leadership should be changed as well as the bad habits of the past — passivity and reliance on instructions from above, tendency towards bombastic slogans not supported by deeds, lack of a principled attitude and exactingness towards both oneself and fellow party members.* We have to renounce the evil practice of rotating loafers in high offices, while inculcating modesty among party members in all and everything.

We will continue combating red tape in the party and state apparatus. It is important that every leader should visit frequently villages and industrial shops, educational establishments and soldiers' barracks. A welcome fact is that many Central Committee and Political Bureau members spend most of their time touring provinces and meeting people rather than being confined to their offices.

I recall in this connection what a woman worker of the Kunduz province told me. She had been wounded when a bomb planted by bandits exploded, and I came to her place to give her an order for excellent work and participation in the defence of the accomplishments of the Saur revolution. Two of her sons were killed at the front and the remaining two were serving in the armed forces. I asked her if she needed any help and Malalai (that was the woman's name) answered: "I want only one thing — that you leaders always be in your element. And for a politician, the people are his element . . ."

Another duty of paramount importance for the party leaders was aptly expressed at the second PDPA conference by a worker called Rashid who urged the leaders invariably to hold their word and put all their promises into effect. The main thing, he said, is that the people want them always to tell the truth.

Like any political organisation, the PDPA finds it of vital importance to maintain the unity of its ranks. For many years the party was suffering from overt and covert faction infighting whipped up by rivalry among different groupings and their leaders who failed to abandon their coterie habits. *The evolution of the national reconciliation process, the foundation of new parties in the country and prospects of a coalition government are increasingly attracting our attention to the problem of unity.*

Advance towards democratising the life of Afghan society gives the existing parties and those in the making, which seek national reconciliation, an opportunity to act legally and freely express their opinion on all issues. The people's government has formalised it in a special law. The process of the PDPA's interaction with some left-wing democratic parties illustrates the gradual formation of the pluralistic system. The patriotically-minded clergy intends, too, to found an Islamic party in Afghanistan. There are prerequisites for the establishment of a

peasant party. A compromise with other political forces is also being sought.

That is why the PDPA needs unity as never before. *We should ensure the cohesion of our ranks in deed and not in word otherwise the party will lose its organising and mobilising role in society and find itself outside the political system.* The PDPA members consider the problem of unity to be vitally important and it is apparently to be put on the agenda of the Second Congress scheduled for the spring of 1988.

We regard our party as an inalienable part of the movement for the world without war or violence, for cooperation and mutual understanding among nations, the movement which has swept the entire globe. We believe it our internationalist duty to our great and noble friend — the Soviet people — to ensure, among other things, the speedy return to their homeland of the limited Soviet troops contingent in Afghanistan. By working against the military confrontation in the country and the region and in defence of the sovereignty and independence, the PDPA is winning prestige on the international scene, as is borne out by its constantly extending international ties. By today we have signed cooperation protocols with 76 parties of different countries and maintain contacts with a total of 150 political parties, progressive organisations and movements.

The national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan has evoked wide interest abroad, for example, in Kampuchea and five Central American countries. The idea of reconciliation is in itself of *universal nature*. It has imbibed the historical experience of the revolutionary transformation of society and reflects people's eternal striving for eradicating wars, for progress and humanism. It reflects an attempt at mastering a new political thinking which has declared human life and peace on earth to be the highest values.

I think that the title of your journal is quite symbolic. Problems of peace and socialism are inseparable, the latter being unthinkable without the former. The national reconciliation programme is for us the only possible answer to the question how to stop bloodshed in Afghanistan, improving in this way the situation in the region and on the world scene. A key task facing the PDPA is to speed up this process and to create sound guarantees of peace.

¹ 50 afghani are equivalent to US \$1. — Ed.

the party

Renovating The Party

Salomão Malina — Chairman,
Brazilian Communist Party

“... Our primary and imperative practical task is to establish *an organisation of revolutionaries* capable of lending energy, stability, and continuity to the political struggle.”

V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*¹

THE Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress of the BCP was held in July 1987, shortly before the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, and it concentrated on the theoretical, ideological and practical problems in the renovation of our party after 65 turbulent and heroic years. There were a number of factors (the most important ones are considered below) which made these problems so important, but the main one facing the Brazilian Communists was that formulated by Lenin in the early years of this century. It is the building of a revolutionary party voicing the historical interests of the proletariat, uniting all the working people and guiding their struggle for the political objectives in transforming the bourgeois society.

The renovation of the BCP, of its strategic and tactical conceptions, its organisational structure and style of work is a highly intricate process, and its success directly depends on the creative development and concrete application of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the specific conditions of modern Brazil.

Without laying claim even to a schematic exposition of the BCP's history over the past decades, we believe that it is necessary to emphasise: the first step towards its renovation was taken in the latter half of the 1950s. After the trauma and disagreements which appeared then in the communist movement, our party found itself in grave crisis. It was not only a reflection of the state of affairs in the communist movement, but also an indicator that the inner tension within the ranks of the BCP was coming to the surface. The exposure of the personality cult enabled us to take a fresh look at our own, specific party problems.

Indeed, the ways of overcoming the internal crisis basically outlined in the March 1958 Declaration² and further elaborated in the political resolution of the Fifth Congress of the BCP in 1960³ were oriented towards renovation. *Theoretical renovation* was seen as a self-critical review of the concepts concerning our country, which we used to formulate by mechanically applying the 'models' tried out in other latitudes. The party stressed the need for a systematic study of Marxism-Leninism and its

The biographical note is published under the heading *WMR Introduces* in this issue.

creative application in analysing the Brazilian society. *Political renovation* was seen as a self-critical assessment of the party's activities and the need to overcome manifestations of narrowness and sectarianism was formulated.

The results of the changes were quick to tell. Some of the ideas of the founders of the party, among them Astrojildo Pereira and Cristiano Cordeiro, were revived, and the political practices of some grassroots organisations were supported. By the early 1960s, the BCP had become the centre of attraction for a large section of the intelligentsia engaged in a concrete analysis of the reality. The party got down to working out a new strategic course for the years ahead. It was based on the idea that *expansion, deepening and consolidation of political democracy* was the pivotal element of the revolutionary process in Brazil's conditions. The renovation started along two lines was also reflected in the organisational conceptions which were discussed by its special national party conference in December 1962.

It would, however, be ridiculous to assume that it takes only a short while to consolidate and develop what has been achieved. In an atmosphere of acute ideological struggle, the line of renovation ran into considerable difficulties. We lacked only a short time for ultimate success. In April 1964, the reaction carried out its coup, overthrowing the constitutional government of João Goulart.⁴ The BCP, then on the threshold of being legalised, was forced to go deep underground. Until 1979 it remained the major enemy of the military dictatorship, which catered for big capital and the latifundists, and relied on the notorious 'national security' doctrine. The process of renovation was made even more difficult, but *the party found the strength to continue it*.

Following the 1964 coup, with efforts to safeguard the party organisations and resist the brutal repression against the popular, and in particular, the left-wing forces, the first major step on the way to renovation naturally was an analysis of the causes of the April defeat.

The comparison of views on this issue began as early as 1965, and it culminated, despite the police persecution, in the successful holding of the Sixth Congress of the BCP in December 1967. It centred on a discussion of the 1958-1960 strategic course based on the Communists' policy of struggle for democracy. A few leaders, supported by some party organisations, believed this course to be an erroneous one. That undoubtedly happened under the impact of the revolutionary experience gained by then in Latin America, and in remote regions such as Asia and Africa. The emphasis was on the idea that consistent anti-dictatorship action had to be mainly armed action. There were two approaches to it: some insisted on developing a guerrilla movement in the towns, and others, in the countryside; some regarded the party as a holdover of the past, while others strove to create a 'truly revolutionary party'. The congress showed these concepts to be untenable, but the rift was there. In the new conditions imposed by reaction, the Sixth Congress made our earlier strategic course more profound and more exact, and reaffirmed the priority of democracy. The dictatorship, it said, would not be defeated by vanguardist tactics, but by political action of great masses of people and the establishment of a *broad*

anti-dictatorship front capable of rallying the democratic opposition.

The subsequent developments showed this orientation to be correct and justified, and it was maintained throughout the whole of the dictatorship period; it enabled the party to maintain the closest ties with various political circles opposed to the regime. The party had to act in the most clandestine atmosphere in its history, but managed to establish effective contacts with the existing social movement. Let us recall that the choice of the tactics of mass anti-dictatorship struggle — a logical consequence of the general strategy of the Brazilian revolution — was assured and implemented. Meanwhile, the bulk of the left-wing forces, and not only those of petty-bourgeois origin, took the vanguardist, isolationist way, and the dictatorship was able to deal with them with relative ease, because they ignored the level of consciousness and organisation of classes and intermediate social strata.

In that situation the party's renovation was a limited process. The difficulties further mounted in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the dictatorship evolved into a military-fascist regime.⁵ The repressive machine threw everything into the fight against the BCP in an effort to wipe it out. From 1970 to 1976, thousands of rank-and-file party members and hundreds of middle-echelon leaders were subjected to imprisonment and torture; one-third of the Central Committee membership was physically liquidated.

This large-scale punitive operation went hand in hand with preparations for a 'reform' of the regime. It is a fact that the dictatorship suffered a resounding defeat in the November 1974 elections, and was forced to go over to defence as a result of the democratic resistance and action by the popular movement led by the working class. The idea of an 'opening' was the brainchild of the Ernesto Geisel group,⁶ and it boiled down to setting up a 'relative democracy' under which the BCP would be driven from the political stage.

Although the dictatorship project proved to be a failure, and the Communists did much to bring it about, we decided on a step that was unprecedented in party life and had important consequences: organised emigration of a large part of the central leadership.⁷

Following the amnesty won by the BCP in September 1979, the party returned to the social scene, but its central leadership was split: a solid majority, on the one hand, and Luis Carlos Prestes, on the other.

When we emerged from underground, but remained illegal (we had clashes with the police until 1983), we found ourselves faced with a host of complicated and unpleasant problems. The repressive legislation was still in effect, although the military-fascist suppression of our party had been substantially reduced as a result of democratic struggle. While the new spectrum of left-wing forces even enjoyed some official organisational support, the BCP was still being subjected to attacks by the latter-day followers of the dictatorship. All of that had to be resisted by a party weakened by 15 years of brutal repression and conflict between Prestes and the central leadership majority. Besides, a section of the party intelligentsia was then under the influence of 'modern' conceptions of the West European 'new left', who cast doubt on the organisational

importance of Leninism and in fact abandoned the revolutionary perspective and the political hegemony of the working class in various historical forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Those were, in most general terms, the peculiarities of the situation by the time of our Seventh Congress. The confrontation with the position taken by Prestes (and it outwardly appeared to be a 'left-wing' one) and the 'modern' views of the groups of intellectuals ended in a victory for the political line set forth in the document *A Democratic Alternative to the Brazilian Crisis*.⁸ The Congress overcame the resistance of the two factions and raised to a new level the strategy which the party had pursued from the 1958-1960 period.

It took a novel view of the BCP's role as a mass, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party seeking transition to socialism in Brazil through broad democracy to describe the present period of development of our revolutionary process *as democratic and national, with orientation towards socialism*.

The *Democratic Alternative* contained political, strategic and tactical concepts worked out by the party through collective analysis of economic and social changes in the Brazilian society. It also said that with the extension of political liberties the BCP could no longer confine itself to theoretical and ideological formulations, if its political renovation was to go on.

The party, then led by Giocondo Dias,⁹ did much after the Seventh Congress for a comprehension of this fact. It restored the unity, won legalisation in 1985, and joined actively in the institutional and political process in accordance with the course set by the *Democratic Alternative*. But the changes over the past two years in the political pattern of forces and in the party's organisational activities, because of its legalisation and numerical growth, led us to the conclusion that it was necessary to convene the Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress, of which I spoke at the very beginning. It endorsed, almost unanimously, the *Democratic Alternative* strategy and gave greater precision to our tactics.

The only purpose of this short historical retrospect is to show that the renovation of the BCP is *a process* (which is, at the same time, being made more difficult by various obstacles), *a course purposefully pursued by our party for three decades*. In other words, it is a line whose evident integrity — based on the long-term strategy of the Brazilian revolution — does not rule out radical changes in tactics now and again in the course of the intense political and ideological struggle. This process has now entered upon a new stage. The substance of the present, truly unprecedented situation is determined by internal and external factors.

Let us take note of the positive shifts in the international alignment of forces in favour of the champions of disarmament, peace and a new international economic order, whose struggle enjoys effective and necessary support from the socialist community. At the same time, the domination of US imperialism is being eroded everywhere; its bellicose adventurism is being opposed even by some of the traditional followers; there is a growing awareness that the economic and social mechanisms of monopoly capitalism are incapable of satisfying the wants of the population

even in dynamically developing countries. All of that, together with the working people's mass struggle in the industrialised capitalist countries, the progressive aspirations of the Third World peoples, and the socialist community's peace policy open up highly favourable prospects for steady advance.

The renovation in the socialist world, especially in the Soviet Union since the 27th Congress of the CPSU, has become a vivifying accelerator of everything that is progressive on the globe. Perestroika, which is being carried on boldly, with a sense of responsibility and in an atmosphere of glasnost, is helping Lenin's party to release the untapped potentialities of existing socialism, and shows that the ideas of the October Revolution continue to be a reliable reference point even after 70 years.

The Brazilian reality also has a new look. With the shackles of the dictatorship shed, the country presents a mosaic and contradictory picture: 141 million inhabitants, the eighth place among the capitalist countries in industrial potential, the world's largest external debt, heavy dependence on the economy of imperialism (mainly US imperialism), still untapped stores of natural wealth, a fantastic model of profit and property concentration without parallel anywhere else, and significant weight on the international scene. There is as yet no sign of an early end to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, but Brazil's future will be assured provided the proletariat begins to play *a prominent political role* now.

But it is not only the economic and social aspects of the situation that are new: there is the penetration of capitalism into the countryside, the integration of the latifundias, the concentration and centralisation of capital in agriculture and the services, the emergence of a financial oligarchy, the establishment of imperialism, and the formation of a class structure in which the presence of the new urban middle strata does not rule out a polarisation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The peculiarity of the present situation is also characterised by its political components.

We entered upon a period of democratic development in 1985, and while it is still far from being consolidated, the progressive circles have been enabled to strengthen their positions and to extend their influence, and have even obtained access to the state apparatus. But the Communists believe that if the success is to be complete, *the survival of the dictatorship must be eliminated, and the economic model it set up revamped*. The broadest unity of the democratic forces continues to be the priority task. That is why, we repeat, the BCP's renovation is a process running in a situation that is basically different from that of the past. Let us note only two points in view of their undoubted significance.

First, the involvement of the BCP in the political institutional process. The party's resolute and consistent struggle against the reactionary regime, and its broad policy of alliances have produced trust in us among the democratic circles. *Even anti-communism, the official ideology for 20 years, can no longer deny the BCP's right to exist; it being small as it is, it enjoys undoubted authority.*

Second, the situation within the party. We are not dogmatists, and have no wish to be such: *there is a free exchange of ideas within the ranks of the*

BCP, and we want to make it wider, more active and more comprehensive. But we are a united and solid party: the Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress ended without any splits, in a spirit of solidarity and brotherhood, and on a tactical platform which assimilated the experience of many thousands of Communists. I think it would be no mistake to say that the BCP has never been so united before and after a congress.

The BCP's renovation was the central issue at the congress. The delegates came to the conclusion that our revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist organisation must be raised to the level of the demands of the present period, that it must be made massive, and that the party's leading role must be ensured. It is a party with deep roots in the working class, a flexible and dynamic party, involved in the solution of the working people's vital problems, and capable of being a political and cultural expression of what is most advanced in the Brazilian society. That is our view, in the context of Brazil's problems at the close of the twentieth century, of Lenin's advice to set up "an organisation of revolutionaries" as an instrument for effecting the political hegemony of the proletariat, the main subject of history in the period of transition to socialism.

It follows from what has been said that the objective conditions for successfully solving this problem are there. That does not mean, however, that there are no serious problems ahead of us. On the contrary, there are many negative factors, some of them objective ones, among them, the deeply entrenched anti-democratic and élitist traditions; the strong pressure from the reactionary circles linked to imperialism, local capital and latifundism; the powerful ideological influence of the bourgeoisie, which has a virtual monopoly on the mass media, the education system, which spreads irrationalism, scepticism and cynicism, time-serving, and a basically entertainment culture.

Regrettably, the possibilities of overcoming these obstacles are, for the time being, very limited. We can tackle problems with initiative and vigour only by accumulating positive experience in inner-party development and cooperation with the other democratic forces.

One will see that the process of the BCP's renovation has until now been focused on the working out of *political components*, and while the achievements are undeniable, the party is still a long way from the desired and necessary objective: our theoretical education remains low, and there is a need for deeper and more creative assimilation by the cadres of the Marxist-Leninist theory. But the basis of development here has already been laid.

It is much harder, however, to be equal to the practical problems: organisational structure, style of leadership and the actual translation of ideological concepts into life. The problems here tend to acquire considerable scale, because *the central task is to renovate the party without its losing its correct image*. After all, any undertaking has elements of risk: without a correct combination of caution and innovation, consideration of past experience and bold acceptance of everything that is fresh, principled firmness and perception of new phenomena — without an understanding of this intricate dialectics — there is the risk of sliding down to 'modernism', or playing into the hands of conservative or stagnant trends,

which are invariably camouflaged with slogans of safeguarding the doctrine and the 'purity' of tradition. Indeed, there is evidence of conservative trends in our own midst as well. Some assume that any renovation is tantamount to an abandonment of principles. One should not be surprised by such a state of things: the struggle between the old and the new, between the obsolete and new ideas is also under way among the Communists. It would be a monstrous absurdity for our party and our movement to fail to comprehend this universal dialectics.

Nor does the problem boil down to a struggle between the old and the new. The whole point is that it should be carried on without losing sight of the fact that those who uphold the obsolete conceptions have the experience without which the party would lose a great deal of its history and would be deprived of its political face. Ideas, whether new or old, do not arise of themselves: they are expressed, conducted (sometimes symbolised) by people, by our comrades in the struggle, by those who are working for the revolution. We have no right to confuse the struggle of ideas in the party with a struggle against individuals.

The experience of the communist movement and our own testifies that *the inevitable struggle between the old and the new will run in the right direction if there is a combination of these two components: democratic centralism and political practice*. Democratic centralism, naturally, without any bureaucratic direction of the ideological struggle, promotes the clash of ideas without detracting from unity of action. Political practice, for its part, serves as the crucial criterion in assessing the substance and truth of the contending conceptions.

Experience also testifies, however, that *it is new people who express and put through the new style in policy, for all its complexities*. In this sense, the theoretical, ideological and political renovation of the party implies a renovation of its cadre corps.

With an eye to the constant vectors (cadres, educational and organisational policy, and the priorities in theoretical research) we now take this view of the BCP's renovation: it is a process that will run a favourable course, if the party's organisational development is successful.

There is now a need for an increase in our ranks, both quantitative and qualitative, which is oriented towards *the creation of a mass party giving a lead to the masses*. We believe that numerical growth (and a national drive for new members is already under way) should draw to us the best sons and daughters of the working people and the forward-looking members of the intelligentsia. An enlargement of our ranks and an alliance of labour and culture are paving the way for the BCP to become the forward contingent of the democratic and left-wing forces in Brazil.

These are bold schemes, but they evidently have objective foundations. Moreover, in view of the present conditions in the Brazilian society and its development trends, they are essential. Without renovation we cannot hope to develop into a revolutionary mass party, just as we cannot hope to have renovation unless we become a mass party. The simplest way out of this circle is organised growth in accordance with our set course, accelerated by political action on the key issues of the class struggle.

The future of the Brazilian revolution already now depends to a great extent on how this problem is solved. If we fail to attain this goal, we are bound to miss something much more important.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 446.

² See *PCB: Vinte Anos de Política. Documentos (1958-1979)*, São Paulo, 1980, pp. 3-37.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-69.

⁴ Joao Goulart (1918-1976), Brazilian statesman and politician, president of the country from 1961 to 1964. He carried out a number of measures to strengthen the national economy, and in foreign policy advocated disarmament and peaceful coexistence of states with different economic and social systems. — *Ed.*

⁵ See 'Por uma Frente Patriótica Contra o Fascismo (Novembro de 1973)', *PCB: Vinte Anos de Política*, p. 209.

⁶ Brazilian general, military leader and statesman. From 1974 to 1979 he was president of Brazil. — *Ed.*

⁷ A collective analysis of this period (1976-1979) is yet to be made, although the report by the leadership to the party's Seventh Congress (December 1982-January 1983) set forth some important considerations about that decision. It is interesting to note that this is the period in which a conflict developed within the central leadership between the majority and Luis Carlos Prestes, who was certainly an outstanding leader in the history of the country and the party and was the BCP General Secretary from 1943 on.

⁸ See *Uma Alternativa Democrática Para a Crise Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1984.

⁹ The BCP CC General Secretary in 1980 to 1987 — *Ed.*

Communists and Elections Working Within The System And In Opposition To It

Kenneth Kvist — Secretary and member of the Executive Committee of the Board, Left Party — Communists of Sweden (LPC)

In the past decade many of the communist parties working in capitalist countries have regularly lost votes and as a result have surrendered parliamentary and general political ground. The tendency prompted the WMR Commission on Exchanges of Experience of Party Work to ask fraternal parties to publish in our journal their analyses of the basic factors making up the Communists' electoral positions and to describe the forms in which the Communists conduct their election campaigns and the role of elections in the parties' political strategies. The interview below introduces a series of such publications.

What are the goals of your party in elections — of course, in addition to that of winning votes?

IN the past 10-12 years Sweden has seen the right forces growing more active: the conservative wave which has swept Western Europe has not by-

passed our country. The main task of the left parties in the 1982 election campaign was to defeat the bourgeois government, and it was accomplished. The situation in 1985 was different and the goal was to roll back the right-wing forces, which were seeking to return to power. Another goal was to consolidate our positions in the working class movement, which was dominated by the Social Democrats. Finally, we planned to use the election campaign to reverse the negative tendency for a decrease in party activity and for a marked drop in the membership since the early 1980s.

The first task, that of defeating the bourgeois parties, was accomplished. It was a victory for the working class movement, although the economic programme of the Social Democratic government formed at the time carried some elements of neo-liberalism.

However, we did not increase our influence on the working class and other strata of the working people. In 1985 the Left Party — Communists of Sweden polled 5.4 per cent of the total vote — 299,000 — which was a loss of some 9,000 votes from the 1982 elections. We have 19 deputies in the Riksdag, one fewer than before. Our election campaign, therefore, was not a success. However, it cannot be characterised as a defeat either, especially in view of our headway in the local elections: we gained 15 seats to bring our total to 600. Most of our electoral support comes from the working class in the broad sense of the word: many of our voters are employed in the services as well as at industrial enterprises. Average age of our voters is 30-35.

Regrettably, we have not made any substantial progress in strengthening our organisation numerically since 1985, although in that year the slump in membership was stemmed. Now, in the course of preparations for the next parliamentary elections slated for autumn 1988, we hope to revitalise the party as a whole and to increase its influence.

It therefore seems that the tendency towards the weakening of the Communists' electoral positions, which arose in most of the countries of Western and Nordic Europe in the late 1970s, has left your party virtually unaffected, hasn't it?

Judging by the results of the latest elections, it has, but we are sensing its impact, manifest in the conditions for our work becoming more complex and in some of the LPC organisations scaling down their activities. Communists fear that this tendency will make itself felt, perhaps, as early as the next elections. It will take much effort to preserve our positions in the autumn of 1988.

What are the grounds for these fears?

There are some sustained processes which are influencing the mentality of the Swedish working people and we face big problems as a result.

First, *the share of the traditional industrial working class, involved in the creation of surplus value, is decreasing* in the total mass of the working people. Capitalists, moreover, tie workers to their companies through a

'profit-sharing policy', selling them stock, etc. The thrust of that policy is to blunt their class awareness and to subvert the trade unions' positions. At the same time *more and more people are employed by the services*, where, in spite of concentration of capital, there are many small enterprises and firms. Relations between workers and the proprietors of those small businesses tend to be like those in a family and therefore are less fraught with conflicts than those at large plants. That process also dilutes the class awareness of some of the working people and shifts their political orientation.

The broad sections of the people are further confused by the situation in the expanding public sector. The trade unions have been growing more active there in the recent period, which is to be welcomed. But very many people view this development as evidence of aggravating contradictions in the 'non-capitalist sector' because they do not understand that it in fact is a part of the bourgeois state.

Second, *social mobility keeps growing*. An increasing number of today's young workers hope, and some of them with good reason, to rise up the social ladder by switching to the white-collar status. Children in working class families seek education to uplift their status as well. These processes have various implications, the chief one of them being that many of the working class young people lose their sense of identity with the working class. Add to this the increasing influence of the imperialist mass culture and you will get an idea of the difficulties in the way of involving young people in the political struggle.

Another obstacle to our work is 'representativism': working people defend their class interests predominantly through their representatives in the trade unions, local bodies of government and in national parliament. This practice fits into the tradition of reformism and, admittedly, has proved quite effective in Sweden. One of the West's best developed systems of social security has been created and numerous rights extended to the working people as a result of trade union action and the long rule of the Social Democrats. Employers in Sweden, as distinct from many other capitalist countries, find it hard to dismiss a worker who is protected by binding legal regulations. But sooner or later the opinions and ambitions of 'representatives' may diverge from the views and wishes of the working people, which is taking place just now. Apart from that, *'representativism' subverts the fighting potential of the working class and makes it socially and politically passive*. The voter turnout in the well-to-do districts of Stockholm was 90-95 per cent and in the working class districts 80 per cent at the most in 1985 and the gap tends to widen.

Furthermore, the past few years have seen *a changing attitude to political parties in Sweden*, especially among young people. For instance, the Social Democrats, who have much influence on the working people, especially the older ones, and are well organised, have failed to make any tangible progress with young people. Many Swedes regard the Social Democrats not as a force pursuing a working class policy but as a part of the establishment. Disillusionment with political parties has also contributed to the decline in the electoral activity of the population.

To what extent has your party been affected? What tendencies are now characteristic of the public attitude to the Communists?

Although the 'right wave' has not by-passed Sweden, the present period is nothing like the 'cold war' years, when we were isolated from society. The desire to push back the Communists is still alive among the Social Democrats and in the bourgeois parties. But our struggle has won a new attitude to the LPC's policy. The government negotiates with the Communists' parliamentary group on many issues and even responds to some of their proposals. In the 1950s this was unthinkable. The Social Democrats' attitude is explained predominantly by the fact that they have no clear-cut majority in the Riksdag and depend in many ways on our support.

The Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) has revised its political thinking as well. The late Olof Palme once said in a TV debate that the Communists were not in opposition to 'Swedish democracy' and that there was no reason to avoid contacts and accords with them. Those were the words of a Prime Minister. Over the years of struggle we have therefore made the other parties in many cases accept us as equals in the Riksdag and in politics in general.

When efforts were being made to keep the Communists in isolation, one of our chief tasks was to break out of that isolation, penetrate the political structure and assert ourselves in it as a force in its own right. Yet with all that, the revolutionary party should take care that people view it as distinct from all the others, as a party pursuing basically different goals: i.e., it should work within the system and simultaneously strive for its revolutionary transformation. It is very hard to strike the balance here. On the one hand, now that Communists are in the Riksdag, the people as a whole have more respect for us. On the other, we are treated more and more often as a party working within the structure, or even as one integrated into it to a too large extent.

Young people today spontaneously react to some negative aspects of capitalist society, such as environmental pollution, the housing problem, unemployment and inadequate opportunities for cultural activities. They often consider themselves to be outside society. Mistrusting the political élite, they at the same time take a sceptical attitude to our party, in part because they have no clear idea of the alternative proposed by the Communists to the existing system. Apparently, we are unable to demonstrate convincingly that, *working within the system, we are in total opposition to it*. This very acute problem has to be tackled now, in the course of preparations for the elections, or people will turn to other political forces. Recent public opinion polls indicate a growing interest in the Greens, although that party does not present a real alternative. While formulating some radical demands, especially as regards ecology, the Greens do not oppose capitalist society itself but only criticise some of its ills.

What problems are in the focus of election campaigns in Sweden? What is the role of questions of war and peace? Do the Communists try to influence electoral issues, and if they do, what is the effect of their efforts?

The biggest concern to people is unemployment, although it is rather low as compared with other capitalist countries (around 3 per cent of the economically active population); the next big issue is the environment and pollution; then come taxes and social security. All the political parties, including ourselves, give priority to these three problems. We have tried also to raise some general democratic demands.

There is no keen campaigning on foreign policy. The course of neutrality, which the country has been following over the years, is broadly supported by the Swedes. The virtual consensus on the need for a foreign policy of peace was manifest in the mass mourning for Olof Palme, who had been greatly instrumental in promoting the process of détente.

We as a party attach very much importance to the imperialist nature of Swedish capitalism. It clearly manifests itself on the world scene in export of capital, in the exploitation of Third World countries, etc. The Communists raise these issues in debates within various public movements and have prepared a series of important propaganda materials. But, naturally, a party polling 5.4 per cent of the vote can hardly expect to make this issue a priority on the political agenda.

The LPC also resists the plans for taking Sweden into the European Economic Community because they are at odds with the country's national independence and its position of non-alignment with any groupings or blocs. The EEC is an alliance of monopoly capital while our party believes it necessary to develop European cooperation on a broader scale.

Sweden had a very strong movement against the US aggression in Vietnam. Do ideas of anti-imperialist solidarity play any role in the elections nowadays? How sensitive are young people to them?

Here there is no consensus like that on a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. Nevertheless, broad public forces want Sweden to pursue a progressive foreign policy. Attitudes to the racist regime of South Africa, for instance, were an issue in the latest election campaign. There are views that contacts with the African National Congress should be broadened and that cooperation with Nicaragua should be closer. This climate is promoted, too, by the Swedish Social Democrats, who maintain relations with the ANC and the Sandinist government and urge early solutions to the problem of Southern Africa and the situation in Central America.

Many young people welcome initiatives aimed at broadening Sweden's relations with the anti-imperialist forces and are active in the movements against apartheid and for peace and international security.

We try always *to take account of the broad character of such movements* in campaigning: emphasis on just one problem can bring all our efforts to naught. The Communists by no means lay claim to a monopoly of the campaign of solidarity with the fighters against the racist regime of South

Africa because other forces, including the Social Democrats, the Christians and the Liberals, are also opposed to it. Of course, we are working on our own to promote solidarity — but never at the cost of unity.

How do anti-communist prejudice and hostility towards socialist countries influence your party's standing with the electorate? Has there been any change for the better in this respect in the recent period?

Anti-communism is strong in Sweden today, but not as strong as it was ten years ago. As to the attitude to the USSR and other socialist countries, judging by public opinion polls, it was very negative until quite recently. Clearly, the difficulties and mistakes involved in the development of socialism contributed to such attitudes along with the ideological efforts of the ruling class. They have always been the subject of much discussion in our country, while the fact that the successes of the Soviet Union are explained by the character of its system has been called in question. In this climate even the Soviet Union's positive initiatives on the world scene did not have the desired effect, at least in Sweden. Now the Soviet Union is going ahead with perestroika and our public opinion may well change as a result.

It is hard to gauge the extent to which our party is affected by this mood. We have always stressed our political independence, doing so not out of tactical considerations but because of our conviction that struggle for social change in every country should be waged on the basis of the experience of precisely that country. The communist movement is international in character, of course, but the Communists' struggles are national in form. There is no contradiction here: one cannot be a patriot, a spokesman for the interests of one's people, without being also an internationalist, and vice versa.

What would you say of the Communists' experience of campaigning? Do the Communist leaders have an opportunity to use radio and television to put across their ideas?

We use in our election campaigns mostly the same forms of addressing the electorate as other political parties. We organise rallies, meetings and discussions, advertise in newspapers and popularise our policy in posters and leaflets. We succeed in some things and not quite in others.

In 1985, for instance, we found good artists to design our election posters. Democratic public opinion really appreciated them. Rallies, however, are another thing. Sweden does not have a tradition of holding large meetings and the growing role of the mass media further lessens people's interest in rallies. If we have an audience of 2,000-3,000 people in a big city in the run-up to the elections, it is a success.

Being a parliamentary party, we now have the right to participate in TV and radio election programmes on a par with other parties. Of course, news programmes give more attention to major parties than to us.

By and large, it cannot be said that the Communists are outrightly

discriminated against in election campaigns. But there are undercurrents. Sometimes we find it difficult to place our publications in major newspapers. Naturally, if I write a stinging critical article about our internal party affairs, it will be snapped up. But if anyone attacks our party and I write a reply to that attack, there is no guarantee that it will be published.

The edge the bourgeoisie has in propaganda media and its financial superiority make for the dominance of its ideology in the day-to-day life of society. During the election campaigns, therefore, the Communists have a better chance of reaching out to the population than at any other time.

What are the party's criteria in nominating candidates for elections?

To begin with, they should be well versed in campaigning and have a taste for work with the mass of people. Account is taken, furthermore, of their social origins and occupations: we seek to have representatives from various social groups, but primarily from the working class. The party has lately been paying more attention to advancing women candidates: the role of women in Swedish society keeps growing. We now have more women in the party and most of the Central Committee members are women; we hope that after the 1988 elections more of them will join our parliamentary group.

Some of the communist parties of capitalist countries say in explaining their lean electoral record that many voters sympathetic towards the Communists cast their ballots for the Socialists or the Social Democrats in the belief that they have a better chance of defeating the right-wing parties. The phenomenon is known as 'tactical voting'. Do you have such practice in Sweden and what are its manifestations?

'Tactical voting' is practised, I think, in all Western countries but its manifestations differ. Our party, for instance, gets the votes of some people who consider themselves Social Democrats: if we fail to clear the four per cent barrier and send no deputies to the Riksdag, the Social Democratic Labour Party will be unable to form the government without the Communists' parliamentary support.

It is hard to pinpoint cases of 'tactical voting'. There are many reasons for people to support one party or another, and some of them are not at all political. Some can feel inspired by personal qualities of the current leader, for instance, while others have trust in a candidate. 'Tactical voting' can play its part, of course. But in my view, on the whole the party gets the support of as many voters *as it has won over by its programme and its work in the midst of people*. It is especially important to ensure that people vote for the Communists consciously, having a clear idea of their strategy, proposals and ideology.

Our goal for the next election campaign is to demonstrate to the workers that, when all is said and done, the major problems of our time in their entirety cannot be resolved under capitalism and that the future belongs to

socialism. If the working people realise that our policy takes better account of their interests than the policies of the Social Democrats and other parties, they will cast their votes for the Communists.

¹ Parliamentary, regional and local elections are held simultaneously in Sweden. — Ed.

How To Recruit, Educate And Retain New Members

One of the more crucial problems facing communist parties in capitalist and developing countries is that of recruiting new members. Its solution depends in large measure on the Communists' ability to attract young people. What are the Communists' approaches to potential replenishment, their difficulties in work with the younger generation and their methods of involving new members in their political work? "We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators."¹ Lenin wrote. Do his words hold true for the practice of the communist parties, and if not what are the reasons for this situation?

These questions were taken up by a round-table meeting at *WMR* with the participation of **Jose Arizala** (Communist Party of Colombia), **Francisco Gamboa** (People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica), **Sully Saneaux** (Dominican Communist Party), **Zenon Zorzovilis** (Communist Party of Greece), **Donald Ramotar** (People's Progressive Party of Guyana), **Elean Thomas** (Workers' Party of Jamaica), **Rafic Samhoun** (Lebanese Communist Party), **Mustafa Azaoui** (Progress and Socialism Party of Morocco) and **Ali Ahmed el Tayeb** (Communist Party of the Sudan). Below is a review of the exchanges of views at the round table.

THE participants stressed the importance of the very discussion of the problem for their parties: virtually all of them aspire to becoming *mass organisations*. The question of party membership, of accepting the more advanced people into the party and of forging them into good fighters and organisers of masses is of paramount importance to the Communists.

Tried-and-True Approach, Diverse Methods

We came face to face with the problem of who and how to recruit after the decision had been taken in 1969 to transform the PPP, an anti-colonialist and revolutionary-democratic organisation, which had accepted all those who were willing to fight against British rule, into a party of the Leninist type, **Donald Ramotar** said. There were debates as to whether it should retain its mass character. Some comrades insisted that the membership should be whittled down to have a more disciplined organisation. This misconception is still current and sometimes puts a brake on the

Communists' efforts to recruit new members. What is important, we argue, is not figures in themselves but how prepared the potential reserves are to join the party and how effective ideological and political work with them is.

What we need is not enrolment quotas, of course, **Zenon Zorzovilis** noted. The main thing is that *the party should grow not at the expense of quality*. There was a time when the Communist Party of Greece disregarded this principle. When the country was fighting for liberation from Nazi occupation, enrolment in the party was carried out on a mass scale, virtually without limitations. The practice seemed justified in view of the patriotic upheaval and of the Communists' immense popularity. But we went too far. In 1944, the party had more than 440,000 members while the population of the country was 7.5 million. Our new recruits, moreover, came from the petty bourgeoisie, mostly from the peasantry, and were immature ideologically and politically. The party, too, was unable smoothly to absorb such a mass of new members. Undoubtedly, the low ideological and political awareness of new recruits and of many party cadres too, contributed to the failure of the Communist-led Resistance Movement to establish a people's democracy in Greece.

After the first military dictatorship was overthrown in the Sudan in 1964 and the Communist Party was legalised, the Communists hoped that an increase in membership would be a logical result of more extensive work with the mass of people. Accordingly, the Communists explained their policy at meetings and rallies and invited people to join the party. However, **Ali Ahmed el Tayeb** stressed, the tactic proved ineffective: our popularity grew but enrolment was scant. Eventually, we drew the conclusion that *party-building is an area of work in its own right* which called for an in-depth knowledge of social realities (there are great political, economic and ethnic differences between various parts of the country) and should be always related to social changes.

Rafic Samhoun. I don't share the view, voiced here, that mass work stands in opposition to party-building. These are in fact two aspects of the same problem. When the Communists are active in working class organisations and lead some of them, it is so much easier to build a strong and influential party. And conversely, a strong and well-organised party has more opportunities to become a mass organisation.

Ali Ahmed el Tayeb. Of course, there is a natural link between the two. What I wanted to say is that mass work in itself does not guarantee numerical growth, as Sudanese experience shows. The Communists should have a tested, well-thought-out party-building policy. When all is said and done, it is successful work in both areas that draws new recruits into the party.

Speakers noted that the *grassroot party organisations* had the primary role to play in selecting and shaping new membership.

The Communist Party of Greece, **Zenon Zorzovilis** observed, still feels the effects of a gross mistake made in the 1950s, when the party was banned. The decision was taken at the time to fold up all the grassroot party organisations and replace them with a few base groups under a clandestine party centre. That reorganisation amounted in practice to the suspension of new enrolment, of cadre training and of day-to-day

educational work. Some of the younger party members succumbed to the influence of reformism and opportunism. There was no renewal of the party leadership either. Even today we miss in the party people from a whole generation who could have risen through the party ranks in those years. If continued, that policy could have ruined the party altogether.

Today, the Greek Communists try to form party groups in residential areas and at the workplace, primarily at large factories, and to draw into the party primarily those who are active in day-to-day struggles for the people's interests or in political actions, among them activists of trade unions and other mass organisations. Our firm principle is, moreover, that *ours should be a party predominantly of workers, of the working strata of the population.*

In Guyana, grassroot PPP organisations hold regular public *meetings* at street corners or in the central parts of various communities to present to the people the party's views of local community problems and of general issues facing the country. After such meetings the party member in the area stays back and has discussions with people on what has been said. These meetings are often followed up with house-to-house calls to get a feedback on their effect and to spot those who have an interest in party work and could become members.

We face great difficulties in building grassroot organisations at enterprises, **Donald Ramotar** said. There is a lack of experience (in the past the PPP only had residential groups). Moreover, the regime discriminates heavily against known Communists; very often they are dismissed from their jobs. We have so far built just a few groups in the sugar industry, where the PPP has very strong positions in the unions. There is another way of contacting the workers and making the party's views known to them. In Georgetown, for instance, the party's district committee has built a team of comrades who take party literature to the factory gate where they distribute it, and also sell our newspapers and booklets. They have already attracted quite a few workers to the party.

Campaigns to recruit new members can be carried out effectively where the grassroot organisations have sound contacts with the mass of people, **Francisco Gamboa** added. The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica has been conducting such campaigns on a regular basis; the latest of them was launched in the first half of 1987. It centred on the popularisation of the party programme and on the opportunities for its implementation today. The campaign included round tables, public lectures and meetings in working class districts. The party newspaper held its first festival, which evoked broad interest. As many as 31 new party groups have been formed and another 34 reorganised.

The Lebanese Communists have been building a mass party for 20 years now, ever since they became legalised, **Rafic Samhoun** said. Because of the civil war in the country, this work is concentrated in the areas controlled by the patriotic forces. New members are enrolled there on a mass scale and the party organisations, both at the workplace and in residence, number 100 or more members each. All in all, the membership of the Lebanese Communist Party has trebled since 1968. All these factors, naturally, called for *greater flexibility in our forms and methods of work.* For instance,

immediately after legislation, the Communists could not yet openly act at enterprises and freely establish their organisations there. We found a way out: party members working at factories learned where workers lived and other comrades went out to their neighbourhoods to hand out leaflets, explain the party's programme and goals and persuade workers to join the trade union, etc. The more politically mature were then enrolled in the party. New grassroot organisations were thus formed at enterprises and in neighbourhoods and every new member was given a party assignment either at the workplace or in residence.

The influx of new recruits has been facilitated to a large extent by a revision of the status of associated student, farmers' women's and other organisations. In the past they were the party's affiliates, as it were, and the demands they made on new members were similar to those made on new party recruits. But in 1968 emphasis was shifted on their independence. Each LCP member must also participate in one of them and respect their rules and regulations. Progressively-minded people can be involved in mass organisations more effectively in this way.

Groups of party sympathisers are formed around grassroot organisations. Classes are organised for them to raise their ideological and political awareness, they carry out some assignments and get ready to join the party. Most of the sympathisers are young people. That is the result of both the respect enjoyed by the party with the mass of people and of the work carried on by it with the younger generation. The Communists organise children's summer camps, outings and sightseeing tours to learn about the country's geography and history.

It was only recently, in the early 1980s, that the Workers' Party of Jamaica established such groups, **Elean Thomas** said. However, they have already proved to be an efficient form of the organisation of those who vigorously support the party but do not yet have sufficient ideological and political grounding to join it. There are groups at two levels, study and support. In the former people sympathising with the party learn about its organisational and ideological principles, and also about its programme in the context of the more important problems of political struggle and the immediate experience of the working people. The latter usually grow out of study groups and are oriented towards practical actions: their members have regular assignments, such as the distribution of party publications, fund-raising and electoral canvassing. Having put in a year of such work, any member of support groups can become a candidate party member. The work to attract recruits must take into account specific problems of some groups and sectors, for example, young women.

Mustafa Azaoui said that the Moroccan revolutionaries had advanced towards the goal, formulated in 1983, of making the Progress and Socialism Party a mass party. In the past four years the party has enrolled many new recruits, especially from among workers and intellectuals. The party has grown more active in some parts of the country among farm workers and the poorer peasants, and the influx of new members in the countryside is now greater than in cities. There are reasons to hope for an increase in the number of women members: the Democratic Association of Moroccan Women, established under the sponsorship of the PSP three years ago, is

one of the largest women's organisations in the country. The PSP also directs the work of a major youth organisation, Moroccan Youth for Progress and Socialism, which has been legal for ten years now and which has amassed plenty of experience. It is an important reserve of new party members.

Further growth will depend primarily on the party's activity amidst the masses, first and foremost within the working class. *Much importance is therefore attached to party work in the trade unions.* The party press also has a great role to play here. Along with the daily *Al Bayan* in French and Arabic, the PSP publishes the Arabic-language monthly *Moroccan Women* (shortly to become a weekly), two socio-economic theoretical quarterlies and several periodicals dealing with the specific questions of the position of youth, students, etc. These numerous periodicals undoubtedly contribute to the growth of the party's popularity and encourage sympathisers to join it.

Question to Ali Ahmed el Tayeb and Rafic Samhoun. What are your parties' positions on accepting believers?

Ali Ahmed el Tayeb. Most of the Sudanese are Muslims. The party rules do not ban them from joining our ranks. We respect their practice of religious rites as well (when the prayer time comes, party meetings are sometimes suspended, and are resumed when the prayer is over) and do not press atheism on them. In our view, the most important thing for the party member is gradually to develop a scientific world outlook and to contribute to the revolutionary transformation of society.

Rafic Samhoun. The LCP has always had a flexible stand on believers. In view of the situation in the country, gripped by the civil war, the party decided at its Fifth Congress in February 1987 to revise its rules so that faith should not be viewed as an obstacle for enrolment, especially for people with working class backgrounds and working youth. In the present time of trial for the country, when religious sentiments have markedly grown, many believers are willing to lay down their lives for the homeland. We now think that such people can be accepted by the party and that educational work can be conducted among them already within the party.

Young People: Great Potential, but . . .

The younger generation is more sensitive than other age groups to the ills of capitalism and often is the first to fall victim to price rises, the housing crisis and unemployment. Young people constitute most of the population in many countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia (the figure is 65 per cent for Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, for example). The revolutionary potential of young workers and students is very high. At the same time they are open to the influences of a number of factors which detract from their socio-political activity and as a result very few young people join the Communists in many countries. Those factors, in the view of contributors to the discussion, include:

— *US influences in culture and politics*, especially marked in countries of Latin America and the Caribbean;

— *inroads of consumerism into public mentality*, which results in a superficial attitude to serious problems and in indifference to political struggle;

— *continuous anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda*;

— *growing despair*, which leads to the growth of drug addiction and crime rates.

Elean Thomas. In Jamaica anti-communist policy is well-thought-out, related to the cultural identity of our people and takes account of their specific characteristics. The allegations that the Communists are against religion and that believers are persecuted in socialist countries fall on fertile soil in Jamaica. Other stereotypes claim that cultural life in the USSR is dull and monotonous and that individual rights and freedoms are repressed in the socialist countries. These anti-communist slanders aim to make socialism a bogey word to Jamaicans. The party has to pay more attention to specific ideological, theoretical and practical programmes for fighting anti-communism. Abstract assertions and slogans alone are not effective, particularly in times of downturn in the mass movement in Jamaica.

Jose Arizala. I would make two more points.

First, there appeared many progressive youth organisations and groups in Colombia in the 1960s. The upsurge of revolutionary sentiments was caused, naturally, by the heroic example of Cuba. But the large number of those organisations was explained by other reasons, namely, the emergence of different currents, such as Maoist, in the international communist movement. The positive aspect of that process was that new social forces, primarily the middle strata, students and farmers, joined the struggle on the side of the working class. On the other hand, emergent organisations challenged our party's leadership of our struggle. Although since that time most of those groups have disappeared from the political scene, they could not have failed to influence the outlook of the rising generations.

Second, there has been a considerable shift in the mood of a larger part of young people in capitalist countries as compared with the 1960s and the early 1970s. The revolutionary fervour reached its zenith in the upheaval in France in May-June 1968, and began to peter out, with a resultant decline in the interest in and sympathy for socialism. The question now is if young people want a socialist perspective for their countries. There is no unequivocal answer. In Asia and, apparently, in Africa young people on the whole support the socialist way of development. As for Latin America, the consolidation of the socialist system in Cuba and the victory of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua revived in the younger generation an interest in revolution and socialism. The picture is the same with us in Colombia, and also in Uruguay and Central American countries. The new policy of perestroika and glasnost in the USSR and changes in other socialist countries also have a role to play: they are improving the image of socialism and consolidating its positions.

Sully Saneaux. No party or organisation in the Dominican Republic openly bases its activities on anti-communism. People as a whole are quite tolerant of our ideas. Tolerance is one thing, however, but willingness to

absorb them is something very different. The bulk of our young people are a good example in this respect: they do not reject socialism but seem sceptical about the possibility of achieving it in our country. But *we Communists have so far failed to evolve efficient forms of work with the younger generation, or to offer it an attractive alternative to the existing lifestyles.* The communists are yet to formulate a policy in this respect that would be targeted on young people. The overall goal is to unite young men and women around the idea of reviving national cultural values and mobilising them against every obstacle to such a revival, e.g., IMF diktat, the repayment of foreign debts, the growth of drug abuse. It is likewise important to awaken the now passive part of the younger generation to social protest and to make it revise its attitude to unemployment, poverty and illiteracy.

The Communists' Natural Reserve

Speakers stressed that the younger generation nevertheless tend towards revolutionary activity. Most of the parties draw new recruits primarily from among young people. Communist youth organisations are to make better use of this willingness to fight. Drawing on the experience of their parties, speakers said that youth organisations were a success in their work if they managed:

- to take guidance from the Communists' programme and policy and to coordinate efforts with the party but *never to become the party's affiliate* or copy its methods and forms of work;

- *to avoid a narrow, sectarian approach to the selection of new members* because enrolment in a youth organisation is for a young progressive person just the first step towards becoming a Communist;

- not to confine the organisation's activities to assisting the party but to *concentrate primarily on the interests of young people themselves;*

- *to reach out to the broadest sections of young people* without preferential attitudes to any of them.

As for the latter, some parties have a special liking for some groups, most often students. This bias is not without reason: Lenin defined students as "the vanguard of revolutionary democracy".² They constitute the more educated part of youth who are especially receptive to revolutionary ideas and participate more eagerly than other young people in political struggles. All this creates good conditions for the Communists' work.

However, the tasks of recruiting new members and increasing the Communists' influence on the mass of people make it imperative to give more attention to working youth, primarily young workers.

'Youth Power for Socialism', an organisation closely linked with the *Dominican Communist Party*, for a long time concerned itself with problems of education and worked in grammar schools and universities. Other serious and complex issues, which affected the younger generation as a whole, were disregarded. As a result, the party was getting just a trickle of new recruits from among industrial and farm workers. A few years ago that organisation was reoriented and today it is active in the working class districts and farming areas, at factories and in workshops,

and in various youth clubs and sports, cultural and other centres. The Communists' approach to questions of culture and lifestyles and the campaigns organised by them to expose drug pushers often enjoy understanding and support at such clubs and centres.

In Guyana the PPP faces a different problem. It relies primarily on youth working in the sugar industry, and also on young farmers. But the party's standing with students and intellectuals as a whole is rather weak. In the recent period the PPP youth organisation has taken steps to increase its influence on that segment of young people. Actions were launched for democratisation of education and a broad front of students was formed at the University of Guyana in support of that demand. In Georgetown young communist teachers have started special classes to help secondary school students who are studying for exams. The classes have become quite popular and the party is promoting this practice in other parts of the country. More attention is paid to promoting sports and cultural activities among young people, which makes it possible to reach out to those sections of young people with which the party was out of touch. All this makes it easier to organise ideological and political work among students and therefore to pick up the best of them as candidates for party membership.

Raising Staunch Fighters

Many young people joining the Communists are brimming with revolutionary fervour and itching immediately to make a revolution and change the world. Their impatience is understandable but it may have dire consequences. How to avoid them and to channel the energies and enthusiasms of new recruits towards the correct goals?

A number of parties begin *effective educational work* during a trial period of candidate membership, when members-to-be thoroughly study the party's programme, goals and organisational principles and the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. The term of candidate membership varies from six to 12 months and may depend on the social origins of the candidate. *The Communist Party of the Sudan*, for instance, has a candidacy term of six months for workers and up to one year for intellectuals.

When candidates become full party members, work with them is conducted at two levels: the theory and ideology, on the one hand, and practical politics, on the other. Every party has a system of upgrading the standards of new recruits. It incorporates studies of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economics, dialectical and historical materialism and the more important documents of the international communist movement. Much importance is attached to the self-education of new members.

A lot here depends on the comrades who guide this work at the local level, **Donald Ramotar** stressed. In larger PPP groups an experienced comrade is attached to a new recruit to help him or her in studies. Ideological work should be conducted in different forms. Before a party group meeting Communists hold a discussion on a major political issue or on an article from the monthly *Group News Letter* intended for primary party organisations. Regional and district committees regularly organise

seminars, which are attended, among others, by new recruits. There is a party school of three to four weeks duration, but there are plans to extend it to several months.

It is very important to make young Communists feel at home in the primary organisation, **Francisco Gamboa** said. We in Costa Rica do not overburden them with duties, try to encourage in them a critical spirit and lend an ear to their remarks. However, we also make it clear that every party member should have close links with the mass of people and subordinate everything they do to the people's interests. Theoretical studies plus such education and actual involvement in struggles yield good results.

Speakers agreed that *at first assignments to new recruits could be temporary*, such as participation in specific mass actions, in the distribution of the party press, etc. It is also important *to place a young Communist so that he could do his best and be of utmost use to the party*.

There are no cut-and-dried rules for this work, as there are none for work with cadres as a whole in the LCP, **Rafic Samhoun** observed. There was a time when we obliged all members of the Lebanese Communist Party to attend weekly meetings of their grassroot organisations and be active in various fields. At that time many people dropped out of the party because the burden of work was too much for them. Now that the party has developed a mass base, we can give new members assignments that suit their occupational interests (students, for instance, work with young people). We also try to use to the best effect the positions of our sympathisers. It would be clearly wrong to view them as all but party members. Why should we overload with assignments a union leader who can do far more for us by working in his union? Such comrades often do work in mass organisations that even ten party cells will be unable to do.

Another important reason that causes new comrades shortly to become dormant is their improper placement in our work, **Donald Ramotar** said. At those times when the political temperature in the country is high due to general elections or a major strike, there is no problem with sustaining interest in party work. However, it is a different matter when things are on a downturn and nothing much seems to be happening. This is the time when an assignment should be found for every party member depending on his or her particular interest or when the main problem for the given community should be identified and people involved in some action around it. Another matter is that in the past a group would take a decision on an action, demonstration, campaign, etc., and all its members were expected to participate. Conditions for PPP work have changed very much. Party members who become known are often repressed by the authorities. When primary party organisations disregarded this fact, we lost many new members, who were not yet mature and steeled in struggle.

We have no single yardstick for all the new recruits, **Sully Saneaux** said in conclusion. If we take account of the individual qualities and interests of newcomers, they as a rule stay with the party. For instance, we ask young Communists to do studies of the communities or neighbourhoods they live in. The results are usually good because personal interests are harmonised with the needs of the organisation as a whole.

Summing up their exchanges of opinion, the speakers noted that they had tried, as the Communists should, not only to explore positive experience but also to probe the unresolved problems of party building. Some of the important problems were touched upon just in passing and answers were given to far from all the questions raised. The discussion showed, however, that *the Communists should take a closer look at the situation and mood of today's youth and at the methods and style of work with young people*. Participants also expressed the hope that the discussion would be of interest to the fraternal parties and that *WMR* would continue to give coverage to relevant problems.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 354.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 384.

INFORMATION

WMR Introduces

Salomão Malina Chairman of the Brazilian Communist Party

SALOMÃO MALINA was elected Chairman of the Brazilian Communist Party by the Plenary Meeting of the BCP National Board (Central Committee) in July 1987, after the Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress of the BCP, the first legal forum of the party in its 65-year history.

Salomão Malina was born into the family of a Polish immigrant worker in Rio de Janeiro on May 16, 1924. Upon leaving school, he enrolled in an engineering course but did not graduate because of Brazil's entry in World War II. During World War II he served in the Brazilian Expedition Force, which fought the fascists troops on the Italian front, and was awarded Brazil's highest war decoration. After the war he worked in industry and attended an engineering school at the university. Malina was repeatedly arrested and during the military-fascist dictatorship went into emigration from 1975 to 1979.

He joined the BCP in 1942, worked in various party organisations, was elected an alternate member of the BCP Central Committee in 1962 and a CC member in 1967. Following a reactionary military coup in Brazil in 1964, Malina took charge of building the party's underground structure. He became a member of the CC Executive Committee in 1973 and the CC Secretary for Organisation in 1979. In 1986-1987, when Giocondo Dias (1913-1987) was gravely ill, Salomão Malina was acting General Secretary of the BCP CC.

Zhao Ziyang **General Secretary of the Communist Party of China**

Zhao Ziyang was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in November 1987, at the first Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee after the 13th CPC Congress.

Zhao Ziyang was born in 1919 in the Huaxian county, Henan Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1938. In the period from 1937 to 1949, during the War of Resistance against Japan and the War of Liberation, he served successively as a high party executive in county, prefectural and area party committees. After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 he served successively as a member, standing committee member and secretary-general of the South China Sub-Bureau of the CPC Central Committee; a member of the secretariat, second secretary and then first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee. He was secretary of the CPC Committee of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and vice-chairman of its revolutionary committee in 1971-72; first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and chairman of Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Committee in 1972-1975. From 1975 to 1980 Zhao Ziyang served successively as first secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, and first political commissar of the Chengdu Military Region of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

In 1978 Zhao Ziyang was elected vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; later he became vice-premier and in 1980, premier of the State Council.

He has been a member of the CPC Central Committee since 1973, in 1977 became an alternate member of the Political Bureau, a CC Political Bureau member in 1979 and a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in 1980. In 1981 he was elected deputy chairman of the CPC Central Committee. From January 1987 Zhao Ziyang was acting general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Documents

Vietnam — Cleansing Party Ranks

OVER the past decade the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) had become less exacting to its members' business and moral qualities, which led to breaches of party and state discipline, bribe-taking, and embezzlement of socialist property in various forms, stresses a resolution by the CPV CC Political Bureau urging a campaign to cleanse the party organisations and make them more militant.

Among the causes of such irregularities are the bureaucratically centralised management structure and inadequate consideration for political education. Essential to the cleansing campaign, the resolution points out, should be vigorous measures against breaches of socialist laws, abuse of power, and distancing oneself from the ordinary people, to be accompanied by mounting criticism and self-criticism and more openness. The party organisations must move vigorously to get rid of members straying away from the renewal process and failing their duties, as well as of all elements that have become corrupt.

From The Press

ALBANIA

New Members Should Be Better Screened

PARTY moves to broaden its ranks must be consistent, free of chance, subjectivism, sectarianism and liberalism, stresses an editorial in the *Zeri i Popullit*, a newspaper of the Albanian Party of Labour CC. It notes there may come a time requiring considerable enlargement of the party membership. To meet the goals set by the APL's Ninth Congress, party organisations in major industries need new members now. Admission priority is given to people in the more taxing jobs — in the mines, quarries, prospecting teams, and the like. Denying admission to a miner, an agronomist, an able economist, a livestock specialist or an engineer, while admitting a warehouse manager, a cashier or an ordinary administrator instead, is actually degrading the party ranks, the paper points out.

We well know that it is young people who bring dynamism to primary party organisations. Instructions by APL leading bodies whereby 70 per cent of new members should be young people aim to make the party younger and stronger.

On balance, party newcomers are pure-hearted, strong-minded and cultured people. But it is worrying that over the past five years nearly a quarter of those expelled from the party, the article notes, were APL candidate members. An inquiry showed that they did not change for the worse while on probation; rather, their negative personal traits showed even earlier. We should therefore concentrate on the applicants' personalities and their social and political backgrounds. The paper also stresses the need for entrusting the working people more with selecting the candidates.

CHINA

Chinese Communist Party: Younger people go to senior posts

People under 55 accounted for about 60 per cent of the delegates representing the 46 million-strong Communist Party of China at its 13th Congress (October 1987). Nearly 11 million joined the party in 1979 to

1986. Two-thirds of the new members are under 35. *China Daily* reports that 1,980,000 of them are engineers and technicians. In the past few years, *Beijing Review* writes, about one million young and middle-aged people were elected to senior posts. This process of 'rejuvenating' is to be continued to make it possible to strengthen the party executive bodies and the country's political system and to avoid stagnation, the magazine goes on to say.

Renmin ribao says that beginning with 1982 a total of 1,370,000 veteran cadre workers have voluntarily retired. This is a step towards putting an end to the existing system, under which people remained in senior positions virtually for life. At the same time the process of 'rejuvenating' the party cadres involves certain problems, the paper writes. Young workers have a lot of strength, knowledge and enthusiasm for building socialism with Chinese specifics but they lack adequate party training and experience in administration.

Renmin ribao stresses the importance of educating the new cadres. They should be given effective support and helped in understanding the complicated processes taking place in the country. Along with raising their professionalism and managerial know-how, it is necessary unflaggingly to see to it that the young people master the fundamental principles of Marxism. Only then will they be able to analyse independently the problems that arise and to make correct political decisions.

In Brief

AFGHANISTAN

Over the five years since the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan adopted its Rules, new challenges have arisen requiring greater militancy from the party, was a message from a General Party Conference held in October 1987 in Kabul. The PDPA is a revolutionary democratic party, and so it was duly recognised that its earlier accepted definition as a party of a new type and the supreme form of political organisation was premature. The delegates dropped a probation period for party admission. Under the Party Rules, members should not only respect religious feelings and rites of the people but facilitate their performance.

BRAZIL

A Glasnost Festival, as the Brazilian Communists named their holiday marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, was held in a park in central São Paulo, the biggest South American city. Similar festival activities were held in various states of the country, too. The São Paulo celebrations featured a campaign to recruit new BCP members, discussions, press conferences, and a political meeting.

COLOMBIA

New chairman of the National Coordination Committee of the Patriotic Union Bernardo Jaramillo, who took this post following the assassination

of former coalition leader Pardo Leal, has urged formation of a Democratic National Salvation Front, with the country's left forces and the Liberal and Conservative parties as its members. He demanded that the government start a dialogue with the Coordination Committee of the Simon Bolivar insurgent organisations without any preconditions.

DENMARK

There has been much enthusiasm for the annual fund-raising campaign for the Communist Party of Denmark's *Land og Folk* newspaper. In the process CPD activists explained the party line on the more pressing social, economic, peace and disarmament issues.

SPAIN

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (CPPS) has considered a proposal by a Plenary Meeting of the CC, Communist Party of Spain (CPS), for both parties to integrate by holding a unity congress. Its resolution emphasises that a future party should pursue Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalism principles and be a Leninist-type organisation. It expresses readiness to discuss the matter also with the Party of the Working People of Spain — Communist Unity.

SWITZERLAND

The Political Bureau of the Swiss Party of Labour has proposed to the Progressive Swiss Organisations, the Autonomous Socialist Party, and the Green alliance forming a single left opposition faction in parliament. In parliamentary elections (October 18, 1987) the Swiss Party of Labour polled 8.72 per cent of the vote in Geneva canton and retained its seat in the National Council, the lower chamber of the national parliament. The elected deputy to it is PSL General Secretary Jean Spielmann.

TANZANIA

The membership of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (CCM) has increased by over a half since it was established in 1977. As of June 1987 it had 2,469,840 members. The party's Third Congress in late October upheld plans for building socialism and adopted the first ever CCM Programme underscoring the importance of promoting the state and cooperative economic sectors.

USA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party USA has decided to mount a press and fund-raising campaign to help bring the *People's Daily World* circulation up to 150,000. A CPUSA CC Plenary Meeting heard that 100 Communists and 25 YCL members will stand in the 1988 elections. The meeting approved measures to increase party membership.

looking towards the 21st century

OVER the years the best minds of all nations have pondered on ways to peace and on the future of mankind. Today these questions are no longer abstract theory but very much practical problems. The causes of this situation are common knowledge: mankind has hauled a heavy burden of problems and troubles to the threshold of the 21st century. Our anxious present, however, is not a blueprint for our future. What are the actual prospects for the world's future today, and what should be done by all possible means at the close of this century to guarantee the continued existence and prosperity of civilisation in the next millenium?

In its new section 'Looking Towards The 21st Century', *WMR* would like to offer readers the viewpoints, sometimes opposite and controversial, of notable politicians, scientists and cultural personalities.

Signposts For The Future

*Dr Federico Mayor Zaragoza —
UNESCO Director-General, biochemist
(Spain)*

Federico Mayor is well known to the international public, and with good reason: he is a man of encyclopaedic knowledge and wide interests and is very active in political and public life. Federico Mayor made his name in studies of cerebral biochemistry in the newborn. He is a member of prestigious informal international organisations, the Club of Rome and the Issyk-Kul Forum, held the posts of UNESCO's Deputy Director-General and of Minister for Education and Science of Spain. He is a member of the academies of sciences of several countries, a deputy to the European Parliament, the author of many research papers and books on social and political affairs, and a poet.

He accepted *WMR*'s offer to set out his thoughts on the problems which face the world today, and of possible ways of resolving them. His views had been put down in Madrid by *WMR* staff member Sergei Yastrzhembsky, some time before he was elected UNESCO's Director-General in November 1987.

You have remarked on more than one occasion that our civilisation has to evolve new ideas, new signposts — in fact, new thinking — to face the next century. What part can the spiritual energies and the

intellectual and moral authority of workers in science and culture play in the evolution of this new mode of thinking and in the introduction of mankind to it? How do you personally define the new mode of thinking?

As regards the part that the scientific community is to play, I think it is the problem of ethics rather than that of responsibility: at the present juncture of human history intellectuals and artistes, all those who are engaged in creative pursuits, cannot help feeling their responsibilities to the peoples. What scientists are doing today is not confined to some specific field but transcends the boundaries of countries and whole regions. It concerns the whole world. I will clarify my point.

Never before has mankind faced such formidable problems as those of today, just as it has never had such unprecedented opportunities to resolve them. However, any advance from confrontation, conflicts and enmity to coexistence, to friendship, to fraternity and solidarity calls for a breakthrough. It calls for the overcoming of the inertia and deep-rooted hostilities. This is far from easy. Hence the need for new signposts, new ideas and new formulae.

It is important, moreover, to define not just the main goals but also the methods of achieving them and at a pace which will not push away the ultimate objective, that of starting to build a different world by the end of the second millennium. In that world man will at long last be free from work which demeans and frequently degrades him. He will have every opportunity to acquire knowledge, to live an intellectual life, and to exist harmoniously in a benevolent ecological environment. It will be necessary to make use of the entire intellectual potential of mankind to accomplish such an immense task, and this, I think, makes the responsibility of intellectuals quite clear.

Or take the problem of education. What is meant by education today? Is it just the process of shaping a child in the family and at school for a certain period of time? It certainly isn't. Perhaps it was true in the past, but it is no longer so. The avalanche of knowledge which has swamped the world necessitates lifelong education which is not confined to schools or other such centres. The environment, the mass media and the neighbourhood all have educational effects and their importance keeps growing because they impact on every process involved in the shaping of the individual's mentality, his attitudes to life and his behavioural patterns. Clearly, the very essence of education is going through a radical overhaul and we, men and women of science and culture, should help use this process to promote the transition of humanity from confrontation to peaceful coexistence.

This, however, calls for personal conviction because where there is no belief, there is no creation. One has to believe, especially in oneself, in order to create. One has to believe that our civilisation can be started on a new path and that, contrary to the gloomy predictions of the countless preachers of Apocalypse, it is not doomed to succumb to nuclear conflagration or ecological devastation in the third millenium. We have only to recall the achievements of human genius over the ages in order not to lose our faith in the possibility of renewal, in science, in the human

creative potential and, finally, in intellectuals, who are regarded still with some wariness and mistrust in every political system. True, most intellectuals have a critical frame of mind and tend to analyse realities, sometimes mercilessly, and to offer solutions which are not quite consonant with the current ways and practices of those in power. But this is our duty.

The blue planet Earth is our common home. We will never have another one, and the problems of peace, ecology and human freedom and dignity therefore concern all of us. We must not confine ourselves to witnessing dumbly what those in power do. Our moral duty obliges us scientists to deal with the affairs of state, to counsel, and to make our voice heard, although sometimes we are muzzled by either outright coercion or subtle concessions. The scientific community today has a crucial role to play to avoid a gloomy future for the whole of mankind.

You are known to contribute to working out new ideas and signposts by participation, for example, in the Issyk-Kul Forum discussions, the first of which took place in the USSR in October 1986. Could you say a few words about that informal international group? Who participates in it and what are its tasks and results? In this context, could you comment on the words in the programme statement of the forum which sound, to my mind, slightly mysterious: "Only those of us who can see that which is hidden will also be able to perform the impossible"?

We, a small group of people from different countries, view the emergence of the Issyk-Kul Forum as a very timely and hope-inspiring development. It was unique because the initiator and hospitable host of that meeting was Chinghiz Aitmatov, a notable Soviet writer, and because the Forum met in Kirghizia, away from Moscow, remote from the seat of central government. It is likewise of significance that the meeting culminated in the rare opportunity to meet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov and to discuss with him openly, frankly and without any 'taboos' various aspects of the issues raised at the Forum. As for myself, the Issyk-Kul meeting became one of the highlights of my professional career.

Initially, the nucleus of the Forum was a group of intellectuals, artistes and scientists. Playwright Arthur Miller, futurologist Alvin Toffler, philosopher Heidi Toffler and the prominent black writer James Baldwin came from the United States, writer Claude Simon from France, writer Yasar Kemal from Turkey, and Narayana Menon, President of India's National Academy of Music, Dance and Drama from India. There also were among the participants, to name but a few, Lisandro Otero, head of the Cuban Writers' Union, Alexander King, President of the Club of Rome and Ethiopian artist Afework Tekle. Even this short list gives one an idea of what remarkable people got together to discuss a subject of keen interest to everyone today, that is, the need for qualitative change in political and economic thinking.

To date our thinking has been dominated by the reality of the world being divided into two social systems, socialism and capitalism, and for

quite some time. The point now is to produce answers to entirely new socio-economic problems, problems which have been thrust upon us at the close of the 20th century by scientific and technological progress and by the development of two different ideologies. The present-day relations of production are substantially different from those which were analysed by Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, Adam Smith and John Keynes, and at the very least they should be probed from a different angle.

As a biologist, I know — and I said so at the Forum — that any evolution depends on leaps, transformations and shifts which we call mutations. They come unexpected and stimulate progress by imparting to it a new quality. Mankind, I think, has arrived at such a critical juncture, which Alexander King has called "the great transition".¹ We are indeed living through a great transition in our world outlook, in social affairs, production, the economy and ecology. This makes us search for new answers to many problems. The search is to help us break the vicious militarist circle in which our civilisation has become locked, and enable us to build instead a community that would be deeply committed to peace. To this end it is necessary, first and foremost, to stop the arms race and to go over to a gradual disarmament, to the conversion of war-oriented industrial production and scientific and technological research to peaceful goals, primarily to development so as to have the means to benefit the countless people who are living in misery.

We at the Issyk-Kul Forum pointed out from the start the yawning gap between the élite of mankind, capable of pondering such problems, and the rest of the human race, for whom the daily struggle to avert starvation totally obscures these important aspects of intellectual activity.

The nuclear threat does indeed face the world but we have also other very important problems, such as undernourishment, violence, oppression, torture and conventional wars. Nuclear weapons do present the gravest danger — but the use of other weapons is just as immoral. But what is utterly immoral, to my mind, is war itself, constant confrontation and incessant antagonisms between the peoples.

All these points were made at the Issyk-Kul Forum in the hope of finding new criteria and new approaches to the realities. I thought especially important what Arthur Miller said at our meeting with Mikhail Gorbachov. We have the usually subconscious habit of negating reality, he said. We draw for ourselves a picture that is nothing like the new realities, and therefore have a wrong starting point in formulating solutions for the future. The paramount task of the Issyk-Kul Forum therefore is, first, to produce a correct interpretation of reality and, second, to suggest conclusions which sociologists and politicians have not even thought about.

You ask me to explain the mysterious-sounding words, "Only those of us who can see that which is hidden will also be able to perform the impossible". What I mean by these words is only that in their time the ideas of Marx, Lenin, or those of the capitalist sociologists stood for something revolutionary, something new. Our task is to formulate ideas that would be new for our time, ideas of what we have today and of the future. The tasks of today's social sciences, I think, is to see what others see but to think of what others have not yet thought.

What are your personal impressions of the meeting with the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee? Do you fully share the Soviet leader's appreciation of the global problems of the world today or do you differ from them in some respects?

We were unanimous in the main thing, in our awareness of the need to take a new approach to reality, to recognise the present state of affairs for what it is and not for what we would like it to be; and we are unanimous in our understanding of the need to leave the road which the world has been travelling till now and embark on a different path. It is this conclusion, I think, that derived, directly or indirectly, from what the General Secretary said. The subject obviously was of interest to him. One could hardly expect the Soviet leader to be talking to us for nearly three hours if he had not also thought it necessary to lend support to our efforts.

We were of the same mind too with regard to the main aspects of scientific and technological progress in the sense that it has brought mankind to a point when war-oriented development should be stopped immediately and a transition made to a community based on peace and coexistence. At the same time, differences — both strategic and tactical, so to speak — made themselves felt. And that is only natural.

Clearly, Mikhail Gorbachov bears responsibility for finding practical ways to a number of new goals set in the Soviet Union, for what they call glasnost and perestroika. The USSR, I think, needs signposts which would make it possible gradually to bring its new vision of the future socialist world into concert with real opportunities for the creation of a climate of openness around the country whose social system, we think, has until recently been very closed and insular. The General Secretary, I think, shares the main views voiced at the Issyk-Kul Forum, which is evidenced by his personal support for it. Also, the Soviet leader went beyond mere words: a few months after our gathering, a major international forum of men of culture, arts and science was held in Moscow and Academician Andrei Sakharov was among the participants. The process of democratisation continues in the USSR. All this is especially important to us scientists who are used to believing only facts.

You have been to socialist countries more than once. What are your impressions of them? Do you think that the change going on in the USSR meets the interests of the entire community of nations and those of the future of mankind?

I have travelled to the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries many a time. I was first invited to come to Moscow in 1961 as a biochemist; I also read lectures in Tallinn, Leningrad, Alma-Ata and Frunze and saw what life was like in those cities. I have paid several visits to the USSR as UNESCO's Deputy Director-General.

I drew two conclusions from my visits. First, I got convinced of the superb human qualities of the peoples of socialist countries. I have many friends there and I am very fond of them. My second conclusion, which is no less important, is that even before political relations coalesce, human

contacts are pioneered by a certain sort of people, primarily by scientists and businessmen. I do not put businessmen into a back seat but nevertheless I think that scientific ties today are stronger than business links because they do not pursue specific short-term goals alone but aim at exchanges of ideas and at pooling efforts in achieving scientific discoveries. It is, perhaps, for that reason that ties between scientists are stronger and more lasting.

I think that those visits made me a better man. In practical terms, every trip to the USSR has just added to my conviction that progress should be gradually made towards greater mobility, in particular, for Soviet people. Let them have as good a chance to visit me as I have to come to see them.

The peoples should at long last enjoy that greatest boon of all, peace. That peace should guarantee not just the right to freedom and a life of dignity but also the right for man to express his own thoughts and views rather than those prompted to him by people in power. Today, however, this pressure of conformity operates both in centralised air-tight political systems and in those countries where only educated people enjoy the proclaimed civil liberties. There should be no self-deception here: those who live in ignorance — an absolutely inadmissible fact in such countries as Spain — have no use for civil liberties simply because they do not exercise them. The political behaviour of these people depends in many ways on the influence of the ubiquitous and omnipotent mass media and sometimes even on the direct pressure of the ruling quarters. Any democracy based on collective ignorance is false and very vulnerable. High general cultural standards are what we should strive for together and everywhere so that peace and freedom should triumph on Earth.

As for your question, in my view, the democratic process in the USSR is opening the country to the outside world and inspiring in the West more trust in the Soviet Union.

What you have said suggests that the Soviet leadership has shown interest in the idea of the Issyk-Kul Forum and backed its programme goals. Have the participants in the Forum had similar understanding from the Reagan administration?

We have sent a copy of the declaration of the Issyk-Kul Forum to President Ronald Reagan as well. In addition, Alvin and Heidi Toffler have published an article entitled 'Face to Face with Gorbachov' in the more widely read US newspapers and magazines. So I believe that the US administration must have an idea of the Issyk-Kul Forum and its goals and plans. However, there has been no official meeting with President Reagan, primarily because we have not been offered an audience.

It seems essential for the United States to realise that intellectuals, including scientists, can make a tangible contribution to the process of renewing the world. It is important, we think, that both great powers rather than one of them share this view.

Clearly, the formation of new thinking and the absorption of the system of values inherent in it on a global scale, so to speak, is

certainly a complex, long and multi-dimensional process. The imperatives of the nuclear age, however, leave us little time to waste. It seems that the faster propagation of the new mode of thinking could be promoted by the solution of an important and simple problem — if there is goodwill — the problem of ridding public opinion in East and West of the deeply ingrained 'enemy image'. If you are of the same opinion, what do you think of ways to resolve this problem? Does everything depend on governments alone in this respect?

When I said that the world faces the choice between unity and ultimate demise, I think, in a way I answered this very pertinent question. It stands to reason that far from everything depends on those who are in power: the voice of the peoples, of smaller states and nations is carrying more and more weight.

In my view, the West can shed the mistrust in the Soviet Union, caused by a number of circumstances which did prevail in the USSR over the years. But these efforts should not be one-sided: they need a contribution from the Soviet Union and its citizens as well. In other words, I have no doubt that the West should reconsider its approach to the socialist bloc and that the latter for its part should revise its approach to the capitalist world.

Frankly, the division of the world into antagonist socio-political systems seems to me to have outlived itself. I think that we are now progressing towards some new state, and it would therefore be unwise for socialist countries to continue to believe that all of us people from the Western civilisation possess a range of offensive or even disgusting characteristics merely because we are on the other side of the social fence.

All people, especially the younger generation, seem to be realising that the road to the 21st century goes only through solidarity. Denied a future resting on solidarity, the world may indeed careen along the road to irrevocable confrontation. That is why I said that the paramount duty of all of us is to concentrate on what may become irreversible. Mankind will break through to marvellous, fascinating bright prospects only when it has left behind old stereotypes (most of which have not appeared through the fault of the ordinary people living in the two systems) and embarked on the road towards a future based on peaceful coexistence, a new world outlook and a new approach to problems. Otherwise we will have nothing except confrontation, deterrence policies, and the escalation of strength focusing on dominance and war, whether nuclear or conventional. And in our world, so cramped today, all this can lead, undoubtedly, to nothing but catastrophe, to something irreparable.

One more point. I think that by shifting all responsibility onto the shoulders of Mr Gorbachov and Mr Reagan, or onto those who will succeed them, and by constantly talking of the 'superpowers', we create the impression that each of us seeks to shirk responsibility. We would like perhaps to have the right to say that the 'superpowers' alone are to blame for everything, that they alone are culpable. But this is not so. They do have special responsibility — but at this point the other countries should raise their voice and show proper flexibility, perspicacity and common sense.

We live in Europe, which will have a great part to play. How can it live up to that part? Undoubtedly, by assuming the initiative, making innovative moves and formulating ideas for the accomplishment of the tasks I have outlined above. It is Europe that is capable of doing this better than others because, being an independent party to international relations, it is not involved direct in what can be termed competition for hegemony between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is Europe that could offer quite a few constructive solutions which may gradually lead to the consolidation of the world situation, add to the number of the protagonists, now just two states, and incidentally ease their unbearable burden of responsibility, if only through introducing another agent in international relations. Mankind will then have an opportunity to lean not on two but on three or even four legs: after all, chairs with four legs stand far better than those with two.

See WMR, No. 5, 1987, for an interview with Alexander King. — Ed.

Capitalism And Socialism: A Look Into The Future

Dialogue Between Soviet And American Economists

John Kenneth Galbraith is Professor Emeritus at Harvard University, author of many books on economics, including *The Great Crash, 1929*, *The Affluent Society*, *The New Industrial State*, *Economics and the Public Purpose* and others. **Stanislav Menshikov** is Professor and Doctor of Economics, currently with WMR. His books include *Millionaires and Managers*, *The Economic Cycle*, *Modern Capitalism: A Short Political Economy*, *Inflation and the Crisis of State Intervention*, *Modern Capitalism: An Economy Without a Future?* and others. The dialogue between them took place in the course of writing a joint book to be published in the Soviet Union and the United States. Following are excerpts from the discussion.

Galbraith: As the host, I take the privilege of asking the first question: what is especially interesting in Soviet-American relations and in the world situation at large that justifies our discussion?

Menshikov: The most salient fact is the discovery that a war between our two countries may bring an end to civilisation and thus to both systems.

G: I have often made the statement that in the aftermath of a nuclear war, the difference between capitalism and communism is not going to be visible even to the most committed ideologist.

M: Assuming that civilisation continues to exist, there will still be two different systems, each considering itself superior to the other. Whatever they think of themselves, they will have to live together and let history pass the final judgement.

G: But at the more practical level, with the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and in the United States, having a discussion is particularly relevant, isn't it? Changes and reforms introduced by Mr Gorbachov come first to mind. You consider these changes to be decisively important?

M: In our country many people believe that it is a second revolution equivalent to the October Revolution of 1917.

G: I do not think that the changes in the United States at this time have been particularly decisive. But perhaps we are on the verge of a new concern for some of the many things that capitalism is not doing well: unemployment, minorities, ossification of our older industries. Perhaps, one could say, that our revolution is still around the corner.

M: In my view, both capitalism and socialism are in the midst of a serious self-reassessment. Both have been successful and unsuccessful in many ways, and there is a growing realisation of the necessity to change.

G: In the past we considered ourselves to be centres of all virtue and the other side as the centre of all evil. Now we have reached a more mature stage, where we can look candidly at our common problems.

M: It is normal for living systems to undergo change from time to time, so as to achieve new vitality.

G: I recall from my reading of Marx that society is in a state of constant transformation.

Socialism: Past and Present

M: That is true. In the last 70 years socialism has shown itself to be a growing and forceful society. It has become a system which has developed in a number of countries and continents with one-third of the world population. For many nations, socialism has become the only road to fast economic development, sovereignty, independence. Socialism has proved such advantages as non-cyclical development of the economy, full employment and elimination of compulsory unemployment, vast expansion of social security and public services, including free medical care, free education, low-cost housing, pensions for everybody, wide access to recreation facilities.

G: What you are saying is that the welfare state came somewhat more rapidly in the socialist world than in the capitalist, and somewhat more completely.

M: In our country, which was much poorer than the United States, these advantages were established at a very early stage and were a result not of abundance, but of a conscious effort to create a society of social justice. We achieved a large measure of social equality: under socialism there is, in principle, no division between the rich and the poor.

G: And you also had the particular emphasis on heavy industry. This was seen as the backbone of socialism.

M: This had to be done at the expense of agriculture and the consumer industry. There was change in emphasis after 1953. Special measures were taken to develop agriculture and housing. But up to the present day we have not been able to accomplish a major goal: the highest productivity and hence the highest living standards. This was largely due to deceleration in economic growth in the 1970s and, particularly, in the early 1980s. Lenin's idea was that socialism would decisively win in competition with capitalism only when it reached higher productivity.

G: Our growth rate went down sharply during those years, too. Wasn't there an overflow on the socialist world from difficulties in the capitalist world?

M: Partly. It became more difficult to export to the West because of your stagnation, our imports were hit by your inflation and trade discriminations. But the main reasons were internal. There was a growing deficit of manpower. Extraction of mineral resources became more costly when a large part of it moved into remoter parts of the country, where all inputs are higher. There was a growing need to increase efficiency, but a turn in this direction was slow in coming.

G: I have read that there was far too much emphasis on building new plants and far too little on improving and adapting capital equipment in existing plants. Is this true?

M: In many cases, there was not enough maintenance of old plants so that they became outmoded, and, in some cases, physically destroyed, which added to the deficit situation. Because of stagnation in agriculture, a large part of oil export earnings were used for buying grain abroad instead of machinery to modernise our factories. By the mid 1980s the stage was set for a drastic reassessment of what Mikhail Gorbachov has called a 'pre-crisis situation'. The discussion of these issues is particularly important because it goes beyond the immediate difficulties, but questions the very foundations of the old system of running a socialist country. That system was over-centralised with the central authorities attempting to interfere in virtually every detail of economic life.

G: Individual incentive was replaced by bureaucratic supervision?

M: To a great extent. Not only the central authorities, but also local authorities would interfere in the operation of industrial enterprises and collective farms.

G: You are getting close to saying that agriculture works best when the individual makes his own decision and gets his own return.

M: This rule applies to collective farms, not only to individuals.

G: You are still sticking to the collective farm.

M: We believe in a system of personal and family incentives within the collective farm, and also in more incentives for farmers operating on their individual plots. This system can produce good results without constant interference from outside.

G: I want to ask a question here that obviously arises. The system did produce a lot of results. Why did it operate at all?

M: The centralised system, when it was first established, became a very strong instrument of rapid economic growth. It was a good way to build up a large industrial potential fast. But apparently it does not manage

efficiently enough a complex industrial mechanism, once it has been created.

G: I want to raise another problem which you did not mention. Whether in the age of Marx or even in the age of Lenin, the economic system produced very few simple goods: simple machinery, steel, elementary food, clothing, fuel, shelter and some others. This was a problem that could be perceived in planning. Now there is the enormous range of consumer goods, and within that range, different styles, service requirements. Does that not impose a particularly difficult problem on centralised socialist planning?

M: The important thing is to find the best balance between what can be done by the central authorities and what has to be done at the lower level.

G: When was this first realised?

M: In the late 1950s and early 1960s, there was an attempt to reduce the role of ministries and increase the autonomy of enterprises. One reason why those reforms were not successful was that over-centralisation helped create a special stratum of bureaucrats with a vested interest in preserving such a mechanism. Mikhail Gorbachov says that we have 18 million people in various administrative jobs out of a total population of 280 million. This is far too many. In a deficit economy, they are mainly concerned with rationing and direct allocation of resources, i.e. trying to substitute for the market instead of performing their basic function of strategic planning.

G: Let me now ask a question that grows out of my own observation here in the United States, about the culture of bureaucracy. In a great organisation, there is a tendency to measure intelligence by what is already being done, and to measure the intelligence of people who are added to the organisation or promoted there by those who most resemble the people that are already there or those who are doing the promoting. Is that your observation?

M: Bureaucracy operates in much the same way, whether it is capitalism or socialism. In a planned system there are differences, different social roots, but also many similarities.

G: When an economy operates under conditions of inadequate supply, the shadow economy appears. Tell me about the shadow economy in the Soviet Union.

M: Unfortunately, corruption and black market operations have become a very negative feature of our economy. Our newspapers cite many examples, such as the cotton bonanza in Uzbekistan, and others. These are various kinds of private enterprises operating illegally within the socialist system. But unlike other forms of private enterprise, they do not promote better supply and market equilibrium, but, on the contrary, tend to maintain deficit conditions. Their role is parasitical and non-productive. In many cases, they were interlocked with the bureaucracy.

Reforms or Revolution?

G: You have described the current reforms as a new revolution. In what way do they change the system?

M: The main thrust is to relieve the economy from the grasp and the burden of the bureaucracy and to do away with the shadow economy. That

is being done by developing democracy, opening wide the doors to personal and collective initiative, combining them with the advantages of central planning. It is really an attempt to build a new system. The central point is to increase the freedom and responsibility of enterprises. They will take most of their own decisions on what to produce and how to use their income.

G: But the decision to start an enterprise will be vested in the bureaucracy?

M: Once the enterprise starts operating, it is free to take its own decisions.

G: But can it set its own prices?

M: It can, in many cases.

G: We tend to think of freedom to set prices as central to the free enterprise system.

M: We are not setting up a free enterprise system. Enterprises are government-owned, and the question is of how much authority is delegated to their managers and workers.

G: So it is very important to understand that this is a liberalisation within the framework of socialism, state-owned property and state-owned firms. But why wouldn't it be better to just let prices be determined by supply and demand?

M: Current market prices do not necessarily reflect strategic lines of economic development. Capital investment decisions, even in a market economy, are made on the basis of prices forecast for the future. Basic prices determined by the central authorities will serve as an indicator of what the society wants or expects in the future, and that will serve as a guideline for long-term investment. The market is not perfect in terms of the information it provides.

G: I would agree with that. But what is the stimulus at the enterprise level; what motivates the still publicly-owned enterprises?

M: By deciding how to distribute their income, the managers and workers will be directly interested in the results of their work and increased efficiency. Plant managers will be and are already being elected by workers, and workers' councils will supervise their work.

G: I assume, of course, that Soviet workers are hard-working and diligent, but what happens when workers come together and elect the most amiable, easy-going, soft-handed boss they can find.

M: That kind of manager is going to make the plant roll downhill, and end up in bankruptcy, and the workers will lose their jobs.

G: Does the system provide for some unemployment? You are not taking that from us, are you?

M: There could be some fictional or temporary unemployment, i.e. moving from one job to another. Some of our economists have suggested that unemployment should be deliberately increased so as to strengthen discipline. But most are against doing so.

Let us return to the question of bankruptcy. If an enterprise operates poorly, this is not necessarily due to poor performance of the workers, but rather to errors made by managers or central planners. Workers should not be held responsible for the mistakes of others. Under capitalism plants are

closed down mostly not because workers are unproductive, but because of crisis conditions, or conscious decisions to move production elsewhere.

G: I think that it is a reasonable point. Let me now come to an old Marxist point, the alienation of labour from the means of production when no one feels responsible. I am not convinced that the new system will change matters substantially. I think a good many people in your country, as in ours, are going to come to work and go home without feeling much association, sense of ownership and participation in the factory where they operate. You are making workers out to be better, somewhat more amenable to social ideas than I think they are.

M: The social consciousness of our workers is pretty high. In general, people have a high sense of commitment to the aims of the society, which brings them many social benefits and advantages. You will also find those who suggest that the market should be used more in such areas as medical services and housing. I disagree with these views. The quality of medical services and housing would be better served by investing more in those areas, rather than by charging the population a higher price. Also if you raise or introduce prices for public services, which are now provided free or at low cost, you will have to increase wages, and this would become an additional burden for enterprises. It would be a kind of vicious-circle situation.

G: There certainly are parallels between that position and what would be popular in our country. Higher prices for Medicare and Medicaid would not be popular here either. But I see that even with your reforms there is still a reluctance to allow the individual to go into business. He cannot hire people. He has to get permission, to pay a substantial price for that permission, a high tax.

M: Private enterprises hiring people are not permitted in the Soviet Union. The only exceptions are joint enterprises with foreign companies but in these our state holds over half the capital. We have not had private capitalist enterprises since the 1920s, and there is considerable reluctance on the part of the population to reopen them. People are not ready to create a new class of capitalists. However, there are no barriers to cooperative, or family enterprises.

G: What I recognise there is that in spite of the reforms, I still run against a stone wall, which is called socialism.

M: The meaning of the reforms is to improve socialism and utilise its advantages, rather than return to capitalism.

G: How do you see the future in the light of these reforms?

M: I see three possible scenarios. One is based on the danger of bureaucratic sabotage of the reforms. They are not going to bring about economic prosperity by magic. The enterprises when faced with market conditions may initially have difficulties in finding customers or sources of materials, machinery, fuel. There will be price increases. Those who oppose perestroika will put the blame on the new system and press for a return to the old one.

G: Where in the Soviet Union does Mr Gorbachov get his support against the bureaucracy?

M: In the party, the majority of the population, particularly the workers

and the farmers, in the intelligentsia, particularly writers, the world of arts. The press and television are against the bureaucracy, and the policy of glasnost is a major instrument of change. People realise that preserving the old methods would mean stagnation in the economy and a deterioration in the country's international position.

Another possibility would be a movement towards a more complete market socialism, i.e. much wider use of private initiative and private entrepreneurship. For example, leaving price determination completely to the market, as you have suggested. It would be a socialism without central planning. There are many dangers involved, including unemployment, severe inflation, social inequality. But even if these were avoided, what reasons are there to suppose that such a system would operate better than capitalism?

G: You are saying: why should socialism take on the social problems of capitalism?

M: Exactly. The central scenario — the third one I referred to — is that of true democratic centralism, as envisaged by the current reforms. This would be a combination of the best features of central planning with the least socially harmful features of the market. Central economic authorities would be in charge of such unbureaucratic matters as determining overall economic policy, setting optimal prices for a limited number of basic products, helping educate managers for operating within a market economy, organising enterprises, industries and intersectoral corporations in the most efficient way, preventing well ahead of time long-term difficulties arising from structural changes, helping reorganise and modernise plants so as to minimise bankruptcy situations, helping promote technical progress by setting up crash teams, providing risk capital, etc. There are many areas where socialism can learn and benefit from the market. By combining this new experience with the advantages of central planning we may hope to do much better than capitalism.

What Went Wrong in Capitalism?

M: We have talked a lot about socialism. But what about capitalism? Would you agree that it is in crisis?

G: We must see capitalism in a constant process of transformation. By the end of the 19th, and the beginning of the present century, having lifted industrial output to levels that had never been reached before, it also produced a massive alienation based on the enormous power it reposed in the capitalists, and the extraordinary hardships to which it subjected workers, women, old people.

M: Marx summed it up by saying that capitalism expropriated most of the population.

G: I accept that. Then came four developments which Marx did not foresee: the rise of the trade unions, which did a great deal to equalise the power as between the capitalist and the workers . . .

M: Would that mean that the worker was getting full compensation for his labour power, and even more?

G: You are endeavouring to get me to say that there was surplus value that the worker did not get after the trade unions came into existence.

These are theoretical points to which I do not stoop. Then came the welfare state, starting with Bismarck in Germany and all the way to the New Deal in the United States.

M: Would you agree that this was a socialist form developing inside the capitalist system?

G: If you insist that capitalism took over some of the benign qualities of socialism, I will concede on that point. The third development of capitalism was the Keynesian revolution, i.e. the assumption by the state of the responsibility for the level of production in the economy, compensating for the deficiencies in private spending. And finally, the replacement of the old-fashioned capitalist by the manager, the corporate bureaucracy. These developments did a great deal to secure the future of capitalism. If capitalism had remained in its original form, if the depressions had continued and got worse, the system would not have survived.

M: But neither the Keynesian revolution, nor the welfare state are fashionable any more. What went wrong with capitalism?

G: A variety of things have now impaired the capitalists and damaged capitalist performance. The great corporation and the managerial revolution have bureaucratised a large part of capitalist production, with the same ossification, the same hardening of arteries that you have identified in the socialist world. The second thing that happened was the rising power of new countries, not alone Japan, but also South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, which invaded the markets of older capitalist countries, and have had a particularly adverse effect on the old mass production industries. We have also discovered in the last 15-20 years internal contradictions in the Keynesian system. In the 1970s, inflation became the problem, and that required lower government expenditures and higher tax rates, and that was politically very unpopular.

M: Is not monetarism and neoconservatism in general, an even more primitive prescription for regulating the economy?

G: We learned that the monetarist magic to the extent that it worked, produced a very large amount of unemployment, of idle plant capacity, it cut back investment, weakened the competitive power of our corporations. It did stop inflation, but the remedy was considerably worse than the disease that we sought to correct.

M: This is part of what is sometimes called the 'Reagan revolution'.

G: I have been reluctant to attribute the word 'revolution' to changes that have occurred with Mr Reagan. I think they are temporary in the history of capitalism, and will be corrected. I would much prefer to go on to the things which should be done to secure the future of the system. I see as the central problem of present-day capitalism the assurance of a secure flow of income to all the participants in the system.

We have far too many people without employment, without income, who are, as we now call them, the underclass, especially in our cities. We also have far too great inequality in the distribution of income, and that in these last years has been getting worse.

M: Would you be a bit more specific in describing the kinds of measures that could improve this situation?

G: It is much easier to say what needs to be done than to say just how it

should be done. I would first of all put major stress on strengthening our welfare programmes, so that there is a secure income for people who do not have employment. I would also have very strong educational and retraining programmes for poor people, particularly in our cities. There is also the problem of the sick industries, like steel. I do not think that we can hope to prevent some substantial movement of our heavy industry to new countries. But I would strongly urge the need for economic support to the workers who are affected by that movement.

M: You urge greater stress on welfare programmes under capitalism, and some people in our country argue that a large part of the social services should be taken care of by the market.

G: No, I do not think so. I would continue to emphasise the importance of improvement in the public services that are needed by all but the very affluent. I have in mind education, recreation, library service, public transportation, public housing, environmental protection.

M: The expansion of the welfare state would have to come at the expense of a different area in the government budget, presumably military expenditure.

G: This is a matter on which I would like very much to have the cooperation of the Soviet Union. One inescapable empirical fact is that the great success stories of capitalism since World War II have been Japan and West Germany with very small military expenditure. Weapons expenditure goes to high technology and only in very small part to mass employment. Many calculations have been made to this effect, all showing that it is one of the least efficient ways of creating employment.

M: Could you say a few words about the possibility of a deep crisis in the capitalist economy due to the extensive stock market speculations, the sharp decline in stock prices, the rise in external debt and other recent developments?

G: There has been wild speculation in Wall Street, a great exercise in corporate reshuffling, mergers and acquisitions. First, this does not contribute anything to the efficiency of industrial production in our system, and, secondly, it has the effect of loading it up with debt, and the danger is that in the next episode of inflation we may have another severe crunch. I am not making that as a prediction. As to the Third World debts, we are not going to see them repaid. The sooner we clean up the situation and accept the fact of default, the better it will be.

Conditions of Coexistence

G: Can we agree that good economic performance is generally good for better political relations between our countries? Being specific, is there any reason why you should fear a better performance by capitalism, and is there any reason why we should fear the success of the Gorbachov reforms?

M: One important feature of our reforms is that they attempt to move resources from the military to civilian use. And I find it significant that the reforms that you are suggesting for capitalism are also contingent on some reduction in military expenditure.

G: It is a form of convergence I very much welcome.

M: In the Soviet Union this is also reflected in the new mode of looking at the world and at how to coexist due to the nuclear reality and the increasing interdependence of nations. Let me point specifically to a few crucial norms of behaviour, arising from these realities. The first is that our two countries will have to pursue their own separate paths, tackle their own problems and try not to endanger the other side by deliberate actions. This is true of missile deployment; it may also be true of actions in other spheres. It applies to the concepts of general security and also economic security. Countries, as well as social classes, have their long-term and short-term interests. By attempting to maximise short-run gains they may defeat their long-run interest, which in our times is the preservation of peace and civilisation. But, being realistic, we cannot exclude the possibility of direct or indirect conflicts between us. However, when they happen, it is essential not to react by confrontation and escalating tension, but to consult with each other and try to find a peaceful and constructive solution.

Finally, though our two systems are very different, there are many ways in which we can and must cooperate. It is wiser to think of ourselves as partners, rather than competitors or enemies. I do not want to sound too idealistic.

G: Let us not be afraid of being idealistic. That I have high on my list as one of the needs for coexistence.

M: The reason for my caution is that the principles that I have just stated would have a chance to be implemented only if the dangers to coexistence are taken into account and counteracted. These dangers are real and they should be seen in their correct perspective. Perhaps the least dangerous thing, but still very harmful, is phraseology, rhetoric.

G: I would agree on that. Maybe also we should learn to ignore rhetoric of this kind in the age of glasnost.

M: This is not always possible.

G: One of the sad features of our time is that while nobody in recent times has been killed in conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States, there is a large number of regional conflicts between smaller countries, and I would like to urge that we both be aware of the danger that comes from getting involved on the opposite sides of those conflicts.

M: There also are cases when left governments come to power either by parliamentary, or revolutionary means, and this leads to a civil war or an external intervention, or both, but also to increasing tension between the two systems.

G: I am in favour of us both keeping out. I strongly so urge. Capitalism should not fear the growth of socialism and vice versa. And the superpower syndrome should be overcome.

M: The greatest immediate danger is the continuing armaments race. In spite of the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles, the world is still sitting on an enormous arsenal of nuclear arms, and that may destroy civilisation by sheer error.

G: Let us leave the inner theology of arms control to other discussants. But I am disturbed by the number of people who think that conventional

armies are benign. I would like to see more discussion of the evil effects and dangers of conventional war.

M: The Soviet Union lost 20 million lives in the last war, and it was a conventional one.

G: I harbour the belief, that there is a vested interest in tension and conflict on both sides of the superpower relationship. We have people who have devoted their lives to warning of the dangers of world communism and of capitalist imperialism. Bureaucratic organisations can persist in one mode of thinking, but have found great difficulty changing to another mode of thought. Our specific example is the Pentagon. You have your military bureaucracy. The way to overcome it in our system is by force of political will to reach an accommodation with the Soviet Union. Another thing that I would like to urge is a greater emphasis on long-term interests. Whatever the world is like a hundred years from now, people will look back on the present conflict between our two countries as a rather minor matter as compared with nuclear disaster.

M: I believe that our cooperation in World War II is a good example of how two opposite systems can work together and for a common goal. But there is still very little cooperation between us in such peaceful areas as trade and economic relations. We hope that new legislation in the Soviet Union will lead to more joint enterprises with US and other capitalist firms. One advantage to us is educational: learning managerial and marketing techniques from your people.

G: Why couldn't we be helpful by having an infusion of students from the Soviet Union into our business schools? But I would like to think of trade as a two-sided operation. We would look forward to an expanded market of consumer goods in the Soviet Union.

M: Aren't you driving us away from high technology imports?

G: It is one of the myths of our time that we can keep technological developments to ourselves. The singular feature of technological development is the lightning speed with which it moves across international frontiers. Let me also suggest that we should avoid using trade to compel political action. I have in mind such examples from the past as the wheat embargo, the pipeline sanctions, the Jackson-Vanick Act.¹ I am a strong supporter of human rights, but I do not think they are achieved that way. I should also like to see more cultural, scientific and educational exchange, a much larger flow of tourists.

M: With the increase in the movement of people across borders, we have to be careful about such things as the spread of diseases (such as AIDS), and of drugs. There should be more cooperation between governments against drug smuggling, and cooperation in major medical fields.

G: I would add joint efforts on behalf of our environment, protection of our oceans, of the ozone layer, increasing the security of nuclear energy plants.

M: One important problem is non-renewable natural resources. I am not venturing a forecast, but at some point in the not too distant future they will become dangerously depleted. This is a global issue, and we shall have to cooperate in this field. I am also thinking about joint efforts in helping the less developed countries achieve much higher living standards. There is

no other more effective way to stop what is called the population explosion.

G: I see the need for planning in that area. Our standard of living sometime in the future is going to have to be accommodated to the resources that can supply it. It may be that the consumer standard that we enjoy in the United States, Western Europe and Japan, is not forever. If we avoid nuclear disaster, we are going to have to find some way of bringing living standards into relation to what can be supported.

M: The Soviet Union has come up with a new suggestion to use a part of the possible reduction in arms expenditure for additional assistance to the developing countries.

G: Our government has not been particularly forthcoming on this issue. I see the largest prospect for cooperation in the reduction of tension leading to an agreement making possible a very large reduction in arms expenditure, and a large transfer of manpower and resources to civilian purposes, including assistance to the more needful countries.

M: If the arms race continues, there is no way we can meaningfully talk about a peaceful future for our planet, and no possibility of really fruitful cooperation.

An act passed by the US Congress in 1974 linking most-favoured-nation treatment in foreign trade to emigration from the socialist countries. — *Ed.*

exchange of views, discussion

The Coherence Of Marxism-Leninism In The Ideological Struggle

The question of the coherence of Marxism-Leninism was discussed at an international round table held by the *WMR* Commission for General Theoretical Problems. It was attended by **Jose Lanao**, CC member, CP Argentina; **Dr. Karl-Heinz Thieme**, researcher at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Social Sciences under the SUPG CC (GDR); **Antonio Oviedo**, CC member, Colombian CP; **Francisco Gamboa**, CC Political Commission member, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica; **Carlos Aboim Ingles**, CC member,

Portuguese CP; Professor **Boris Bessonov**, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), USSR; and **Ladislav Hrzal**, corresponding-member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

Below is a summary of the discussion.

Methodology of Practical Activity

THE question of Marxism as a methodology of practical activity¹ is a sharp ideological issue. On this point **Carlos Aboim Ingles** said:

Marx expressed his approach in these famous words: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it".² Before the world is transformed, it has, of course, to be explained. The cogent arguments in Marx's *Capital* prove that practice that is not based on recognition of the objective existence of the world and on cognition of its law-governed uniformities tends to be meaningless, speculative and harmful.

What Marx said in his *Theses on Feuerbach* does not abolish theory through its dissolution in practice. Revolutionary activity for practical transformations is impossible without a scientific theory. One cannot range science on the one side, an action programme mobilising the masses on another, and on a third, the now existing actual embodiments of the latter: the victorious socialist revolutions in the various countries, and the existing socialism, which has been fortifying and enlarging its positions.

It is even more important today than it was yesterday to learn *to blend science and revolutionary practice into a single whole*, if one is to find one's bearings in the modern world, in the vast diversity and interpenetration of revolutionary processes, and if one is effectively to play a dual role in organising and leading the mass struggle for peace and progress. Theory is required both for the long-term social orientation, and for our every step forward. No major practical problem can be solved correctly unless it is comprehended theoretically. Theoretical activity itself becomes a key factor of the communist and working class movement.

Marx and Engels tied in theory and practice not only in what could be called philosophical terms, but also in practical activities. History offered them an opportunity to start putting their ideas into practice, and they readily took up the offer. Nor was Lenin, who led the revolutionary party in Russia, allowed by the twentieth century to concentrate either on theory, or on practice alone. His *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* has become a rostrum both for philosophical and political party thinking, and the revolution in Russia, the source of the basic theoretical propositions for generations of Communists.

The discussion brought out the continuity in Leninism of the discoveries made by Marx and Engels, a continuity that covers dialectics, the materialist view of history, the analysis of the capitalist society, and the doctrine of socialism — in short, the whole set of basic ideas. Leninism is the further development of the theory of Marxism, and its enrichment in the light of the new discoveries in the social sciences, the natural sciences, and concrete historical experience. The methodological content of Marxism was also essentially elaborated by Lenin, who showed *just how*

the theoretical possibility of the socialist revolution is realised in specific, concrete historical conditions.

Leninism gives the popular masses a concrete programme for socialist and democratic transformations, and shows the ways and means for realising it, **Jose Lanao** emphasised. That is why it is being so fiercely attacked by bourgeois and pseudo-Marxist theorists. The Communists' activity and ideological struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends in Argentina's specific conditions brings out with even greater clarity significance of Leninism as the revolutionary theory of our epoch and the methodology of revolutionary practice in transforming the world. The unity of the communist movement in the region is a concrete expression of the synthesis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the parties' practical activity.

Insisting on the importance of theoretical work does not at all mean separating theory from practice for the sake of theoretical 'purity'. On the contrary, it is important to tie it in closely with practice, said **Francisco Gamboa**. If the struggle for Marxism is separated from practice and the realities of life — and that has happened in the history of our movement — the result is dogmatism and sectarianism, and loss of touch with the pressing tasks of our day. Dogmatists have been using the works of the great classics in much the same way as the rod was used to educate children in the old school. This has nothing to do with the actual urge to preserve the identity and coherence of Marxism.

It is also important to avoid 'sheer pragmatism'. The bending of theory to the here-and-now needs of practice tends to reduce the former to a servitor of the latter, and dims the guiding light of theory along the high-roads of the movement. One will find proletarian fighters sincerely committed to the cause who have given up theoretical thinking and the philosophical and ideological comprehension of practice to concentrate on a narrow-minded economism and political manoeuvring. They eventually find themselves captive to bourgeois or petty-bourgeois theoretical concepts.

The Creative Role of Theory

The fraternal parties' experience points to the need to work hard to consolidate the ties between the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, between the methodology of cognition, on the one hand, and practical activity on the other, even in a socialist society. The building of socialism, said **Karl-Heinz Thieme**, makes it necessary to develop all its advantages in a balanced and highly effective manner. It is the economy that mainly presents the priority tasks in the progress of the socialist society. At the same time, the development of the other social spheres — social relations, political system, ideology and culture — has an ever greater feedback effect on the pace of economic growth. These problems can be solved only if the cognised objective laws of socialist production are tied in with an analysis of the dialectics of basis and superstructure, politics and ideology, and scientific, technical, economic and social progress.

This revolutionary process can be comprehensively analysed through more intensive interaction between the social sciences and between

scientists working in the various fields of knowledge, and with Marxism-Leninism as a whole providing the theoretical and methodological basis for this inter-disciplinary work.

The complex approach to the solution of the key problems in socialist construction implies the need to identify *the main element* in the aggregation of theoretical and practical problems facing the party and the people at this historical phase. "Ensuring the unity of economic and social policy is the main sector of our struggle," Erich Honecker said at the 11th SUPG Congress³. The unity of theory and practice in Marxism does not mean their simple coincidence, or identity in the trite sense of the term. While working on the main task of its policy, the SUPG is aware not only of the need to resolve the concrete contradictions between the existing level of requirements and the always limited means and potentialities for satisfying them, but also of their inevitable reproduction at a higher level. These contradictions arise again and again in new forms at every stage of social development.

In the process in which the advantages of socialism are combined with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, theoretical thinking seeks to discover not only the new forms of this unity, but also the contradictions, and the actual problems which are now and again most acute. We believe that it is highly important to clarify in the most thorough manner, for instance, why the socialist relations of production do not fully reveal their potential for rapidly applying new hardware and high technologies, why and in what way planning tends to run into contradiction with the need to renovate producer assets, and so on.

An Open-Ended Theory

Marxism is a fully open-ended theory and has no 'forbidden' areas or problems. It implies the possibility of discovering basically new phenomena and even areas of activity requiring original approaches and bold hypotheses. The latter half of the twentieth century has posed some problems which the Marxist classics did not and could not have anticipated. In the natural sciences, for instance, there is the penetration into the microcosm and the megacosm, into the structure of living matter and into the secrets of heredity; in technology, the spurt of the scientific and technical revolution, the problems of the 'artificial intellect', and the exploration of space; in the social sphere, the emergence of the Third World, the rise of the mass democratic movements, and so on.

Participants in the discussion were agreed that global problems have come to the fore among the cardinal problems of social existence. In this context, they examined this question: does Marxism retain its theoretical and methodological significance in the face of these problems, which now and again fail to fit into the framework of the traditional categories of dialectics, historical materialism, political economy and the theory of scientific socialism?

Francisco Gamboa stressed that Marxists indicated the need to tackle the global problems without delay for the benefit of mankind as a whole, although the analysis and practical elaboration of programmes for such solutions have required Marxist scientists to reappraise many of their

established views. It was on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory that they drew the conclusion of the integrity of the modern world and of the need to unite mankind to avert a nuclear war, and a number of other basic propositions which determined the main features of the new political thinking.

Participants in the discussion said that the solution of global problems implies a dialogue between Marxists and bourgeois scientists, however arduous a process it may be.

When theoretical advocates of the capitalist social system speak of such a dialogue they most often propose that Marxism should be 'combined' with various alien conceptions. Positivism has been suggested as a complement to the Marxist methodology, said **Boris Bessonov**. As in all other cases, that does not at all imply an enrichment of the Marxist philosophy with various rational ideas or formulation of problems. These 'complements' are usually used to deprive Marxist-Leninist principles and propositions of their concrete historical and social-class meaning on the pretext of working out an 'empirically verifiable' and 'ideologically neutral' position.

In logic, methodology and the study of the language of science, positivist philosophers from the 1920s to 1940s did, indeed, pose a number of important questions: the relation of induction and deduction, of the theoretical and the empirical, the proof and disproval of knowledge, the structures of theory, etc. They used specialised methods of logical and linguistic analysis, which Marxists did not practice, to obtain some results that were useful from the standpoint of understanding the structure of scientific knowledge. Following a basic critical analysis these were on the whole accepted by Marxists. But when it came to social cognition and its basic orientation the philosophical propositions of positivism were too obviously subjectivist for them to be said to contain any rational grain of truth. The methodology of positivism, which has totally lost its creative connection with natural science, but which has taken refuge in bourgeois sociology and the philosophy of history, has now altogether shed its illusions of ideological neutrality and has effectively become part and parcel of the anti-Marxist ideology.

David Rubenstein, a US sociologist, for instance, wants the ideas of Ludwig Wittgenstein⁴ to be added to Marxist theory, on the plea that a combination of the two approaches would imply that a comprehension of human behaviour requires a study of the collective practice in which it is manifested. He adds, however, that it is impossible to know *a priori* what the dominant institutions of this practice should be: in one context it is possible to determine the 'dominant form of life' in economic terms, and in another, in religious terms, etc.⁵ Such additions to Marxism eliminate the gist of it: the materialist view of history and the objective content of practice.

Marxism does imply *that its content can be amplified* and that not only with factual data and information, but also *with ideas, conceptions, problems, and methods of analysing and synthesising knowledge*. But that amplification cannot be a mechanical one. The content of the methods and principles introduced into Marxism has to be reappraised *in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory*.

Far from every bourgeois theorist who lays claim to making a 'non-party' analysis, a 'neutrality' of examination and 'ideological synthesis' in social and political thinking is a subjective adversary of Marxism. He is most often travelling a way, either towards Marxism or away from it. That is something the Marxist theorists have to reckon with.

It is important and necessary to have exchanges of ideas when it comes to solving international global problems. The Communists do not at all reject the concrete and fruitful results obtained by bourgeois science in these areas, even when these results are presented in an ideological integument. It is important to make a thorough study of the content of these conceptions as an integral part of modern civilisation.

It is now the fashion in Latin American countries, said **Antonio Oviedo**, for all sorts of 'reconstruction' of Marxism, notably for the model proposed by Jürgen Habermas.⁶ The implication here is to rectify Marxism in such a way as to deprive the Marxist categories of many facets of their social-class and ideological concreteness. In the process, 'class domination' is to be replaced with 'communication', labour is no longer to be the material aspect of social activity, but a mere interaction of man and Nature, etc.⁷

The CP Colombia is opposed to the anti-Marxist trends, even when they are camouflaged as 'renovated' and 'critical' Marxism. But while not sharing the view of the members of the Frankfurt school and their followers in Latin America, the Communists are in contact with them in fighting the ideology of dictatorship and fascism, and in defence of human rights and peace. The basis for their dialogue is anti-technocratism and abstract humanism as developed by the 'critical philosophy'.

There is also experience of a different order. The most active form of struggle in the recent period has been against neopositivism, its narrow empirical approach to social processes and its 'technological determinism'. The result has been a marked reduction in the influence of neopositivism among the country's ruling élite. It is a movement that has involved broad circles of the intelligentsia, which sometimes openly polemicised with the Communists on other issues.

Critique and Cognition

Some bourgeois ideologists and 'Western Marxism'⁸ theorists **Boris Bessonov** said, claim that only the critical function of Marxism is acceptable, while its positive function is dogmatic and superfluous. Such a view of Marxism confines it to being systematic criticism of the bourgeois society from the positions of the working class. It is claimed that the followers of Marx-Engels, Lenin, Plekhanov and others — have allegedly forgotten about the chief function of Marxism by laying accent on elaborating ideology and world view.

The fact is, however, that Marxist theoretical analysis implies the bringing out of objective contradictions, of the opposite sides of any coherent system or process, and that is the substance of the Marxist critique. *The positive element of Marxism is closely bound up with criticism, with negation*, while bourgeois 'critical Marxism' as a rule substitutes a moral appraisal of 'negative' aspects for any objective analysis of contradictions. The critique of the capitalist system which tends to become

a variously concentrated component of pseudo-Marxist conceptions boils down to negating the 'bad' aspects of the capitalist system. But then socialism has fared no better. Such an approach is ultimately aimed to justify or embellish the capitalist society and starts from the alleged absence of any qualitative distinctions between the two social systems.

By contrast, the main task for Marxists is not to make any moral assessments of phenomena or processes in the society, although it regards that as necessary. The gist of theoretical analysis is above all *to bring out the objective contradiction* constituting the core of a social process, regardless of whether the process is 'bad' or 'good' from the standpoint of class or individual. We believe that the capitalist system is historically doomed by virtue of its deep and insoluble contradictions, and not because we refuse to sympathise with Morgan or Rockefeller.

Identifying the objective contradictions of the socialist society is also a part of the Marxist analysis. These are not antagonistic, and emerge between various elements of the mode of production.

The building of the new society — a social experiment of vast scope and significance for mankind — is not guaranteed against erroneous moves and temporary retreats. The Communists consciously aim their research into analysing the social contradictions objectively inherent in existing socialism and scrupulously abide by the principles of the critical and scientific approach. The 27th Congress of the CPSU showed that the tasks set in the USSR cannot be fulfilled without a constructive criticism of the conceptions which have either failed to work in practice or which need to be further corrected, concretised and verified. The Marxist-Leninist parties have been engaged in a scientific analysis of the new situations that tend to arise as the basis for mapping out effective ways for solving the consequent problems, so as to ensure the continued advance of socialism.

Scholasticism, doctrinairism and dogmatism have never contributed to a genuine addition to knowledge. Any attempt to turn the Marxist doctrine into a set of ossified schemes and prescriptions applicable everywhere and in every case cuts across its very substance.

Dialectics and Materialism

The discussion showed that it is an ever more pressing task for the Communists in the context of the ongoing ideological struggle to preserve the ideological and methodological unity of Marxism-Leninism as the condition for its successful application in practice.

The adversaries of Marxism have been trying even harder to destroy its coherence by contrasting dialectics and materialism, philosophy and political economy, political economy and political and social theory, theory and ideology, ideology and ethics, the entire doctrine and the practice of socialist construction. These tendencies are pronounced in many works by bourgeois Marxologists like George Lichtheim (FRG), Shlomo Avineri and David Rubinstein (USA), the 'neo-Marxists' of the Frankfurt sociological school, like Jürgen Habermas, A. Schmidt and A. Delnar (FRG), some theorists styling themselves as 'Western Marxists', like Perry Anderson and David McLellan (Britain), Stanley Aronowitz, and Paul Sweezy (USA), and others. It is characteristic that the multiform

fragmentation of Marxism begins and ends at one and the same point: the opposition of its theory, on the one hand, and of its method (methodology), on the other.

The task, the participants in the round table were agreed, is above all to *expose the theoretical roots and ideological orientation of such efforts to disintegrate Marxism.*

The organic connection between theory and method is a typical feature of Marxism. The Marxist method is nothing but theory used for the purposes of cognition and transformation of the reality, i.e., *a theory set in motion and turned into a means for cognition and practical action.* For its part, theory can be regarded as the fulcrum, basis and result of the action of method. The theory-method unity implies a high degree of correspondence between them that is adequate, on the one hand, for regarding method as being objectively well-founded and theoretically elaborated, and on the other, for the available theoretical knowledge to be reliably applied in the analysis of the reality and also in practice.

The discussion showed that the mutual correspondence of the theory and method in Marxism is not absolute, that it does not signify their complete identity or mere coincidence. It is contradictory just as is any dialectical unity. The Marxist method is brought out, for instance, only in the movement of cognition, in practical action, and consequently is the active and dynamic aspect of Marxism as a whole. The area in which the Marxist method can be applied is much wider than the subject-matter area of the Marxist theory itself. In short, the real contradiction between the theory of Marxism and its method consists in the relative and partial non-identity of initial theoretical base and the instruments of cognition, between means and ends, between the relatively stable and immutable aspect of Marxism and its more fluid and dynamic aspect.

It was said that the dialectical contradiction between theory and method *is ceaselessly resolved* in the course of scientific cognition and practice. The use of method helps to bring out the degree of authenticity of the available knowledge, and requires the development and perfection of theory, whenever that knowledge proves to be inadequate. For its part, the development of theory enlarges the potentialities of the method, so making it more flexible, multifaceted and effective. The resolution of the contradiction between theory and method is one of the key stimulators of cognition. Whenever their contradictory unity is broken up, Marxism itself is immobilised and turned into a dogma, which means that it tends to lose its real meaning.

Bourgeois critics have presented the contradiction between theory and method of Marxism in nothing like this dialectical light. They have recognised the significance of either this or that aspect of Marxism, but such verbal recognition in fact turns out to be yet another distortion of Marxism. One of these variants of Marxology is accepting the theory (usually to the detriment of method) as the 'positive' content, and here any evidence of the incompleteness of theory in some respect provides the pretext for claims that it is generally untenable. But then Marxism is not only theory, but also method, and it is designed to provide the answers to the questions set by history and to indicate the main reference points for

the further development of cognition.

By contrast, another variant of Marxology lays stress on Marx's method, which is regarded outside the context of the development of theory. It is even claimed that method is the only thing that nowadays continues to be important. But there again, those who are not too committed or principled lapse into melancholy whenever they discover some failings of method, ignoring the fact that these failings can and must be eliminated, since Marxist dialectics implies continued development and elaboration of method on the basis of theory.

The widespread trick of this strategy, **Ladislav Hrzal** demonstrated, is to contrast dialectics and materialism. Many of its modern interpreters claim that the method, the dialectics, of Marxism is its most valuable element, while materialism, which they identify with theory, is an outdated world outlook. David McLellan says, for instance, that materialism was the world outlook of the bourgeoisie when it fought feudal privileges and religious dogmas in the West European countries in the 17th and 18th centuries, and that it is now no longer either scientifically or practically meaningful.⁹

There are, in fact, no grounds for such a separation, let alone for contrasting dialectics and materialism. First, materialism is a unity of theory and method, just as is dialectics. Second, materialism and dialectics are interpenetrating aspects of a coherent philosophical world outlook.

Once dialectics has been divorced from its materialist basis it leads to subjectivism and arbitrariness both in cognition and in practice. Those who give preference to dialectics and assume it to be the method infer that it makes itself known only in cognition and practical activity, but not in Nature. The philosophers of the Frankfurt school (Theodor Adorno, Jürgen Habermas, et al.) assert, for instance, that since it is only cognition and action that are contradictory there can be no objective contradictions, which are always subjective. Being ultimately logical contradictions, they are resolved by opting for one of the sides. In this way, mankind is confronted with a series of false alternatives: technology or man, science or ideology, emotion or reason, state or individual freedom, etc. With that kind of interpretation, which rules out interconnections and forms of reasoning, dialectics becomes essentially alien to Marxism.

The dogmatic interpretation of the categories of historical materialism is equally fraught with the subjectivist view of social phenomena. Perry Anderson says that these categories characterise nothing but the past, and have no validity in the present. Historical materialism is no more than a theory of history, but the past cannot be altered by the practice of the present day.¹⁰

However, if the categories of historical materialism do not cover the whole diversity of present-day reality, such is, first of all, the nature of any theoretical concepts relating to developing systems. Second, the only way to comprehend the specific nature of new phenomena is to rely on the vast store of scientific knowledge generalised in these categories. It is impossible to stand up for materialism (notably in the cognition of social phenomena) without having recourse to dialectics as the key element of the Marxist method, and without using materialism itself for methodological purposes. Lenin warned of the dangers of dogmatism when he wrote: "It is

essential to grasp the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognisance of real life, of the true facts of *reality*, and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, only *comes near* to embracing life in all its complexity".¹¹



Only some of the meaningful questions of the coherence of Marxism-Leninism were brought out and dealt with at the round table. *WMR* intends to go on presenting the fraternal parties' positions on the methodological questions in the development and application of Marxist-Leninist knowledge, its structure and interaction with practice, and the experience of the communist and working class movement.

¹ The elaboration of method (along with the development of theory) has, for all practical purposes, become an independent branch of Marxism-Leninism known as methodology. In contrast to theoretical research, its task is mainly to clarify the process of cognition and practical transformation of the reality. One of its important elements is the study of the method used in analysing the reality by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 8.

³ CC Report to the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Berlin, 1986, pp. 32-33 (in German).

⁴ Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951), Austrian philosopher and logician of the analytical philosophy school. — *Ed.*

⁵ See David Rubinstein, *Marx and Wittgenstein. Social Praxis and Social Explanation*, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 205.

⁶ Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929), German philosopher and sociologist (FRG). — *Ed.*

⁷ See J. Habermas, *Technik und Wissenschaft als 'Ideologie'* Frankfurt am Main, 1969, pp. 57, 63, 100.

⁸ 'Western Marxism' is a concept first used by the French philosopher Merleau-Ponty in his book *The Adventures of Dialectics*; it was later applied in a wider sense by P. Anderson, a British bourgeois Marxologist. It is a specific form of revision of Marxism-Leninism. — *Ed.*

⁹ See D. McLellan, *Marxism After Marx*, Second Edition, An Introduction, London, 1980, p. 107.

¹⁰ P. Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism*, London, 1977, pp. 109-110.

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 45.

The Working Class Against Social Injustice

An International Symposium In Prague

WMR and the World Federation of Trade Unions held an international symposium 'The Working Class Against Social Injustice' in late 1987 in Prague. Taking part were the Communist Parties of Austria, Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Finland, the German Communist Party, the Communist Parties of Greece, Ireland, Lebanon, Norway, Portugal, Spain, the Left Party — Communists of Sweden, the Communist Parties of

Turkey and the USA as well as the United Trade Union Movement — 'Cooperative' (ESAK-C) of Greece, Portugal's Intersindical, and the French General Confederation of Labour.

The delegates examined the more conspicuous cases of social injustice under present-day capitalism and the ways the Communist trade unions and the working class movement in general are advancing the rights and interests of the working people while resisting attacks by big business and right-wing forces. Social shifts, new methods of capitalist exploitation, and growing inequality in bourgeois society also came under scrutiny.

The delegates compared notes on the use of social legislation, tax policy, collective bargaining and the like to raise working people's living standards; they also explored the chances of joint coordinated action by workers' parties and trade unions with varying policies to promote working people's rights and interests.

WMR will carry symposium materials later on.

Do We Have To Force The Genie Back Into The Bottle?

The Impact Of The Scientific And Technological Revolution

Professor Harry Nick — Doctor of Economics; Research Programme Chief at the Political Economy Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the SUPG Central Committee (GDR)

NEXT to the issue of preserving peace, people are now particularly concerned about the way the scientific and technological revolution is changing their lives, about the demands it makes on their knowledge, abilities, behaviour and motivation, and about the opportunities it offers for man's creative endeavour, for facilitating and improving human existence. The existing social systems are increasingly judged by their ability to put the advances of science and technology at the service of man. All these issues are moving to the forefront of today's ideological struggle.

The Object of Debate

It is not surprising that ideas keep clashing. The scientific and technological revolution is rapidly expanding and gaining depth. Reflections on its social impact are becoming ever more widespread. This impact is an object of intensive ideological debate between Marxists and adherents of the bourgeois worldview. The scientific and technological revolution is getting

an ever stronger grip on our attention primarily due to the fact that its current content and its possible effects in the foreseeable future are becoming clearer.

One can no longer doubt that the scientific and technological revolution which began in the mid-twentieth century has given rise to extremely profound changes in the productive forces. The scope and depth of its influence is determined above all by two factors. *First*, it is a *universal* revolution in the objective material conditions of society's existence and development, a revolution that draws *all* spheres of activity, some of them for the first time ever, into man's interrelationship with nature — outer space, the microstructures of living matter, and the crystalline structure of solids. *All* (four) objective elements of the productive forces — means of labour, objects of labour, technologies and energy sources — undergo revolutionary change; *both* main types of labour (manual and intellectual) have become open to widespread application of technology.

This universal character of the scientific and technological revolution is matched by the scale of its in-depth impact. This means that, *second*, people now have an unprecedented opportunity to transform the *fundamental* objective material conditions of their existence and development. Hence the global problems in which all mankind is the subject and the entire world — and, again, all mankind — the object. We must become aware of these fundamental realities — primarily, of the fact that the scientific and technological revolution has, for the first time in history, made the annihilation of civilisation a practical possibility.

The balance of nature and the cycle of natural process, which took millions of years to take shape, are very vulnerable. Purposeful efforts are needed to preserve them. In another unprecedented development, man can now manipulate genes to produce new species of plants and organisms — species not born of Mother Nature. Besides, it is also a fundamental objective fact that computers have begun to be used on a large scale in the field of intellectual activities. This expands the scope of intellectual work and exerts a major influence on the growth of labour productivity, on changes in the content and conditions of labour, and on the material conditions shaping the way of life.

Massive introduction of scientific and technological advances into the economy is radically changing the nature of labour performed by a rapidly increasing spectrum of people. In 1990, 500,000 jobs in the GDR will be included in a CAD/CAM network,¹ as envisioned in the decisions of the 11th SUPG Congress.

The changes in the means of production that are occurring or expected to occur fascinate people and awaken their imagination. Hosts of bourgeois technocratic philosophers speak at length, and often emotionally, about all sorts of fears and anxieties, and dress them in pseudoscientific garb, citing the latest trends in the development of the productive forces. These are in fact attempts to present age-old bourgeois myths in modern form. In his time, Karl Marx noted critically that such myths "result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and in stultifying human life into a material force".²

The ideological controversy centres above all on two sets of questions.

One of them relates to the *interconnection between scientific and technological progress and economic growth* and their significance for improving the human condition. All who are incensed by our economic policy, output growth, economic achievements and socialism in general insist that 'limited growth' is in order. Allied with them are those who, facing actual difficulties that deteriorate at times of crises, believe that utter denigration of economic development is the best way to defend capitalism. Finally, they are also joined by those who, although aware of the adverse social effects produced by the scientific and technological revolution, of the fact that labour loses all meaning and the environment is destroyed under capitalism, cannot bring themselves to recognise the socio-economic causes of these maladies.

The other set of questions concerns *society's ability to master the mechanics of directing technological progress*. These issues reflect the fears that technology may become uncontrollable. Again and again, we are told of a sorcerer's apprentice who cannot force the genie he has called forth back into the bottle.

The Questions Answered

Our age of far-reaching revolutionary transformations in the productive forces bears out the truth and the fruitfulness of the Marxist-Leninist worldview. It explains the significance of technology and the historical scope of the present-day scientific and technological revolution above all in the light of the working man's interests and increased labour productivity. At the same time, a theoretical summing-up of practical experience also emerges as an urgent task. Particularly valuable is that part of this experience which is now presented to the world by existing socialism, the system demonstrating clearly and palpably that a rationally organised society can put science and technology at the service of man and use them to make his life fuller. The role played by a vivid socialist example is growing rapidly.

The achievements of the GDR in all spheres of the social fabric, particularly after the Eighth Congress of the SUPG in 1971, should be credited first and foremost to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. It worked out a correct assessment of the dimensions and significance of the scientific and technological revolution, oriented our people on its demands firmly and in time, drew up and consistently implemented an economic strategy aimed at mastering the advances of science and technology, and pursued a policy to promote them and to ensure the training of personnel. All that is reflected in our republic's economic growth. The ability of socialist society to translate economic advancement into social progress is a fundamental moral and political advantage of socialism which gives the people good reason to view high technology favourably.

Technology as a whole is an aggregate of the material means which man's labour has produced and which he uses purposefully in his interrelationship with nature so as to transform its resources into objects of consumption. With the help of technology, particularly as a result of its improvement, man is constantly overcoming the contradiction between the

growth of his requirements (new ones keep cropping up, and they interact dialectically with the satisfaction of already existing needs) and the limited opportunities for making labour more effective given the available capabilities and means.

Technological progress is the decisive factor in a dynamic development of labour productivity because man's biological labour potential has hardly changed significantly from generation to generation — take man's store of energy for performing work over long periods, or the speed and accuracy of his logic. The means of production are the decisive material basis of a special type of human evolution which occurs through the transfer of knowledge and expertise, in a dialectical interdependent relationship between economic production and the reproduction of man-made habitat.

Like labour, of which it is a tool, technology is essential for the progress of the individual and of society. Marx described it as one of the "*objectified essential powers of man*".³ Any machinery embodies, in concentrated form, the knowledge and expertise of all preceding generations. A favourable attitude of the public to technology is thus determined by a similar attitude of society to the individual. Hostility towards technology is essentially anti-humanitarian. A society's stable ability to use scientific and technological progress *for the benefit of man*, translate its advances into social achievements, make man's labour more productive, provide all people with useful jobs and improve the content and the conditions of labour is a touchstone of this society's humanism.

How then do we approach the question of whether steady economic growth and scientific and technological progress are necessary? The arguments cited in an attempt to interpret both these elements as something unnatural are often deduced from comparisons with development processes in nature. But the economy has a social nature, and it operates according to completely different laws. No one denies that a tree cannot keep growing indefinitely, but that is not an economic law; an economic organism that does *not* grow or that grows *not the way it should* while having all economic resources, is sick. Technological progress, which largely determines the steady continuity of economic development, is as *infinite in duration* as the progress of human knowledge.

The debate over the prospects of the productive forces leaves the impression that our bourgeois opponents imply the attainment — somewhere, sometime — of a level in the satisfaction of human needs which is likely to be so high as to justify 'modest' subsequent economic growth. In actual fact, this level has not been achieved anywhere — either in developed capitalist nations where many people cannot afford even basic necessities or, all the more so, in the Third World countries where thousands starve to death precisely because of inadequate economic growth. As for the socialist countries, the programmes and policies of their communist and workers' parties leave no doubt that they view substantial economic growth as essential and basic to social development. For example, that is a goal of the policy steadily pursued by the SUPG. Since the early 1970s, annual economic growth rates in our country have averaged 4.5 per cent (in terms of the annual national income increment). That is the figure we shall need in the foreseeable future so as to attain our

objective of social progress.

Talk about 'limited' growth prompts one to wonder who actually advocates its 'slowdown'. Neither the monopolies nor the state nor the trade unions advance this as an objective. Apparently, it is the difficulties encountered by capitalist economies, particularly the 'zero growth' phenomenon and even the slumps that are the real reason behind the vigorous efforts to denigrate the social role of economic development. One would also say that this explains the attempts to reappraise the role of labour — upon a closer examination, an attempted reappraisal of *unemployment*. The fact that capitalist society cannot get rid of a huge 'reserve army of labour' has come as a bitter discovery to the more far-sighted of the bourgeois ideologists. But, given its high opinion of itself, this society naturally seeks to remove the disgraceful stigma of this social malady. Naturally, we share the attitude of the democratic forces which regard unemployment as a *major social problem* and work to abolish it.

Capitalist society is incapable of arriving at a rational and humanitarian approach to the scientific and technological revolution. Nonetheless, bourgeois ideologists and politicians have in recent years again turned to 'optimistic' economic growth concepts and assessments of technology. In advertising these notions, the conservative reactionary quarters demand that every individual 'exert more efforts' and 'take care of himself'; at the same time, they defend the policy of social rollback. They keep marshalling the untenable argument that scientific and technological progress under capitalism can alleviate social contradictions. But these claims are as divorced from reality as the thoroughly pessimistic views.

The record of the GDR and of other socialist countries proves that socialism makes it possible to master the advances of science and technology and to make people socially secure. That is also true of our future prospects. Now that the year 2000 is drawing near, we are interested in the '*future of labour*', mostly because we strive purposefully to use every opportunity offered by modern science and technology, particularly in key economic branches, in order to make labour more meaningful and creative, so that it would promote the development of the individual.

No one in our country regards the rise in labour productivity with the fear, so widespread in the capitalist world, that labour will soon become socially 'redundant', that ever more people will have to make do without jobs and to find some kind of substitute *raison d'être*. Today, it is hardly worthwhile debating the rates of economic growth or the duration of the workweek 20, 30 or 100 years from now. We are convinced, however, that a meaningful life is impossible without meaningful labour: it is socially useful activity that enables man to grasp what he actually is and what he can accomplish. In a rationally organised society, the sources of useful jobs for all who want to work will never dry up. Stable and rapid economic growth vigorously backed by the scientific and technological revolution provides a *reliable material basis for the development of socialist society* in all fields. Socialism will make life not only more enjoyable but also more secure.

Solving Problems Through Progress

The development of modern technology makes it necessary to find ways of anticipating its possible effects, including its undesirable consequences. One must say that progress itself offers new opportunities for anticipating dangers and preventing them by practical action. The ability of electronic systems to monitor their own operation objectively and automatically and to identify and correct the mistakes made is one such opportunity. The reality of computer-aided control is rising thanks to the rapidly developing sensor equipment, control and measurement instruments and powerful microprocessors. It would therefore be a mistake to claim that as it advances, technology is becoming increasingly anonymous, less understandable and more difficult to manage as far as man is concerned. Naturally, such cases do occur; still, it is the opposite trend which is dominant. And although man's senses cannot follow the operation of microchips (which constitute the broadening base of technological progress), technology itself lends us a helping hand.

Modern measurement equipment, computers and displays are making processes that escape our sensory perception visible to us. The development of education and training enables the worker to delve into technological processes and theoretically deduce their 'inner patterns'. That is important not only for practical occupational activities but also for enabling the worker to grasp the meaning and rationale of his job. The combination of scientific and technological progress with improvements in the system of education and training highlights a major advantage of socialism. Young men and women in the GDR have long been trained for an occupation during their ten years of school. Twenty-five per cent of those who start their careers have received a higher or a specialised education. The share of workers with no or only basic training diminished from 41 per cent in 1970 to 15 per cent in 1985 and will be 10 per cent in 1990.

True, technology is growing increasingly complicated. At the same time, its progress provides us with the ways and means of ensuring that the interaction between man and machine would not be as complicated for the operator as the machine itself but, on the contrary, would become more interesting and diversified. Improvements in informatics and communications point unmistakably to a trend aimed at facilitating man's contact with automated systems, effecting it with the help of a natural language (at first in writing and later orally), and increasing the scope of operations which can be performed without recourse to a computer language (today, the number of workers who have to master a computer language is growing). All this expands the sphere of *creative labour* and makes it necessary to follow technological rules more closely. High technology can indeed be designed to suit human parameters.

Numerous facts confirm that technological progress itself creates opportunities for tackling the problems that result from it. According to Marx, the development and growth of contradictions is accompanied by the emergence of objective conditions for overcoming them. Naturally, they cannot be overcome at once. As the productive forces develop, an

aggravation of contradictions may occur if they are not dealt with dialectically. That is why all sorts of fears are voiced with regard to their consequences — particularly when only the phase of obvious growth and exacerbation of contradictions is singled out of evolutionary processes, when the trends dominating this phase are oversimplified, 'summed up' and projected into the future, and when no effort is made to anticipate a qualitative breakthrough in the course of development.

For example, there was much talk in the 1950s and early 1960s about an *information crisis*. Fears were expressed that the rate at which new knowledge was accumulated was fast outstripping our ability to systematically arrange and use the available store of knowledge, that its burden was gaining weight and that mankind would be unable to bear it. Further progress of science was called into question. These assertions were backed by references to actual facts, such as the rapid growth of discoveries and inventions. Proponents of this view said that it was easier to invent something anew than to try and find out whether the invention in question had already been recorded somewhere. These fears are no longer justified. Progress in informatics and communications has produced a completely different and even opposite situation: *access to knowledge has become easier, faster and less expensive*.

The arguments and the methods used in connection with today's environmental problems often resemble those which were advanced with regard to the information crisis. In fact, a radical reappraisal of our relationship with nature (especially of the ways natural resources are used) is in order. An increase in output is not necessarily tied inexorably to an increase in the extraction and processing of minerals. The problem should be solved through the development of new technologies, through advanced methods of utilising industrial waste and through the creation of closed, wasteless systems. Environmental protection should be made progressively profitable, and economic growth should be coupled with environmental improvement through thrifty, not wasteful methods. But even in this case the expenditures necessary for environmental protection will remain sizeable and will not produce a direct financial effect. Decisive results will be achieved by a switch from extensive processing of natural resources to intensive use of the natural potential, a major factor in the intensification of the entire economic reproduction process. For many years now, economic growth in the GDR has been based on savings in material resources. Economic growth is secured without any increase in the consumption of major energy sources or raw materials.

Scientific and technological progress creates growing opportunities for resource-saving economic development and utilisation of waste. Suffice it to mention the promising prospects of biotechnology. Many signs indicate that a hundred years into the future our rivers will again be as clean as they were a hundred years ago. Like the 'industrial age' (periods of relatively high economic growth rates) and the subsequent 'post-industrial society' with its slowdown in socio-economic progress, the aggravation of the environmental situation will be seen as an 'episode' of history — naturally, if science and technology are used rationally and if the huge resources currently squandered on the arms race are channelled into ensuring

resource-saving and environmentally safe economic development. Cooperation of countries with different social systems is essential for the solution of global problems.

In the final analysis, the deadly threat mankind is now facing makes it imperative to prevent the runaway pursuit of profit from affecting the course of the scientific and technological revolution, particularly in arms manufacture. In order to improve the quality of life, the same should be accomplished in biotechnology, informatics and generally in all spheres of human activity. Changes in working conditions are also important.

It follows that it is not simply a 'different' technology but a *new society* which can put the progressively developing productive forces fully at the service of man and prevent their transformation into what Marx called 'destructive forces'. The thing the scientific and technological revolution has exposed is not the 'obsolescence of man' but the obsolescence of the social system which provides the social breeding ground for war and is unable to cope with the Janus-faced scientific and technological revolution.

¹ CAD/CAM stands for 'computer-aided design' and 'computer-aided manufacturing'. — *Ed.*

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 500.

³ See Marx, Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 302.

viewpoints

Phased Acceleration (Notes of Soviet Economist)

Academician Abel Aganbegyan
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IT is more than two and a half years since the April 1985 Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU, which announced a new strategy: *acceleration of the country's economic and social development*.

This conception has many facets, and its aim is not only to radically change development trends in the USSR, but to move on from the period

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of economic stagnation in the late 1970s and early 1980s to steadily increasing the economic potential by an annual average of 4-5 per cent a year. What is even more important is to give growth a new quality and to bring about a radical change in its content, sources and orientation. The acceleration is to renovate our economy and to boost it to a level at which all the advantages of socialism are more amply in evidence. The idea is to carry the economy to the most forward line, to attain the world's highest productivity of social labour and product quality and to improve the Soviet people's well being. Mikhail Gorbachov's slogan is: *'More Socialism!'*.

Radical changes are being effected in the USSR in the course of perestroika, a revolutionary way of transforming the society. As a new political term, it differs from such concepts as 'improvement', which is characteristic of another, evolutionary type of development. The immediate task of perestroika is to break up the mechanism, which took shape in the past and which has acted as a brake on our growth, and to replace it with a mechanism of acceleration. "We can now speak of entry upon a new phase of the perestroika, as our entire policy and all our decisions are being transformed into concrete deeds and translated into life", Mikhail Gorbachov said in the Report, which he delivered at the jubilee meeting to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. "Our ideas, plans, approaches and work methods will now be put to the test by life itself."¹

In my view, we have advanced most in the ideological sphere: it is easier to breathe. The economy is more intractable. Here, three main lines of our efforts have taken form: first, the swing to a priority solution of social problems; second, the switch of the economy to the way of intensification and faster scientific and technical progress; and third, a radical reform in economic management and administration. Let us look briefly at our schemes and actions, and the first few successes and failures along each of these lines.

Priority for the Social Sphere

It is important, above all, to bridge the unwarranted gap between the country's industrial might, its developed science and culture, and the high education levels among the Soviet people, on the one hand, and the extent to which their material and social requirements are being satisfied, on the other.

This gap has largely sprung from our hard history: we have had to economise on every rouble as we reallocated funds and resources for industrialisation, defence, and then for the needs of the war against fascism and the rehabilitation of the post-war economy. But even later, in the mid-1950s and 1960s, we failed to bridge the gap despite several attempts. Indeed, the lag of the social sphere became more pronounced over the past 15 years, when there were signs of negative trends and a decline in the rate of development and efficiency of production. Our social allocations were made on the 'residual principle': investments and other resources went first of all into production, while improvement of living standards got only what remained.

As a result, for instance, the proportion of outlays on housing

construction dropped from 23 per cent in 1960 to 14-15 per cent in the past five years. In that same period, outlays on education declined from 10 per cent (once the highest in the world) to 7 per cent. Public health services received less than 4 per cent of the country's national income, and turned out to be neglected. The food complex, the provision of consumer goods to the population were markedly retarded, with the service sphere remaining embryonic.

Concern for human beings and their good *are now the basic task of perestroika*. The first thing to do was to change our priorities, to bring the problem of raising living standards to the fore, to make this work proceed faster, and to subordinate the growth of all other sectors to our social objectives.

The trends which became pronounced in the past and the forces of inertia are being overcome, even if with difficulty. The first few successes are already in evidence.

Let me begin with *housing*, the most acute problem for our country. Over the past 20 years, the volume of housing construction has not increased for all practical purposes. But over the past two years we have managed to reverse the trend: in the past we built 105-110 million square metres a year, in 1985 113 million, and in 1986 over 118 million. In the nine months of 1987, we built 14 per cent more housing space than in the same period of 1986, and that has made it possible to revise our plans. The Political Bureau of the CPSU CC recently set a new target for the current, 12th Five Year Plan period: 630 million sq.m. of housing (as compared with the 560-565 million targeted by the 27th Congress). By the year 2000 we intend to build a total of 40 million flats and houses, and that, we estimate, is enough to provide *every family with a home of its own* (just now only 83 per cent of our families are so provided). The state is to build the bulk of the housing, which is made available to the working people on easy terms. Soviet families now allocate only 2.7 per cent of their budgets for housing and community services. We intend to go on being the country with the lowest rents in the world. *Better nutrition* is another problem requiring solution. In the 11th Five Year Plan period, we failed to make any real headway in solving it, because agricultural output went up by only 6 per cent, while the population grew by 4 per cent, so we have had to import large quantities of forage cereals and meat. In the current five-year period, we intend to increase agricultural growth rate by 150 per cent, that is, to raise it to 14.4 per cent.

With that end in view, a number of large-scale measures are being put through. We have switched to a new scientific, technical and investment policy with emphasis on intensive technologies. The entire system of administration of the agro-industrial complex has been modified, collective and state farms now have more independence in using the proceeds of their economic management, and collective and family contracts are widespread. These measures are having a positive effect.

In 1986, agricultural output went up by 5.1 per cent, and as compared with the annual average for the previous five-year period, production has increased as follows: cereals from 180 million to 210 million tons; meat from 16.2 million to 17.7 million tons; milk from 94.6 million to 101.1

million tons; in the nine months of 1987, meat output was 6 per cent higher, and milk 2 per cent higher than for the same period of 1986. In 1986 and 1987, agricultural output went up by about 10 per cent. This has enabled us to cut back our food imports considerably and noticeably to increase the sale to the population of meat and milk products, vegetables and fruits.

We are well aware that only the first few steps have been taken, and that there is still a long way to go to fully meeting the requirements of our population. One should also bear in mind that if the effective demand for meat and milk products is to be satiated, the very low *retail prices* in state marketing will have to be corrected, for they have not been reviewed over the past quarter-century. The subsidies here have reached 57 billion roubles a year. It was emphasised at the June 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC that the retail-price reform is to be effected in the most democratic way, in discussion with the people, and in such a way as not to lower the people's living standards, and to raise those of some groups of the population. The prospect is that, if meat and milk prices are raised, there will be a parallel compensation of the higher expenditures by the population in the form of direct additional payments.

Saturating the *consumer goods market* is another important social problem in the USSR. In the current five-year period, the consumer goods output rate is to go up by 50 per cent, as compared with the previous five-year period and, most importantly, the quality and range of goods are to be markedly improved. A new economic mechanism was recently introduced in the light industry and marketing. Enterprises turning out consumer goods now frame their plans in accordance with orders from marketing enterprises, which are themselves made dependent on the satisfaction of demand. Major steps are being taken for the technical remodelling of our light industry. Foreign enterprises and companies, mostly from the socialist countries, are being more actively involved in the Soviet market.

Our attitude to the *service sector* has also undergone a sharp change. In the 11th Five Year Plan period, the volume of paid services went up by only 25 per cent, whereas the goal in the current five-year period is to increase it by 50 per cent. Over the past two years plan targets were exceeded.

The development of *cooperatives and individual labour activity* will be of great help in these efforts. The legislation allowing and encouraging such activity was enacted only a short while ago, but 8,000 cooperatives have already been set up (as of October 1, 1987); 200,000 persons have got down to individual labour. For the time being, the impact of this sector, a new one for us, is still weak, but, as the experience of other socialist countries indicates, much can be expected of it in the long run.

Improving the health of Soviet citizens is one of the most burning problems. There was no improvement in this sphere over the past 15 years, and even a worsening in some respects. That is why great efforts and resources are being directed at the solution of this problem. In 1986 — for the first time in 20 years — life expectancy in the USSR went up by one year; mortality, including child mortality, went down. One-third fewer people of working age died of accidents, poisonings or injuries. Along with

greater attention to public health care, there was the effect of the drive against hard drinking, as a result of which the sale of alcoholic drinks was halved within two years. But much more remains to be done. A programme for improving the health of the population and for restructuring the public health system has been drafted and published for discussion by the whole people.

These and other steps to improve the people's well-being are closely bound up with the assertion of the *principle of social justice* in our life. The size of pay, material incentives and the social development fund now depend on what the work collective has done. Under self-management and democratisation, the work collectives themselves decide how to use their earnings.

At the same time, there has been an extension of the rights of local territorial organs, their budgets have been increased, and they are entitled to use a part of the funds allocated to producer construction and to put more into the construction of housing and social and cultural facilities. These new potentialities are being widely used by the front-ranking collectives, many districts and regions. The June 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC demanded faster satisfaction of the urgent needs of the population, and efforts to have every Soviet family feel the changes for the better over the next two or three years.

The Goal Is Intensive Development

The specific feature of this period is that we must solve the problem of acceleration with a decline in the growth of resources. The increment in the replenishment of labour-power has been going down by between 30 and 75 per cent because the demographic effects of the war have now begun to tell most tangibly. The worsening of mining, geological and economic conditions has caused a 60 per cent drop in the rate of extraction growth in fuel and raw materials. Due to the earlier decline in development rate and a shrinking of the share of accumulation in the national income, the growth of capital investments has also slowed down by 60 per cent, and this was followed by a drop in the rate at which basic producer assets are being built up. All of this shows that over the long term we have to make social production more efficient both to compensate for the slower increment of resources and ensure the country's faster economic and social development. Here is a comparison of past figures and estimates for the future:

Growth Of Indicators (times)

	1971-1985 actual	1986-2000 projected
National income	1.8	2.0
Producer resources		
Fixed producer assets	3.0	2.0
Extraction of fuel and raw materials	1.5	1.2
Number of workers in producer sectors	1.15	0.9
Efficiency of social production		
Product-to-assets ratio	0.6	1.0
Efficiency in the use of fuels and raw materials	1.2	1.65
Social labour productivity	1.6	2.3-2.5

That comparison shows the need to at least double the rate of labour-productivity growth, to treble the efficiency in the use of fuel and raw materials, and to stabilise the product-to-assets ratio which declined steadily in the past.

Such a radical change in the factors of economic growth requires deep structural changes, with *scientific and technical progress* becoming the main instrument of intensification. We shall have to bring about truly revolutionary changes, and to switch to a new generation of hardware and basically different technological processes. The science and scientific-technical reserves for such a switch are basically there. After all, we have a powerful scientific potential, and spend nearly 5 per cent of the national income to finance science, which is more than in most of the other developed countries in the world. Why then has scientific and technical progress in our country moved at such a slow pace, and why have we lagged so seriously in this area behind the leaders?

The reason lies in the unsatisfactory materialisation of scientific and technical achievements and in the inadequate use of available technical projects for starting the manufacture of high-tech products. The main brakes here are the backwardness of many engineering industries, and an incorrect investment policy under which the bulk of the resources were channelled into new construction, while there was virtually no renovation of the product mix and the existing fixed assets which tended to become obsolete.

Specialists estimate that 71 per cent of machinery and equipment turned out in 1985 fell short of modern demands and must be withdrawn from production. Indeed, one could hardly have expected anything different, considering that in 1985, for instance, only 3.1 per cent of engineering products were renovated. There is good reason, therefore, why the party has set the task of raising that indicator to 9.3 per cent in 1988, and to 13 per cent in 1990. Consequently, within five years we shall have to withdraw from production almost one-half of the engineering products and to start turning out products embodying the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The new hardware will have to ensure, as a minimum, a 1.5-2.0-fold rise in productivity and reliability, with a reduction in metal-intensiveness by 12-18 per cent.

The basic technical facilities in engineering will have to be renovated in order to carry out such a major structural shift. In the past, only 1.8 per cent of the active part of fixed producer assets in this sector was modernised at operating plants on average every year. We now want to raise this coefficient to 9-10 per cent and for that purpose we have been working to enlarge machine-tool building and instrument-making by doubling capital investments in these industries. In this five-year period, the output of equipment by other Soviet engineering ministries is to be increased four-fold, and more of it is to be purchased abroad, first of all in the socialist countries. We intend to have the new hardware running in two shifts, and the most costly and modern hardware, even in three shifts.

All of this can be achieved in the course of a radical renovation of engineering, and that is the firm line we have taken. Capital investments in the reconstruction and re-equipment of engineering enterprises were

already increased by 30 per cent in 1986, and that is roughly as much as in the preceding five-year period. Attention to this sector also called for a major general reallocation of funds: in the 11th Five Year Plan period, investments in engineering went up by only 24 per cent, whereas in this five-year period they are to go up by 80 per cent. The targets for the past two years have been surpassed.

Our strategic scheme is to rebuild engineering much faster, to start the mass production of new hardware as the basis for *remodelling the rest of industries*. In this 12th Five Year Plan period, we intend to double the norm of renovation of the active part of the fixed producer assets in the economy.

It is true that, for the time being, we have not attained any qualitative shift in intensifying the economy, but we have achieved the first few positive results. From 1979 to 1984, industrial output annually went up by 3 to 4 per cent, including labour productivity by 2.0-3.5 per cent; in 1985 (after the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC) and in 1986, the industrial growth rate went up to 5.0 per cent, and productivity to 4.5 per cent. Productivity growth has also markedly accelerated in the other sectors. In the social sector of agriculture, productivity rose by 6.9 per cent in 1986, as against 1.5 per cent over the preceding five years; in building, respectively by 4.3 and 2.6 per cent; and in railway transport, by 7.6 and 1.6 per cent. Beginning with 1987, virtually *the whole increase* in social output is being ensured by rising labour productivity for the first time in our history.

The growth of the product-to-assets ratio has also noticeably improved. With a smaller increase in fixed assets, the national income has been growing at a faster rate. Prime costs in industry were diminishing 60 per cent, and in building 50 per cent faster than the annual average in the 11th Five Year Plan period.

But these positive changes have largely resulted from temporary factors — tighter discipline, more order, and a higher sense of responsibility — and are not yet generated by the new economic mechanism and faster scientific and technical progress, which is why they are not stable.

There are still great reserves of efficiency in *higher product-quality* on which full satisfaction of social requirements also depends. That is why it is now being given primary attention. Last year, the state began to enact lower prices for products falling short of top quality. Conversely, higher prices have been set for competitive goods. Consumers have long been the main source of pressure for higher product-quality, and we are moving towards it within the framework of a radical reform of the economic management and administration system.

Although the main elements of this reform are to be put through from 1988 to 1990, low product-quality cannot be tolerated for a single day. Accordingly, we have taken a hard decision which has caused much controversy: we have introduced *State Reception of Products* at 1,500 enterprises, which means control by independent state inspection teams. That caused a shock at some plants and factories. Work collectives turning out low-quality products found themselves in dire straits: they no longer received bonuses and wages declined. But most workers, engineers and

technicians realised the need for this harsh measure in the interests of the society, and they have worked hard to overcome these failings eventually.

Reconstruction and technical re-equipment have been gathering momentum, and the economy is being switched to intensive development, although slower than one would like.

How to Manage and Administer

The June 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC approved the Basic Lines of the Radical Restructuring of Economic Administration and recommended that the USSR Supreme Soviet should enact The Law on the State Enterprise, together with the addenda proposed in the course of the five-month discussion by the whole people. It also approved, in the main, a package of draft decrees on restructuring the activity of sectoral, territorial and central organs of administration. Soon after the Plenary Meeting, a session of the Supreme Soviet enacted the Law on the State Enterprise, while the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers approved the decrees on restructuring planning, price-formation, finance, etc.² A clear schedule for transition to the new conditions of economic management has been drawn up. This year enterprises turning out almost 60 per cent of the industrial product have started to operate on full economic calculus and self-financing, and from January 1, 1989 this will apply to all the others.

Several new banks have been set up, among them those for industrial construction, agrarian-industrial, housing and community service banks, and they are closely linked to the sectors of the economy. A drastic price reform is to be effected in 1989 and 1990. There is a parallel switch of financing to a normative basis. We have been switching from centralised material and technical supply to wholesale trade in producer goods. In 1990, almost 60 per cent of every type of producer goods are to be sold, and by 1992, the figure is to go up to 80-90 per cent.

Briefly speaking, *a large-scale shift is under way: from talk about improving the system of administration and experiments to actual measures designed to set the new economic mechanism in motion.*

The present stage is a peculiar and complicated one. The switch of associations and enterprises to full economic calculus and self-financing will be effected under the old price system and the prevalence of centralised material and technical supply. The current five-year plan, which was drawn up in 1985 and 1986 under the old administrative set-up, is having an effect on the operations of enterprises.

Nonetheless, work collectives are already being given broad scope for independent decisions. They can make use of an ever larger part of their product according to their own lights. A sizeable part of the profit (up to 56 per cent of total volume in engineering) will remain at the disposal of the producers to be used by them as incentives: to set up a fund for the development of production, science and technology (in addition to a part of the profits, it will include depreciation write-offs); a social development fund, from which, in particular, money may be used to build housing and social and everyday facilities, for the maintenance of young pioneer camps

and nursery schools; and finally, a material incentives fund.

The gist of the new administration and management system is transition to mainly economic methods: by means of normals, which are set for the associations and enterprises for a period of five years, by means of prices and financial and credit instruments and incentives. Commodity-money relations are to have a very much greater role to play. A producer goods market is to take shape. Price-formation is to be partially decentralised. But our market will remain a socialist one, regulated in accordance with plan. The USSR will have no sale either of natural resources, enterprises, or labour-power; there will be neither a money market nor a stock market. Economic administration means administration through the interests of enterprises and work collectives. The normals, prices and other instruments and incentives are designed to concert the interests of the enterprises and of the society as a whole.

Economic methods are to replace administrative methods which have been predominant over almost 60 years and which were based on directive assignments to concrete producers, on the centralised allocation of producer goods, and a detailed regulation of enterprise activity.

Attempts to limit administrative methods and give scope to economic regulation were made on two occasions in the past: in the mid-1950s and in the mid-1960s. On both occasions important and positive results were attained for a brief period. But then there was a relapse into the old practices, rates declined, and indicators worsened once again. When the economy moved into stagnation at the end of the 10th and at the beginning of the 11th Five Year Plan period, a pre-crisis situation took shape as a result of the sharpening conflict between the level of the productive forces attained, and the urgent requirements of the society, on the one hand, and the obsolete and conserved system of administration, on the other.

The old administrative methods became the core of the slowdown mechanism. Unless we put it behind us we cannot hope to go on to acceleration. *The radical perestroika, the radical reform of administration is not just some desire on the part of individual leaders or social groups, but an objective imperative of the society's continued development.*

One is often faced with a question that is, on the whole, well justified: will not this third attempt to switch to economic methods end where earlier ones have ended? What is the guarantee that the restructuring of administration will be carried to the end?

The final, I should say, the historical answer will be provided only by time, by the actual results. But we are now in a position to discourse on this subject with good ground, relying on the early results of perestroika and taking account of its programme.

For one thing, we have tried to learn the lessons of the past. The introduction of economic methods then applied only to individual spheres of the economy, and not to the whole of it. At the time, an attempt was made to implant an alien economic tissue into an integral administrative body. The result was inevitable: the organism rejected the alien tissue and there was a relapse into the old command methods. Such a mistake is not being allowed today.

In contrast to past experience, the current radical reform of

administration is *complex and comprehensive*, ranging over every unit and sector of the economy, without being confined to the economy proper. The renovation is being effected with a restructuring of economic policy as a whole, and of the society as a whole.

In the mid-1960s, the reorganisation of the economic mechanism in industry and agriculture did not go hand in hand with changes in the superstructure. Party and Soviet organs largely remained on the sidelines. Today, the Central Committee, the whole party and the Soviet power as a whole have put their stake on a radical restructuring which they initiated.

Another key lesson is the involvement of the working masses in perestroika. The economic reforms of the 1950s and 1960s were effected from 'the top' and did not envisage a simultaneous transition to self-governance and democratisation. At the time, the administrative principle remained the dominant one within the economic mechanism. Things are different today. There is a more resolute swing to economic methods which are becoming the dominant ones. And this is backed up not only by measures from the top, but also by the switch to self-management and the growing role of the work collective.

Unprecedented decisions have been taken in our country: on approval of the enterprise plan by its own work collective as the last instance; on the work collective's right to decide on how the incentives funds are to be used; and on the election of the executives of the production line — from the team leader and section head to the director of the enterprise and the director-general of the association.

The main thing is that the transformations in economic life are being carried out as a part of a comprehensive and deeper process of *democratic renewal of the society*. And it is democratisation and self-governance that will make acceleration irreversible, as the driving force behind it.

Our perestroika is still at the beginning of the road. It has been gaining in depth and breadth. The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC put forward a conception of the main lines of perestroika. The ideas of modern scientific, technical, investment and structural policy were concretised and elaborated by a meeting at the CPSU CC in June of that year. The basic tasks of acceleration were further elaborated by the party's 27th Congress. The new edition of the CPSU Programme formulated the strategy for the short term. The Basic Lines of the USSR's Economic and Social Development, presenting the ideas of perestroika in terms of targets for the 12th Five Year Plan period and until the year 2000, were approved. The Congress backed up the turn towards an emphatic social policy. The January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC has a special place in fully formulating the task of democratising our society and in determining the fundamentals of cadre policy in the present conditions. The June 1987 Plenary Meeting then approved the programme for a radical reform of administration.

The two subsequent steps along the road of renovation have also been predetermined. It has been announced that one of the next plenary meetings of the CPSU CC will deal with the conception of the 13th Five Year Plan period. It is to become a significant stage upon which we shall enter with a new system of economic management and administration, and

with a renovated engineering sector. It will be a five-year period of accelerated pace in scientific and technical progress and major social shifts, and, I believe, it will yield visible fruit.

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU slated for the end of next June. On its agenda are the results of the work in implementing the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, perestroika and the tasks ahead; and the further democratisation of life in the party and the society. There is no doubt that the Conference will impart a fresh and powerful impetus to the deepening and development of all the transformations in the Soviet Union on the basis of further democratisation of the society, and will bring out socialism's mighty potential even more fully.

¹ *Pravda*, November 3, 1987.

² See A Collection of Documents *Radical Restructuring of Economic Administration*, Moscow, 1987 — *Ed.*

The Socialist State And The Church

José Ocaña — Cuban journalist

ALL Cubans, including believers of different denominations who do not oppose their religious beliefs to the noble ideal of building a new society that they regard as just and humanistic, have been taking an ever more active and consistent part in fulfilling the great plans for socialist construction.

The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (CPC) in 1975 approved the theses and a corresponding resolution on the attitude to religion, the church and believers. These were reaffirmed by the Second Congress in 1980, and by the Third Congress in 1986. The CPC Programme and other party documents contain a scientific Marxist-Leninist substantiation of our position.

We have taken due account of the experience of the international communist movement and of the other fraternal socialist countries, and of the impact of the Cuban Revolution on Latin America and on the whole of the so-called Third World, but we have paid special attention to the concrete lessons of the initial stage of the revolutionary process, the period of open confrontation with the church hierarchy. What was of crucial importance at the time was *the correct political line* worked out on the basis of the party's experience and Fidel Castro's ideas.

The Catholic Church in Cuba was traditionally linked to Spanish colonialism and later to imperialism and reaction. Our enemies, who first tried to direct the revolutionary process along the conservative-bourgeois way, and later came out openly against the radical transformations, tried to mobilise the Catholic Church, its hierarchy and most of the clergy.

We continue our series on the attitude of Marxists to religion, the church and believers (see *WMR*, No. 3, 1986; Nos. 2, 4, 8, 10, 1987).

The CC Report to the party's First Congress stressed: "One of the first measures of the Revolution was to mete out exemplary punishment to those who were principally responsible for the crimes perpetrated by the Batista tyranny. The torturers and the assassins, among whose victims were numerous patriots, had never before had to pay for their deeds. This elementary act of justice, which our people unanimously demanded, caused a fierce campaign in the imperialist press against the Revolution."¹ The church hierarchy immediately joined in the campaign.

The first agrarian reform law promulgated in Cuba on May 17 of that year, like other measures, testified to the depth of the revolutionary process. It hit not only at the Cuban latifundists but also at US imperialism, because many US monopolies owned vast tracts of the most fertile lands, mainly under their sugar plantations. The initial response of the church authorities was not a negative one. But on June 7, apparently under external pressure, the Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba decided to 'rectify' his attitude to the agrarian reform. He began to talk about 'grave errors' and to claim that the law was a 'communist' one. The attitude of the church hierarchy and the reactionary clergy — most of them foreigners closely linked to the embassies of the United States and Franco's Spain — subsequently became ever more hostile.

That is clear from the example of the National Catholic Congress held in Havana. That religious forum was preceded by a vicious campaign of misinformation orchestrated in the United States. Among other things it was claimed that two Cuban priests had fled the country and requested asylum from the United States and that Fidel Castro was about to sever the ties of the Cuban church with the Holy See. Although the two clergymen arrived in Miami in the usual way and had absolutely no cause to apply for 'asylum', the slanderous statements the 'refugees' made in the local press touched off a veritable anti-Cuban witches' sabbath.

The pulpits became a rostrum for subversive agitation and political opposition. A significant number of those who headed church-related organisations (among them the Catholic Association and the Catholic Labour Youth) in fact joined with the various groups financed by the CIA. There was a proliferation of pastoral letters poisoned with the venom of anti-communism.

While the people were striving to fulfil the Moncada Programme,² and to resist the aggressive acts of the imperialists and their accomplices, the Church tried to split the revolutionary masses. On August 7, 1960, the Episcopate declared: "Let no one contemplate calling on the Catholics to abandon their opposition to the new doctrines for the sake of a misconceived civil unity, because we cannot accept that without betraying our fundamental principles."

Provocations engineered by the Catholic clergy grew more frequent starting from July 1960, particularly in Havana. One of them cost a young worker his life: he was killed by a shot fired from the Church of Mercy. Private schools, mostly Catholic ones, began to engage in criminal and openly counter-revolutionary activities, creating the breeding ground for terrorist acts such as the explosion of a powerful bomb that injured several girls.

The bishops soon issued a pastoral letter, the text of which was completely identical with the text of a declaration imposed by Washington on the Latin American foreign ministers at a conference of the Organisation of American States in San José.³

On April 18, 1960 a group of Committees to Defend the Revolution activists discovered a cache of medical drugs in a Havana Catholic church where Bishop Boza Masvidal, notorious for his hostility to the people's government, preached. The drugs were to be delivered to various subversive groups which planned armed rebellion. (The bishop was arrested but soon freed, and this provided additional proof of the tolerance shown in such cases.) Close involvement of some priests in counter-revolutionary forays is also borne out by the fact that during the 1961 invasion of the mercenaries in the Bay of Pigs, three priests were taken prisoner. They were Lugo, La Hera and Machado Castillo, the latter a Jesuit.

Later, the counter-revolutionaries turned to certain Evangelical churches and sects — the Pentecostals, the Gideons and Jehovah's Witnesses. Guided by their US-based leaders, the latter encouraged unbridled fanaticism, practised rites deleterious to health, and tried to create difficulties in the national economy and disrupt patriotic education.

Hierarchs of the Church in Cuba were given wide support by the top of the church hierarchy in the United States, which took an overtly hostile attitude to our Revolution. When imperialism stepped up its provocations against Cuba, the then Archbishop of Boston, Cardinal Cushing, accompanied Senator Saltonstall on his provocative visit to the illegal naval base at Guantánamo, a US enclave on Cuban territory. The US Cardinal Spellman, notorious for his furious attacks on Cuba and the national liberation movements in Latin America, called on Catholics at an international Eucharistic Congress in Munich⁴ in 1960 to donate money for the purchase of arms for the mercenaries who were already being trained for an invasion of our country.

But none of that changed the policy with respect to religion, the church and believers, which had been consistently pursued since the storming of the Moncada and the fighting in Sierra Maestra. Those who wanted to fight the Batista tyranny were never asked by anyone whether they professed any religion, just as no one was expelled from the ranks of the insurgents on such grounds. Guillermo Sardiñas, a priest, rose during the revolutionary war to the rank of Commandante of the Insurgent Army. *Respect for religious views has always been an unalterable principle of the Revolution*, even when imperialism and reaction criminally tried to manipulate religious faith in an effort to frustrate just social transformations.

Fidel Castro, in his TV appearances and public speeches, has pointed to the basically class and earthly character of the conflict of the early years of the people's power, and has always drawn a distinction between sincere faith and its manipulation by imperialism and reaction. In a speech in 1961 he said this about the church hierarchs: "It is they, they alone who provoked that conflict, because they represented the ruling classes and were in the service of the ruling classes and imperialism, and so came out

against us in the people's fight against imperialism and the ruling classes."⁵ He went on to stress that "they want to identify themselves with religion and to create the impression that in fighting against the anti-social, anti-people and counter-revolutionary activity we are fighting against religion."⁶

"Imperialism has tried to confront the Catholic Church and the Revolution but has been exposed," wrote *Noticias de Hoy* in January 1962. "Some reactionary circles of the Church wanted to use the Church against the Revolution, but they, too, were exposed. Events have taken their course, and the imperialists have begun to lose hope of managing to use the Catholic Church as an instrument of counter-revolution."

The Communist Party of Cuba has always upheld the principle of *respect for the religious beliefs of any citizen and for the cult*. The revolutionary power has not taken over or closed down any churches, and has not hindered the activity of any clergyman wishing to exercise his proper religious functions.

The historical continuity of the CPC's principled policy with respect to religion, the church and believers is also reflected in Cuba's Constitution. Its Article 54 says: "The Socialist State, whose activity is based on and which educates the people in the scientific materialist conception of the world, shall recognise and guarantee freedom of conscience and every citizen's right to profess any religion and to practise the cult of his preference with observance of the law."⁷

Freedom of conscience and the practice of religious ritual are protected by the Constitution and the Penal Code⁸. The only requirement is respect for the law, which guarantees to believers the material and juridical conditions for the exercise of their rights. It also protects and guarantees the freedom not to profess any religion and to disseminate the scientific world outlook, on which the activity of the socialist state is based.

The CPC sets itself the task of patiently and systematically disseminating among the masses the scientific materialist conceptions of Nature, society and thought, while showing respect for the religious feelings of believers. Our political and ideological work in spreading the scientific world outlook is aimed to *involve all citizens, including believers, in effecting revolutionary transformations and building a socialist society*. The socialist consciousness of the masses is being developed through their assimilation of Marxist-Leninist ideas, primarily those which are connected with the people's own conscious activity.

The consistent application of our policy with respect to religion, the church and believers has become the crucial factor in maintaining normal relations with the immense majority of religious institutions in the country. As for the Catholic Church, following the confrontation of the early post-revolutionary years there has recently been an evolutionary process which, for all its nuances, shows that *the religious institutions have been adapting themselves to the Cuban reality*.

The first signs of this process were evident in April 1969, when the Episcopate circulated a message to all the Catholic churches in protest against Cuba's blockade by the United States. Later, on September 8, it issued another document, 'On the Faith and Atheism', calling on the flock

"not to shrink from practical cooperation in solving our earthly tasks". The Episcopal Conference at the end of 1976 condemned terrorism generally, and in particular the criminal act in Barbados against a plane of the Cuban Airlines.

In his speech at the Meeting of Believers for Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship held within the framework of the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana in July 1978, the then chairman of the Episcopal Conference of Cuba Archbishop of Havana Francisco Oves stressed the "consonance" of what he called "our socialist society and the requirements of the Christian faith". At the end of 1981, representatives of the Cuban Catholic Church took part in a meeting held on the initiative of a group of progressive-minded Christians in a Methodist church in Havana. A document condemning the imminent aggression of the United States against Cuba, Central America and Caribbean countries was adopted with the support of the Secretary of the Episcopal Conference and the Papal Pronuncio.

A document on the same matter, couched in more moderate and indirect terms but essentially maintaining the positive aspect of the former statement, was circulated in Catholic churches throughout the country a few weeks later. This tendency was also reflected in the public condemnation by the Catholic Church of the neutron bomb just after the abominable decision to produce it had been taken by the US administration. Evidence of the positive evolution in church circles also came from the present Archbishop of Havana Jaime Ortega at a service in memory of Martin Luther King in September 1984, the broad representation of Catholic dignitaries and religious leaders at the meeting on the Latin American External Debt, and the presence of Father José Félix Pérez, rector of the San Carlos and San Ambrosio Seminary at a session of the Cuban Anti-Apartheid Committee.

Let us note that this process has some nuances which do nothing to integrate the Church with the Cuban reality. There was the complete silence maintained by the Episcopal Conference during the Marches of the Militant People, when all honest Cubans protested against the spy overflights of our territory, the continued presence of the US naval base at Guantanamo, and the imperialist blockade. The Cuban Episcopal Conference usually refrains from making any statements on the crimes being committed on the continent, and especially in Central America, although they increasingly affect the liberal and progressive circles of the clergy and Christians generally. The Cuban Church issued no public statement over the assassination of the Salvadoran Archbishop Arnulfo Romero, or over the killing of US nuns of the Maryknoll Order in El Salvador. The declaration by the Catholic Church over the criminal US invasion of Grenada was also not as vigorous as one would have expected.

The Vatican's policy with respect to Cuba is a part of its general approach to the socialist countries, being largely determined by the realities faced by the local church. More than one-third of the world's clergy and parishioners live on our continent, and that is the reason for the frequent visits to Latin America by the incumbent Pontiff, John Paul II.

The Vatican, with which Cuba has had diplomatic relations since 1935,

has always reckoned with the impact of the Cuban Revolution in Latin America. It cannot afford to ignore the urge of the peoples of the continent for social emancipation and national liberation, or the reverberations of the struggle against imperialist and neocolonial oppression within the Latin American Catholic Church itself. Nonetheless, when it comes to our region, notably Central America, the views and actions of the Holy See tend objectively to converge with those of the US administration, as will be seen from the condemnation and harassment of liberation theology and the progressive movements among the Latin American clergy. Indeed, there are objections, in the form of some kind of 'factors' allegedly 'hampering the dialogue', to the joint efforts in the struggle for peace, although in the present circumstances it is mankind's very survival that is at stake. That makes it necessary to find common ground for action to end the arms race, and save life on the Earth. Such an attitude tends to stimulate pathological anti-communism, the inspiration for the most bellicose circles headed by the incumbent US President.

The Evangelical churches (of which there are more than 50 denominations in Cuba) differ in the social and political sentiments of their pastors and parishioners, though many of them tend to gravitate towards liberal and progressive thinking. The participation by Christian institutions, groups, movements and organisations in voluntary agricultural work means for some of them involvement in our socialist realities, and for others, who go much further, a conscious contribution to building a society which they regard as being truly just and humanistic. The number of such facts is growing, and in many cases Cuban believers have been joined by members of churches from other countries of the world displaying an interest in or sympathies for our Revolution.

Various meetings of theologians are often held in Cuba. Apart from religious matters, they have had vivid discussions of problems in the struggle for peace and social progress. There was the recent Second Meeting of Theologians and Sociologists held at the Evangelical Seminary of Theology, and a seminar in memory of Martin Luther King at a Methodist church in Havana which was initiated by the Ecumenical Council of Cuba, the Baptist Workers' and Students' Centre of Cuba and the conference of Caribbean churches. The presence of Fidel Castro and his brief address at the service at which the Reverend Jesse Jackson officiated within the framework of the seminar evoked a positive response among Christians. In 1987, there was also the important meeting of the Council of Evangelical Methodist Churches of Latin America, the meeting of Christians from the socialist countries, the inauguration of the Martin Luther King Memorial Centre, and the Continental Congress of the Christian Peace Conference for Latin America and the Caribbean, at which Catholics and Protestants were widely represented.

The importance of such facts is even greater in the present circumstances. One should bear in mind that the Reagan administration and reactionary circles at the Vatican have been actively resisting the liberation theology in an effort to suppress any liberal or progressive trends among Christians. Anti-communist campaigns with the use of religious topics have been particularly stepped up. The Institute of Religion and

Democracy (IRD) has been established in the United States, whose purpose is to influence the minds of believers by means of propaganda and to eradicate — among Christians, especially in the United States — the sympathies and growing urge to support the revolutions in Cuba and in Nicaragua, the revolutionary process in El Salvador and Guatemala and the national liberation movements generally. The IRD has been trying to cancel visits to Cuba and programmes for exchanges of journalists and religious and lay leaders, and to impede in every possible way initiatives by Christians aimed to lift the blockade of Cuba. The IRD spreads the false idea that believers are being oppressed in Cuba, distorts the condition of religion, the church and believers, twists the policy of the CPC and the Cuban government on these matters and refutes its Marxist-Leninist fundamentals. Nevertheless, the truth about our reality has met with ever greater understanding abroad.

In socialist Cuba there is also respect for the religious sentiments and rituals which are not linked to any definite church. These were widespread in the past among the deprived strata of the population with the lowest standards of education and general culture. These are the magic rituals which have come down from the African people of Yoruba, the Palo Monte denomination of the Bantu people, and what is known as *ñañiguismo*, or *abakuá*, and other creeds.

Fidel Castro has spoken and government decisions have been taken in the spirit of this principled policy, which helps to create a normal climate in relations between the church and the state, and which is positively appreciated by the mass of believers. Transportation facilities have been made available free of charge for charity functions, and entry visas and permanent residence permits have been granted to ecclesiastics and teachers of Catholic seminaries, who enjoy privileges in purchasing cars. Textbooks for religious institutions and Bibles for all the churches are being published. Bishops and priests travel abroad. The state has helped to hold meetings and conferences organised, in particular, by the World Council of Churches, and has assisted in the repair and restoration of churches. Those are only some examples of our approach to the church.

The Cuban Communists have conducted a principled line with respect to religion, the church and believers in the light of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and of the concrete situation and specifics of our hemisphere. This experience has been of positive significance for socialist construction in Cuba, and for the struggle for peace and social progress throughout the world.

Within the country there is complete unanimity in what the Communists have been doing on the religion question, and there has been a clear definition of relations between the socialist state and the government, on the one hand, and the various churches and their flocks, on the other. *The steady perfection of these relations helps to consolidate the Cuban people's unity for tackling the main strategic task: the building of socialism.*

On the international scene, our consistent approach to the problems of religion and the church has helped to develop the closest ties between the Cuban Revolution and the national liberation movements and the forces of peace and progress. That is most important for Latin America, where there

is involvement of Christian groups and bodies and members of the Catholic and other clergy in the struggle for national liberation and social justice. Religious institutions and ecumenical centres are being set up on the continent and they have boldly engaged in progressive activity, promoting mutual political understanding and militant unity between Marxists and revolutionary-minded Christians for profound social change.

¹ *Informe del Comité Central del PCC al Primer Congreso*. La Habana, 1975, p. 30.

² A programme for democratic transformations set forth in Fidel Castro's speech *History Will Vindicate Me* at the trial of those who had taken part in the storming of the Moncada Barracks in 1953. — *Ed.*

³ The anti-Cuban San José Declaration, which was adopted under US pressure, hypocritically condemned what was alleged to be interference by the socialist countries in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere and contained direct threats against Cuba. — *Ed.*

⁴ One of the international congresses of Catholic theologians called by the Vatican once in four years. — *Ed.*

⁵ *Acerca del Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, La Habana, 1976, p. 295.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Acerca de la religion, la Iglesia y los creyentes*. Editora Politica, La Habana, 1982, p. 30.

⁸ Article 348-1 of the Penal Code says that those who impede or disrupt acts of public service of registered cult celebrated with the observance of the requirements of the law shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a period of from three to nine months, or by a fine of from 100 to 270 pesos, or by both. Article 348-2 says that if the offence has been committed by a public functionary involving abuse of his powers, the penalty shall be deprivation of freedom for a period of from six months to three years.

A Step Towards Settling The Conflict

K. P. Silva — General Secretary, CC,
Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL)

SRI LANKA is presently passing through a very crucial period in its history. At stake are its independence and national sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity. The present situation in the country is also a reflection of the degree of resistance that has been put up by chauvinist, reactionary and imperialist forces, acting in unison, against the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord signed on 29th July 1987 in Colombo.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord is of great significance both to Sri Lanka and the South Asia region. Nationally its implementation would help the solution, although partially, of the nationalities question by providing a

K. P. Silva (b. 1923) started working as a baker's assistant. Later he joined the government leather factory as a worker, where he soon became its trade union leader. One of the key leaders of the general strikes of 1946 and 1947, he quit the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, of which he was a Political Bureau member, on the issue of Left Unity and joined the Communist Party in 1955 along with a large group of those who had quit the LSSP likewise. He has served the CPSL as a Central Committee member, a member of the Political Bureau and a Deputy General Secretary. He has been the General Secretary of the CPSL Central Committee since June 1979. K. P. Silva was subjected to reprisals by the authorities in the 1980s.

high degree of regional autonomy to the Tamil people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Regional significance of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord lies in the fact that it represents a tremendous blow to the US policy in the region and, in particular, to the attempt by US imperialism to involve Sri Lanka in destabilising India which pursues an independent and peaceful foreign policy. It thus strengthens the security of the neighbouring states and that of the region as a whole.

This Accord, which entered into force in the teeth of opposition both from chauvinist and reactionary forces within the country and imperialism from without, represents a successful attempt by two neighbouring countries in our region to resolve their mutual problems *by their own initiative and strength* without falling back on outside powers for advice and assistance. It sets a healthy precedent which may be followed by other countries in similar circumstances to their mutual benefit.

How did it happen that the government of Sri Lanka made a volte face or a complete turnabout? In other words why did it abandon the so-called military option and enter into this accord which seeks to solve the nationalities question basically by political means, and that with the assistance of India, which was considered its enemy until a few days before?

There were several factors which contributed to this change.

Firstly, the government's policy of solving the nationalities question by military means resulted in the aggravation of the crisis in the economy which had already been compounded by its 'open-door' policy. By the end of 1986 military expenditure amounted to over 25 per cent of the national revenue. External debt swallowed up to 32 per cent of the total external receipts. The Finance Minister conceded that only two-thirds of the national economy was functioning and warned of the dire consequences if peace was not established. Certain important sectors of the economy like tourism remained paralysed. Government expenditure had been cut drastically. No fresh capital investment was undertaken. The rate of growth was in decline. There was heavy pressure on the government from the 'Aid Sri Lanka Club' of developed capitalist countries, aiming to find a speedy solution to the nationalities question. Foreign investors whom the government regards as an important element in expanding the economy shied away.

The movement for a political solution of the problem meanwhile gathered momentum. This position which was originally advocated only by the CPSL and its allies began to have the support of the more realistic sections among the petty bourgeoisie, sections of the bourgeoisie, particularly those ones whose business ventures were adversely affected by the 'war', and the people at large. As the burden of the crisis was being transferred more and more onto the working people and the government tried to meet the mounting opposition against it by restricting the democratic rights and processes further, anti-government forces began to rally against its rule. In June 1987 five political parties, including the CPSL and the SLFP led by Mrs Bandaranaike, declared their intent to fight jointly the government to safeguard democracy. The developments caused alarm in the ranks of the government.

The most important factor however was that the government was realising by experience that its military solution was not working. In June it launched a major military offensive code-named 'Operation Liberation' intended to take over the Jaffna peninsula from the armed separatist groups, principally the LTTE (Tamil Tigers). Although part of the Jaffna peninsula was brought under military control it failed to achieve its principal objective. It also became quite evident that the military takeover of Jaffna would result in the killing of several thousand civilians as well as a substantial number of soldiers. It was when the government was again planning to carry forth its once ill-fated 'Operation Liberation' that the Indian government in no uncertain terms indicated that it would be compelled to intervene in the 'war' in such an eventuality. By this time the commanders of the Sri Lankan forces had also advised the government that the insurgents had come into possession of more sophisticated weapons and were soon likely to obtain anti-aircraft guns as well as heat-seeking Stinger missiles which would make the military campaign even more hazardous.

The cumulative effect of all these factors and above all the failure of the military solution *compelled the government to opt for a political solution* with the assistance of India. The faltering negotiations for a political solution which had been dragging on for almost four years were activated once more and by the end of July 1987 the governments of India and Sri Lanka had arrived at an agreement. The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord is its expression.

The Indian concern in the solution of the nationalities question in Sri Lanka is quite understandable. The Sri Lankan government while pursuing its military option to the problem was becoming more and more involved in the US politico-strategic plans in the region which were primarily aimed against India. Hence the nationalities question in Sri Lanka had an external aspect which affected the security and stability of India.

The Jayawardene government had made a tremendous effort to accede to the solicitations of US imperialism for the use of Sri Lanka territory for its strategic plans. US imperialism wanted to obtain either directly or indirectly the use of the large natural harbour in Trincomalee for their military build-up in the region. The Jayawardene government almost leased the farm of petroleum tanks in Trincomalee to a dummy company floated in Singapore before it backed down under internal opposition and Indian pressure. It had entered into an agreement to set up a Voice of America (VOA) Station in Sri Lanka, the largest outside the USA itself which would also be equipped for military communications. Already the US armed forces enjoyed the right of Rest and Recreation in the island. US naval vessels were freely moving in and out of the Sri Lankan harbours. Military and political cooperation with Pakistan was in the ascendancy. Anti-Indian sentiment was promoted through official manipulation. Relations with Israel were developing fast with military cooperation in the lead. Whilst talking of a negotiated settlement the Sri Lankan government was in practice pursuing its military option. Lately moves were made to obtain direct US military assistance. All these aroused the deep concern of India in regard to its security and pushed her to *play an active role in*

seeking a political solution to the nationalities question in Sri Lanka. These apart, the Indian government had to contend with certain local forces who were pressing the Central government to act on behalf of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka. Both the government and the opposition in Tamil Nadu with its 55 million Tamils were bringing heavy pressure on the Central government to take such action. Any laxity on the part of the Indian government could result in the activation of the presently dormant Tamil separatist elements in India.

Thus Indian efforts at mediation in the on-going ethnic war in Sri Lanka and its successful attempt to assist Sri Lanka in finding a political solution to the matters at issue were the natural outcome of the concern for her own security and stability.

A few words about the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord itself. The main provisions of the Accord could be divided into two groups:

- (a) Those provisions which mainly relate to internal affairs.
- (b) Those provisions which relate mainly to external affairs.

Let us examine the matters that are mainly of an internal nature. Firstly, the government of Sri Lanka has officially admitted, for the first time, that *Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious and plural society* where the Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Muslims, Burghers, and other ethnic groups are entitled to equal rights and protection by the state.

The Sri Lankan Communists always subscribed to this concept. They had on numerous occasions called upon this government as well as previous governments that they should approach the nationalities question on the basis of this fundamental principle. The government party (The United National Party) as well as the main opposition party (the Sri Lankan Freedom Party led by Mrs Bandaranaike) always held that the state should ensure the domination of the country by Sinhalese Buddhists. This naturally led to the practice of discrimination against other ethnic groups, particularly the Tamils. The Accord rectifies this position by recognising the plural character of the Sri Lankan Society, especially its multi-ethnicity.

Secondly, through the creation of a Provincial Council for the Northern and Eastern provinces *a high degree of autonomy*, comparable with that enjoyed by the constituent states of the Union of India is granted to the Tamil people who have inhabited these areas for an historically long period. The single Provincial Council that will be established for the Northern and Eastern Provinces may however be converted into two Provincial Councils if the majority of the people in the Eastern province decide so at a Referendum held in accordance with the Accord. This provision has been incorporated in the agreement because of the specific character of the Eastern Province. Unlike the Northern Province whose population is over 95 per cent Tamil, the Eastern Province is one where Tamil speaking Muslims, who regard themselves as a separate ethnic group, together with the Sinhalese marginally outnumber the Tamils. Hence the merger of the two provinces subject to the right of delinking of the two depending on the results of a referendum to be held in the Eastern Province.

Thirdly, the Accord provides for *the recognition of the Tamil language* (together with English)¹ *as an official language* of Sri Lanka in addition to Sinhalese, which is the official language at present. The recognition of Tamil as an official language removes once and for all the lingual discrimination to which the Tamil people had been subjected for a long period.

The implementation of these provisions of the Accord relating to internal affairs of Sri Lanka will not only strengthen national unity but also eliminate the threat of the division of the country into two states.

Imperialism is not generally against the internal arrangements that are provided by the Accord. It is working hand in glove with the chauvinistic and other reactionary forces within the country because of its opposition to the provisions of the Accord that relate mainly to Sri Lanka's external relations. As mentioned earlier, these undermine the US imperialism's geo-strategic and geo-political plans in the region. In this regard the Accord represents a marked shift in the policy of the Sri Lankan government. In other words Sri Lanka has shifted from its earlier stance of hostility and confrontation towards India to a position of friendship and cooperation. India guarantees the sovereignty, the unity and territorial integrity and the security of Sri Lanka and undertakes not to permit the use of Indian territory for hostile actions against Sri Lanka. In return Sri Lanka guarantees that neither its territory nor its ports will be allowed to be used by a third party in a manner prejudicial to the security interests of India.

Sri Lanka jointly with India will set up an undertaking to exploit the oil-tank farm in the Trincomalee Harbour which had been built by the British during the Second World War for storing vast quantities of fuel to supply its naval fleets.

These obligations undertaken by the government of Sri Lanka *frustrate the attempts of US imperialism* to use Sri Lankan territory for its strategic plans in the region.

Furthermore, by the Accord Sri Lanka has undertaken to renegotiate the agreement permitting the construction of the VOA station in Sri Lanka, so as to restrict its use to normal civil broadcasts only and to prohibit it being used for military communications.

Sri Lanka has also agreed to terminate the services of foreign military personnel operating in the country. This operatively means the sending away of the members of the Mossad and the Pakistani servicemen who had been advising the government in military training and in carrying out acts of state terrorism.

As evident from the foregoing facts it is not surprising that those provisions of the agreement that relate mainly to Sri Lanka's external relations have earned the wrath of US imperialism. US imperialism is working overtime in connivance with its agents and surrogates within the country like the LTTE (the Tamil Tigers) and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP)² to somehow prevent the implementation of the Accord. Acting covertly, imperialism has launched a massive offensive to undermine the Accord and prevent its implementation. It draws its strength from the chauvinist tendencies current among both the Sinhalese and the Tamil communities. Both the Tamil Tigers (the LTTE) and the

JVP are beautifully orchestrated by imperialism to serve its ends. Despite their allegiance to Tamil and Sinhalese extremism respectively the level of coordination between them against the Accord remains incredibly high. These are neofascistic organisations which use socialist slogans and thrive on the exploitation of the lowest instincts of ethnic and racial hatred among the Tamils and the Sinhalese respectively. While the LTTE is resisting the implementation of the Accord by confronting the Indian army in the North, the JVP is presently in the process of expanding its terrorist activity and armed attacks against the supporters of the Accord in the South. It has declared its intention to assassinate Members of Parliament who vote in favour of the adoption of legislation to give effect to the Accord.

The bourgeoisie is divided. Whereas the entrepreneurs who are affected by the continuing ethnic strife and resultant instability support the Accord, the more pro-imperialist as well as nationalist sections among the Sinhalese bourgeoisie oppose it. These forces presently support the SLFP in its campaign against the Accord. The Tamil bourgeoisie as well as the Tamil working people overwhelmingly support the Accord. The expression of their support for the Accord is impeded by the LTTE which intimidates the population with reprisals. There is now greater understanding and acceptance of the provisions of the Accord among the Sinhalese working people.

The CPSL supports the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, despite its opposition to the United National Party government, because it provides a very satisfactory basis for the solution of Sri Lanka's nationalities question, albeit temporarily. It embodies the principal demands the CPSL has advanced over the years for the solution of the problem as well as those that relate to regional security. Now, *the task facing the Communists is to ensure its implementation*, which would result in the restoration of national unity and the elimination of the threat to its territorial integrity. It helps to strengthen Sri Lanka's independence and national sovereignty. From a class point of view the Accord removes a great obstacle to the further development of the struggle for social change, for the defence of democracy and the defence of the vital interests of the people. It makes favourable conditions for the working people of all communities to fight unitedly to achieve these objectives.

At present³ the Indian armed forces which have come to Sri Lanka on the invitation of the Sri Lanka government to help the implementation of the Accord are engaged in operations to disarm the LTTE. There is no doubt that the Indian army would eventually defeat and subjugate the LTTE. This however is not going to solve the problem in its entirety. The LTTE is likely to operate underground and resort to hit-and-run tactics, acts of sabotage and terrorism. The JVP, too, will persist in the adoption of similar tactics. Hence peace may be established but violence in some form or other may continue.

The government is likely to exploit the terrorist activities carried on by the JVP to impose restrictions on democratic rights and processes. The armed forces may be deployed throughout the country resulting in the militarisation of civilian administration. *The fight for democracy will emerge as the principal issue.* This will require *the unity of all forces*

committed to the defence of democracy.

Presently President Jayawardene is acting with determination to give legal effect to the main provisions of the Accord by adopting the relevant legislation⁴ in Parliament. Unless some unforeseen developments take place the establishment of the Provincial Councils in accordance with Accord will promote the settlement of the ethnic problem. Alas, this does not exhaust the list of problems facing the people of Sri Lanka.

Four years of civil war has resulted in the further impoverishment of the working people. According to the government's own estimates, more than *half of the population live below the poverty-line*. Constantly rising inflation has sharply decimated the value of real wages. Despite the restriction of trade union rights there have been several important struggles by those living on wages for 50 per cent wage increases. Recently doctors and university lecturers successfully resorted to trade union action. At the same time there is a growing resistance among working people against the government's policy of privatisation of state ventures under a deal with the IMF/World Bank.

State assistance to the poor has become so insufficient that thousands are living on the verge of hunger. The Communist Party has launched a campaign demanding the increase in the value of food-stamps as well as in the number of these qualified to obtain such state assistance.

In rural areas peasants have difficulty in purchasing fertilisers and other agro-chemicals due to the exorbitant prices prevailing at present. The peasant organisation led by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka started a campaign among other things demanding the supply of agro-chemicals to the peasants at a subsidised rate.

There are many more issues on which the mass struggle is developing. The government is well aware of the discontent among the people and the growing resistance to its policies. The continuing crisis around the nationalities question will make the government even more unyielding. The objective conditions however will promote the development of the mass struggle of the people.

Whilst promoting the broadest level of united action in defence of democracy the CPSL considers that it should at the same time build up the unity of the left forces in Sri Lanka. In the autumn of 1987 the CPSL and the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (the People's Party) joined together in forming a United Front on the basis of a Programme of a perspective nature. It is conceived that this Programme and the United Front established thereunder could serve as a basis for rallying together other left forces in the country. The CPSL has also established contacts with two left-leaning Tamil militant groups, which support the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, namely the People's Liberation Organisation of the Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). We are always mindful that the key to the attainment of our strategic goals is in the consolidation of unity among the left forces in Sri Lanka.

¹ The CPSL is against the restoration of English to the position of an Official Language whether it is designated the Link Language or called by another term. The working people and their children are at a distinct disadvantage in obtaining proficiency in English in the present conditions. It is still the preserve of the Sri Lankan upper classes. Under cover of the official status granted to English the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, will discriminate against the working people and their children, prevent their fullest participation in public life and restrict their admission into the higher echelons of the administration, the armed forces and other key services. The CPSL, however, supports the promotion of the teaching of English both among pupils and adults.

² JVP is an openly (Sinhala) chauvinist, anti-communist and anti-left party which strangely declares socialism as its objective. Its activity has over the years objectively helped imperialism and certain sections of domestic reaction. In 1971 it organised an unsuccessful insurrection against the SLFP — Socialist Party — CLSP United Front Government when it was implementing certain important anti-imperialist measures. It claims to rely on the barrel of the gun in establishing its political hegemony and resorts to acts of terrorism, sabotage, vandalism and political assassinations to intimidate the people into submission and for the purpose of eliminating its political opponents. It draws its social strength mainly from a section of the youth with rural petty-bourgeois backgrounds.

³ The article was received in late November 1987. — *Ed.*

⁴ A law was passed in November 1987. — *Ed.*

Repression Of Communist Mayors In Greece

DEMOS, *demarchos* and *democracy*¹ are Greek words students learn in many countries. One might think that these universal values would be guarded as sacred first and foremost in the land of their origin. Alas, this is a far cry from reality. The ideas of people's rule and social justice have not yet triumphed in the cradle of democracy.

Who could believe that mayors are being arrested today and put on trial for supporting a workers' strike in Greece, fourteen years after the fall of the junta and seven years after the rightists had been expelled from the government?

Who could believe that in the country famous for its peace initiatives a left-wing mayor should be summoned to the Minister of the Interior to account for organising an anti-war demonstration?

These are not isolated incidents. In the first half of 1987 alone eight progressive mayors were sentenced to 45 months of imprisonment. Legal proceedings have been instituted against many others. This is nothing less than an extreme form of repression.

T. Katrivanos, Chairman of the Greek Union of Municipal Councils and Communities, told me that throughout the post-war period the central authorities have displayed continuing hostility towards local government because the latter insisted on tackling urgent problems and defending the working people's living standards. Representatives of the people and their legally elected leaders are being persecuted for engaging in progressive activities.

We continue our series about Communists working on executive and legislative bodies in capitalist countries (see *WMR*, Nos. 4, 7, 8, 1985; Nos. 2, 10, 11, 12, 1986; Nos. 3, 5, 7, 10, 1987).

What specifically are representatives of Greek local government being persecuted for?

Like in the Time of the Junta

Communist **S. Logothetis**, mayor of Nikaia (Athens district) who received more than 56 per cent of the votes during the first round of the 1986 municipal elections, was sentenced to two years in prison in April 1987. He was accused of disrespect towards the police during a strike at a confectionery belonging to the big industrialist Papadopoulos.

"It happened on December 13, 1982," Comrade Logothetis recalled. "I was standing by the factory gate together with the strikers who objected to the dismissal of their trade union chairman. Most of the factory employees live in Nikaia and they asked me to support their struggle. The 'socialist' government of Andreas Papandreou adopted a stand of 'non-interference' in the conflict between the industrialist and the workers.

"The prosecutor ordered the people to disperse. I objected, saying that the workers had the constitutional right to strike. Then cudgels were brought into play. Some women workers were trampled underfoot by policemen. Many were detained and a camera was snatched from a reporter taking pictures on the scene. Similar atrocities, I told the prosecutor, occurred only in the time of the junta. His reply was curt: "Have the mayor arrested!" I was attacked by policemen and thrust into their car. At the police station I was told that proceedings were being brought against me rather than against those who had beaten us.

"Since that time the hearing has been postponed five times but through no fault of ours. The case dragged on for years. I was ready to uphold the truth any time but they always found a pretext for postponement. When last time I asked for the hearing to be postponed because I was to speak at the mayor's council and could not come, they jumped at the opportunity to head down a severe sentence: I was given two years in prison on a trumped-up charge. Any time now the police can enter my office and take me away . . ."

Communist **S. Dionisiu**, mayor of Evozmos (Thessaloniki district), was arrested for starting road construction on land belonging to the ultra-right landowner Mandalianos. On that occasion, too, the state authority ignored the voice of the people and took the side of the propertied class.

Sentenced to 30 days imprisonment, Comrade Dionisiu sent no appeal and was put behind bars. The following morning district inhabitants staged a demonstration, demanding the immediate release of their deputy. The stormy public protest made the authorities set the Communist mayor free there and then.

In June 1987, the police detained Communist **P. Vakalopoulos**, mayor of Tavros (Athens district). Relying on the unanimous resolution of the municipal council, he tried to prevent, with the help of workers and district residents, the building of a plant on the territory intended by the council for a park. The prosecutor declared that he would be brought to court for "disrespect for the authorities".

"Nature protection rewarded with an arrest", such was the comment of

nearly all Greek newspapers at the time. For ten days the residents had meetings and clashes with the police at the site of the intended park. Finally, the Minister of Environment ordered a halt to construction work till the issue was considered by the Supreme Court. Once again militant measures proved to be effective.

Even so arrests of progressive mayors persisted, especially in the 'red belts' around big industrial centres. The most frequent cause for their prosecution is the protection of lands which had been seized by major figures of the financial oligarchy. People's deputies are being punished for their attempts to create islands of greenery in the cities, like Athens, which suffocate with smog. All this is happening in 1987, the year declared by the Common Market (of which Greece is a member) to be Environmental Protection Year.

Conservative Turn

No matter what the specific circumstances of similar repressions may be, the roots will be traced to the domestic policy of the ruling Panhellenic Socialist Movement of Greece (PASOK). "The PASOK policy," the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) stated in 1987, "has been marked, especially after the 1985 elections, by an obvious turn on to conservative lines first in the economic field and then in virtually all other areas."² That turn has also had a bearing on local government.

"The government," I was told by A. Chagios, local government department chief at the CPG Central Committee, "wants to subject the working people to its austerity policy and with this aim in view to curtail the democratic rights of the people and the powers of local government. The authorities have given the green light to the repression of the left-wing mayors, primarily Communists, who uphold the immediate demands of the population and who come out for the elimination of US bases, for national independence and peace. The blow is aimed above all at the Communists. Unlike the reformists, they are in the vanguard of popular struggle and are not afraid of breaking reactionary law, when necessary.

The conservative turn with respect to the local government mars the prestige of the ruling party among the masses. People know the communist mayors to be honest, caring and capable leaders and courageous fighters willing to suffer for the right cause. It is only natural that the municipal councils of all the big cities unanimously denounced the repression of the communist mayors. The government policy on the issue is opposed by rank-and-file members of the PASOK itself, who work in local councils, and even by those from the right-wing New Democracy party. Mention has already been made of stormy public protests. Thus plans to turn the municipal councils into a mechanism issuing only birth certificates and clearing up the rubbish are doomed to failure.

A vast majority of the country's municipal councils are in a critical economic situation. All my interviewees spoke with despair of their financial shortages.

"After a brief period when local government had an easier time," T. Katrivanos pointed out, "restriction is back again. The central authorities are returning to the methods they employed some years ago. They speak of

the rights we allegedly have but give no money to translate them into reality."

In protest against financial strangulation most of the country's municipal councils stopped work in September 1987. They are coordinating their efforts to achieve economic independence, to build new schools, clubs, sports grounds, hospitals, parks and recreation zones but not at the expense of the working people.

"The government," P. Vakalopoulos said, "wants to make us impose new heavy taxes on the population. But the left-wing mayors have firmly decided not to introduce new taxes. We are going to fight for the resources we need to fulfil the social programme."

Greek statesmen often plead that their country's economy cannot afford big spending on the social programmes of the municipal councils, while at the same time campaigning for the country's participation in NATO war plans which swallow up hundreds of millions of drachmas.

Unlike parliamentary deputies, mayors or municipal councillors are not protected by law in Greece. They can be arrested, put on trial or punished administratively. This is precisely what happens when the interests of the ruling class are infringed upon. The bourgeois propaganda claims that the state stands equidistant from the workers and the capitalists are nothing but a myth. Relying on reactionary legislation, the executive and judicial bodies act in the interests of the rich on all major and even minor issues.

When the mayor visits a factory that pollutes the environment he can be brought to court for 'causing damage to private property'. If the mayor sides with workers on strike, he is accused of 'supporting illegal violence'. If he writes to a minister about illegal actions by a big landlord, he is sued for libel. If he takes issue with an unjust decision by the prosecutor or the court, he is punished for 'criticising the judiciary'.

"The Nikaia municipal council," I was told by S. Logothetis, "organised a meeting in support of the demand to put an end to the state of war with Albania persisting on a quirk of history for nearly half a century. The *nomarchos*' did not endorse the expenses. Under public pressure the government eventually decided to put an end to that ridiculous anachronism. Nevertheless I had to account to the Minister of the Interior for having supported the peace initiative."

Left Alternative

The CPG-led coalition of the left and progressive forces now controls 72 municipal councils in the country. Overcoming official hostility and reactionary legislations, the Communist mayors are seeking to raise the role played by the mass of the people in all the fields of local life. They expose the bourgeois propaganda thesis that capitalist private enterprise is the only way of coping with social problems and demonstrate with concrete examples the forms of social organisation which can become widespread in the future under people's government. What is meant here, among other things, is cooperative enterprises and associations, which resolve the problems of housing, supplies and environmental protection under the supervision of the municipal councils.

Local authorities have actively joined the nationwide drive for the democratisation of the mass media. The Communists are totally opposed to big capital's invasion of the mass media and oppose the plans of the right-wing forces to impose their private radio and TV on the country under the pretext of pluralism. The CPG believes that the alternative to the ruling party's domination of state broadcasting and TV is to build and finance municipal radio stations serving the interests of the working people rather than the farming out of the mass media to monopolies. Through the joint efforts of the mayors of the 'red belts' of Athens and Piraeus two such stations have already been built and are to begin broadcasting in 1988.

"This success won by progressive mayors," S. Logothetis emphasises, "may be jeopardised if the popular movement is not vigilant. Law is not on our side in this field either. The authorities will always find a pretext to close the municipal stations. On the other hand, should big capitalists set up their high-powered transmitters, we won't be able to withstand the competition: they have billions, while local authorities are always short of resources."

Calling on the working people to take an active stand, the Greek Communists are trying to show that under capitalism the workers will never become true masters of their country within the framework of the capitalist system, no matter what incidental gains they make. The progressive strata of the population are already aware that radical democratic transformation is called for both in local authorities and society as a whole, that is, a new government is needed for the people's demands to be fully implemented.

This new government, the CPG believes, should be that of a socio-political alliance of the left and progressive forces. The Communists and all the party activists working in local government bodies are making their concrete daily contribution to the effort to form such an alliance. They show that Greece can still extricate itself from the morass of foreign dependence and capitalist crisis and embark upon the road of transformation towards socialism.

Aris Papanthimos
member of the Communist
Party of Greece, *WMR*
staff member

¹ Populace, its elected leader, government by the people. — *Ed.*

² *Rizospastis*, May 12, 1987.

³ Greece is divided into 52 departments (*nomoi*), each of which is headed by a government official (*nomarchos*), who is vested with ample powers. — *Ed.*

A Political Report

Democratic Yemen: After A Tragic Trial

Donald Ramotar — member, CC
Executive Committee, People's
Progressive Party of Guyana

Salem Said — WMR representative,
Communist Party of Jordan

Andrei Olitsky — WMR staff member

SHORTLY after we members of a WMR delegation visiting at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) had arrived in Aden, we were taken to an unusual museum, the former Conference Hall of the Political Bureau. It was there that the commonly known tragic events had flared up on Monday, January 13, 1986. Bullet holes in the walls and furniture and dark bloodstains on the floor had been left intact since that terrible day . . .

Our guides, eyewitnesses of those events, recounted that by the end of 1985 differences in the YSP leadership had reached boiling point. Ali Nasser Muhammed, the then General Secretary of the Central Committee and President of the Republic, decided to get rid of the opposition at one stroke by having them killed. Among the assassinated party and state officials and senior military men were the founder of the party, Abdel Fattah Ismail, Political Bureau members and popular veteran leaders of the liberation struggle against the British colonialists.

The armed forces of the republic were in fact split into two in the violent clashes that ensued. Tanks, artillery, aircraft and warships were involved in the fighting, in which the regular troops were joined by militia and paramilitary forces. Thousands were killed, massive damage caused to the capital and water and power supplies disrupted. The clashes in January 1986, many observers believe, were the worst bloodshed in Yemeni history. Ali Nasser Muhammed was defeated and fled into exile along with some of his supporters.

The Aftermath

The crisis dealt a severe blow to the entire process of building a new society, caused enormous damage to property (estimated at around 40 million dinars,¹ we were told at the YSP Central Committee) and claimed many lives, especially among the party, state and military cadres. That the conflict was resolved by such methods, unacceptable to revolutionaries, naturally, detracted from the authority and reputation of the party and state leadership, which had been following a course of socialist orientation, and complicated the international positions of the country and the party. It is all the more regrettable since South Yemen is the only Arab state whose ruling party has openly embraced scientific socialism.

The imperialist and reactionary forces in the region have dramatically intensified their hostile intrigues against Democratic Yemen. The press in the West and in some Middle East countries again bristled with the malicious assertions that the ideas of scientific socialism were absolutely unsuitable to the Third World in general and to the Arab societies in particular, and with allegations that the tragic split was a result of the Soviet Union's 'interference' in the internal affairs of the country. Meanwhile, we had heard more than once from people who should know, both during that trip and before it, that the Soviet Union, far from intervening in the conflict, had warned other countries against getting involved in it.

But what did really happen? What were the true causes of the bloodbath? Is the fate of socialist orientation hanging in the balance? What are the prospects for building socialism? We sought answers to these and many other questions as we travelled in the country and talked to various people.

At the ideological department of the Central Committee we were received by CC Secretary Salem Bukeir.

"An objective analysis of our problems was supplied by the national party conference, which was held in the summer of 1987," he told us. "The CC political report and the 'Critical Analysis of the Revolutionary Experience of Democratic Yemen, 1978-1986', approved by the delegates, thoroughly examined developments in the country and in the party in the recent years and the intensification of differences in the leadership."

The main causes of the tragedy, those documents concluded, are rooted in complex and controversial domestic processes. For instance, in the 20 years since independence² changes in policy and the ousting of individual leaders provoked armed clashes on five occasions.

The national democratic revolution naturally achieved some results: the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudal tribal chieftains bowed out, an agrarian reform was introduced, agricultural and industrial production grew, good progress was made in the eradication of illiteracy, in education, health care and social security, and the living and cultural standards of the people improved. However, as the party conference noted, socio-economic and cultural backwardness and tribalist and regional differences persisted.

Industrial workers, who constitute a minority of the South Yemeni working people, are largely under the influence of petty bourgeois mentality. The process of stratification continues in the countryside, with moneybags exploiting hired labour and growing in number. The growth of the bourgeois stratum, particularly building contractors who practice swindles and bribe government officials, is especially worrying. The policy of the Yemen Socialist Party does not rule out a contribution of the national bourgeoisie to building a new society, but lack of control over it resulted in the substantial growth of bourgeois influence.

Consumerism kept growing in the republic in the past few years. The currency reserves and remittances from émigrés began to be used irrationally. Priority was often given to status projects at the expense of measures meeting the vital interests and needs of the working class,

farmers, fishermen, bedouin nomads and other strata of the working people.

Changes in the social composition of the party membership gradually distorted the class character of the party, we were told by our hosts. Not long before the armed conflict, a large number of Ali Nasser Muhammed's supporters had been rushed into the party ranks; enrolment was based on the principle of loyalty rather than on any objective criteria.³ The General Secretary tended more and more to breach the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership and to establish one-man rule. Aware that the brewing conflict was impossible to resolve by democratic methods, in the spirit of the party rules, he ventured to unleash violence. The party conference characterised the events of January 13 as a gory reactionary conspiracy of the rightist opportunistic forces.

But what about the people who supported the conspiracy?

The analysis made by the party conference identified four groups of them: *first*, the remaining rightist opportunistic elements who had links with the defunct right wing of the United Political Organisation — National Front,⁴ and also well-to-do farmers, bourgeois bureaucrats and intellectuals who were hostile to the ideas of scientific socialism; *second*, the left opportunists expelled from the UPO-NF after June 26, 1978.⁵ They joined forces with the right in order to settle accounts with their antagonists; *third*, people who once held left and democratic views but who swung their support to the conspirators either to retain their privileges or under the influence of political demagoguery; *fourth*, people from the working strata of the population who were either duped by the then President or followed him out of personal loyalty.

Acting in the humanitarian spirit, the leadership of the country called general amnesty for all those who had fled abroad after the abortive coup. By the end of 1987 the amnesty had been extended three times. Many people returned but not a few remained in exile. We were told that some of the exiles were afraid of vengeance on the part of the relatives of those killed in the fighting; some of the exiles have been placed in refugee camps (the largest of them, Al-Souvadiya, is in the neighbouring Yemen Arab Republic) and it is not at all easy to leave them since attempts are being made to use exiles for subversive actions against South Yemen.

Another result of the fighting in January 1986 is the increased number of mosque-goers. The most probable reason for a certain revival of religious sentiments is that some of the people had their belief in the party and the system badly jolted, we were told at the CC ideological department. People ask if Ali Nasser alone was to blame for all the wrongs and if indeed everything he did was bad. It is a hard question to answer today. Clearly, there were objective reasons behind the aggravation of the crisis and a great deal is yet to be done to uproot them.

True, the Yemen Socialist Party has already made good progress in rectifying past mistakes. We saw the process of consolidation gaining momentum wherever we went. The viability of the progressive regime is illustrated even by the fact that, as we were told at the Aden governorate party committee, most of the enormous damage caused to the capital was cleared away within two months. The performance of economic enterprises

has been brought back to the pre-crisis level.

As you reflect on what has happened to that country in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, you inevitably turn in your mind's eye to the prospects of the South Yemen revolution. What is its future? This, we think, will depend first and foremost on how effectively the new leadership tackles the problems of socio-economic development.

Where the Main Front Line Passes

The Prime Minister, Dr Yassin Said Noman, young and energetic, told us that economic strategy was in need of deep-going reforms. More precise approaches should be worked out to the correlation between various forms of property and between the public and the private sector, and to the balance between central government and local initiative. The leadership is seeking to involve the working people more broadly in government and administration and to consolidate the democratic character of power.

The January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the YSP Central Committee noted specifically such shortcomings in the economic activity as the wide gap between politics and economics, unrealistic planning, the dispersion of material and human resources and growing unemployment.

The republic meets from imports 70-80 per cent of all its needs, from consumer goods to spare parts and fuel, the Prime Minister said. Hard currency is badly needed because export earnings are enough to pay for just 10-15 per cent of the imports. At present the government has placed tight restrictions on imports: in 1986 the country imported 140 million dinars worth of goods (as compared with 214 million dinars in 1984), but nevertheless piled up a balance-of-payments deficit of 20 million dinars. The leaders see a way out in the speedy development of domestic production, a more rational use of remittances from compatriots working abroad, and the achievement of self-sufficiency in food, raw materials and fuel.

"The Soviet Union is giving us extensive support," Comrade Noman continued. "Oil and gold have been found in the republic with Soviet assistance. In summer 1987 the two countries signed an agreement on long-term cooperation in prospecting for and developing mineral resources to the year 1990 and on to the year 2000. The USSR and other socialist countries are helping South Yemen develop its power industry, manufacturing industries, agriculture and fisheries."

One point seems in order here. We were sometimes given the impression by our interlocutors that some of them pinned too great hopes on oil, gold and foreign aid, belittling, as it were, the task of the comprehensive development of the economy as a whole. But the discovery of mineral resources does not at all negate the need to boost production in agriculture, fishing and other sectors.

"Our people do have such hopes," our hosts agreed, "but they can be understood: we want to do away with backwardness as soon as possible and revolution and socialist orientation will be just fine-sounding words unless a developed economy is built to meet the basic needs of the country, now one of the world's poorest."

Conversations with leaders, and official documents, gave us a general idea of the situation in the country, of course, but we wanted also to go out to the provinces to have a closer look at realities and meet those who were building with their own hands the future of the republic.

The economy of the national democratic regime relies on the state and cooperative sectors. How are they doing? In Hadhramaut Governorate, the country's most developed agricultural region, we went out to a production cooperative in Geil Ba Wazir *markaz*.⁶ The irrigation canals in the area — narrow slits ten or more metres deep — are centuries-old. Our host, Muhammed As'ad, secretary of the *markaz* YSP committee, said that the cooperative's 450 members worked in teams of three to five but that some preferred to work singlehanded. The basic crop is tobacco and the bulk of the harvest goes for export. The cooperative also grows henna, onions, millet and vegetables, and many peasants have fig trees and coconut palms. Every family keeps goats and sheep. The cooperator's average monthly income is 75 dinars, quite good by the local standards. The cooperative supplies its members with tobacco planting stock and fertilisers, and every team has the right to use on a cost-accounting basis one of the cooperative's two tractors. The peasant can obtain through the cooperative a credit, building materials or a wedding loan. Pay is strictly by labour and this is very important because the levelling that was practised at the start of the cooperative movement in the republic we were told, scared off many people and quite a few cooperatives collapsed as a result. Peasants have now realised that membership of a cooperative offers more benefit than singlehanded work: cooperatives help with production and marketing and provide social services.

But there are problems, too. The worst bane is the drought, which has lasted more than five years now (most of the country's territory lies in the zone of the thermal equator). The subterranean water levels have dropped dramatically, and pumping up underground water is quite costly anyway. Most of the work is done by hand: only pre-sowing land cultivation is mechanised. Technology is difficult to use on that terrain. Most of the workforce is middle-aged: young people leave for the cities because land is scarce. We saw in other places, too, that the cooperative movement, although large-scale, was beset with serious difficulties.

What is the situation in industry? In Al-Mukalla, a governorate capital and the country's second largest port, we visited a fish cannery. It employs 169 unionised workers, including 76 women. Unlike women in the cities, wrapped in *shayders* (veils), the working girls in their navy-blue skirts, white blouses and white headkerchiefs looked very festive — but those turned out to be their workclothes. Far from every Muslim country has as many working women as South Yemen. Manager Salem al-Gharibi told us that the average monthly wage was around 80 dinars. All workers are entitled to a 30-day paid leave. As for housing, we were told by one of the officials, the situation was not good. The cannery has no facilities to build housing; it is the responsibility of a central ministry, and some people build homes on their own.

We had the impression that the satisfaction of the social and everyday needs of the working people in the republic was far behind the

development of production. Clearly, there are objective causes for this situation, but too wide a gap between the two spheres can badly detract from the effect of achievements in industrialisation.

Another visit was to a fishing cooperative in the district centre of el-Shikhr. The cooperative's chairman of the board, Said ben Awash, a staid man in a white *'emmam* (turban), described its operations. The cooperative unites 955 fisherman, 360 of them working in teams and 595 singlehanded. It has some 80 powerboats and a maintenance and repair workshop. The men often change their fishing grounds: during what they call the winter season, lasting nine months, they fish sardine and shark off the coast of Al-Mahra governate and in the autumn season switch to other species (actually, South Yemen has just two seasons, one 'hot' and the other 'very hot'). The cooperative provides material assistance to low-income families and pays survivors' benefits. Pay is based on cost-accounting and depends on the fulfilment of plan targets. Those who meet the targets ahead of schedule are exempted from taxes. In 1986, every member of the cooperative earned an average of 1,500 dinars in a season lasting six-seven months. The cooperative helps fishermen in building homes and extends cash benefits for weddings and medical treatment.

The secretary of the cooperative's primary YSP organisation, Saad Sarkha, added that there were 30 full and candidate members in the organisation. Party meetings raise first and foremost production problems. The organisation discussed the draft text of the 'Critical Analysis' in the run-up to the party conference. Speakers criticised negative phenomena in the life of the country and the party; they demanded, inter alia, a ban on private fish trading as the breeding grounds of profiteering and urged improvements in the supply of fishing tackle to the cooperative. "Are there in the cooperative those who would like to join the party?" "There are," said the secretary, "but we think that party membership means not a privilege but first and foremost a high sense of responsibility. Our party members try to work better than others. Two of them became winners of the production emulation drive in the governorate in 1985."

The local party organisations are active, as we saw for ourselves, and especially at public enterprises and in cooperatives, where people are engaged in organised collective labour.

Hadharamaut is the largest and most populous governorate of the republic. It has a party organisation of 5,000 Saleh al-Madhy, secretary of the YSP committee of the governorate told us. As for its social composition, workers account for 75 per cent, peasants for two per cent and fishermen for another two. There are few women members because of scarce employment opportunities, religious prejudice and ossified customs and lifestyles. The low percentage of peasants in the membership is explained by their illiteracy and by the fact that, toiling from dawn to dusk, they have no time to contribute to public activities.

We were strongly impressed by a visit to a heat power plant coupled with a desalinisation unit being built in Aden with Soviet assistance. It is the country's second largest project after an oil refinery, although not in terms of the workforce: the maintenance team numbers just 120 workers. As we watched Yemenis manipulate sophisticated equipment, we had the

impression that they were building the future of the republic and that, moreover, they themselves were a part of that future.

The Party Consolidates Positions

The past crisis generated many problems. To begin with, the party's unity was called in question, and that was all the more regrettable since most of the people who were locked in fighting in those tragic days actually had the same ideological and political convictions.

Yet we realised on our visit that the South Yemeni revolutionaries had made good progress in overcoming the after-effects of the January fighting and in restructuring party work. We were told at the Central Committee that the party organisations in the three governorates that had been hit by the crisis especially hard — Aden, Abyan and Shabwa — had been fully restructured and the party had been purged. More purposeful work is now conducted to increase the party's leading role, especially in the state apparatus, and to tighten party discipline. These measures are especially important now, after the party was for several years actually split into two.

Party leaders stressed in conversations with us the importance of efforts to strengthen the party's links with the mass of the people. The trade unions, the women's and youth unions and the people's defence committees have held their congresses since the January crisis. Elections to the local bodies of government and to the Supreme People's Council took place in October 1986. "They were in fact a referendum in which 86.5 per cent of the electorate participated," a CC secretary told us. "The people said yes to the party and its policy and no to its adversaries." In the election campaign the party and state leaders went out to all the six governorates to meet the people. Those meetings were marked by criticism, we heard at the Secretariat, which was directed not just at the former leaders. People openly stated their justified demands and vital, day-to-day needs, such as water, power and food supply and the building of schools and hospitals. In organising such meetings, the party leaders strove for openness; the mass media broadcast live some of them. "Our principle was not to keep anything secret from the people nor promise them anything we could not deliver," one of our hosts said.

Even before our trip to South Yemen we had heard that the tragic events of January 1986 had complicated the republic's relations with a number of countries and the Yemen Socialist Party's ties with fraternal parties. Meeting CC Deputy General Secretary Salem Saleh Muhammed, we asked him point blank if it was really so.

"We indeed had some difficulties in this respect," our host replied, "but we have coped. We need solidarity, especially now that imperialism and colonialism are stepping up their intrigues against the countries of the region, that the US and NATO are threatening to intervene direct in the Iran-Iraq conflict and that troops of the Rapid Deployment Force are on exercises in some neighbouring countries."

On that visit we heard a great deal about the situation in the country and saw a great deal with our own eyes. Here we tried not to moralise but to present an unbiased and balanced picture, without exaggeration and embellishment but without undue scepticism either.

... As you look down at the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula from aboard a plane, you see below an endless panorama of sand and rock with rare dots of vegetation. In that sun-scorched land live and work people we met and talked to, people who are building a new Yemen. We wish them success and happiness.

¹ One South Yemeni dinar equals roughly US \$3. — *Ed.*

² South Yemen became independent on November 30, 1967. — *Ed.*

³ The 'Critical Analysis' reads, inter alia: in 1985, the number of full and candidate members was 34,284, an increase of 73 per cent (14,490) from the end of 1980 (19,794). That major growth was at the expense of quality. By 1985 the class composition of the party changed from what it was in 1980 in the following manner: workers — 13 per cent (from 17.4 per cent); peasants — 10 (11); intellectuals — 17.2 (10.2); army-men — 38.6 (28.2); office employees — 13.2 (27.2); petty bourgeois — 8 (6).

⁴ The right wing of the UPO-NF was folded up in the course of the so-called Rectification Movement of June 22, 1969. In 1975 the National Front was transformed into a United Political Organisation — National Front on the basis of three 'national action detachments' and in 1978 the UPO-NF served as the basis for the establishment of the Yemen Socialist Party. — *Ed.*

⁵ President Salem Rubcia Ali was opposed to the establishment of a vanguard-type party and attempted a coup d'état in June 1978 but was defeated and executed by the firing squad. — *Ed.*

⁶ South Yemen is divided into six governorates (*muhafaza*), which are further subdivided into districts (*mudiriya*) and areas (*markaz*). — *Ed.*

Our Interviews

'Just Dare To Think'

Gabriel García Márquez —
Colombian writer

This Colombian writer and Nobel prize winner who wrote the world famous novels *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and *The Autumn of the Patriarch* is popular among readers of many countries. Besides, Marquez is doing much to preserve Latin American ethnic and cultural values, its literature and cinema. That is what his interview to *WMR* is about.

In the past few years you took part in a number of international meetings of most diverse nature and level. Do they have anything in common that would reflect the tendencies of the development of modern social thought?

I THINK that each of these meetings is a convincing testimony of mankind's growing responsibility for the preservation of peace and of the desire of people from countries with different social systems to cooperate. As never before, we need today dialogues and contacts.

People in the arts are setting a good example in this. For instance, I attended a meeting of Soviet and American film-makers at the Moscow Film Festival,* who discussed plans for joint productions. I was at first

* The 15th International Moscow Film Festival was held in July 1987. — *Ed.*

rather sceptical but soon I realised that they were discussing cooperation not with Hollywood's commercialised 'factory of dreams' but with independent producers and film-makers and had humanistic aims in mind. So I became convinced that the idea would bring good results and serve to promote trust among nations.

You often visit different Latin American countries. What is especially characteristic of their political life today?

A growing awareness of their unity, the awareness of the need for joint decisions and actions.

After the coup in Chile 1973 we heard that you were not going to publish books as long as Pinochet stayed in power. In one of your interviews you said you've lost that battle . . .

The life of a writer is rich, among other things, in lost battles. I've indeed lost that one but the final victory will be ours. So I thought I'd do more harm to Pinochet if I write good books than if I stop writing altogether.

From the earliest stories your works are pervaded by optimism and faith in human reason. But most of them also contain an analysis of violence . . .

When people don't understand that conceptions, such as equality and freedom, are an inalienable human right, when they don't learn to understand each other nothing good will come out of it. I am sure that art and culture in general have a beneficial role to play in this.

You mean genuine culture, of course, but there is also 'mass culture' which often propagandises cruelty and violence.

Yes, indeed commercial art is ever more actively imposing its stereotypes, including those propagandising power cult. Regrettably, intellectuals and serious artists in Latin America and for that matter elsewhere in the West underestimate this danger. Take, for instance, television. Some writers show disregard for it in the belief that it is subordinate to 'mass culture'. I think they are mistaken: by renouncing this important and powerful means of influencing a multimillion-strong audience, they gave it up to the commercial art makers without even attempting to challenge them.

Some say that you write for the intellectuals and even for a narrow circle of the select.

I think that culture severed from the people has no right to exist. I don't understand elitist cultures. Of course, they exist but they are hardly capable of playing any significant role from the point of view of history. Every culture should have its roots in the people and be addressed to them.

This is confirmed by my personal experience: it was not until I realised

that people were the genuine source of any national culture that I became a true writer. The vast poetic and literary material embodied in folklore, music and tales of the Caribbean coast served as a point of departure in my creative work.

There is another aspect of this issue. There was a time when I indeed thought that I wrote books for the intellectuals, for the professionally trained readers, so to speak. But it turned out that my novels were read even by people who could barely read. They not merely like my books: the latter awaken the desire to create hidden deep in their hearts. When I asked them what they thought about what they had read, they answered that they knew even more interesting stories and indeed told better stories than those written by me.

Progressive literary critics assert that it was the national spirit of Latin American novels that largely predetermined their worldwide recognition. Do you agree with this?

Absolutely. For a long time novels, even quite good, had been appearing in Latin America but the authors themselves sought first and foremost to have their works translated in France, Great Britain and the United States where they were lost in the welter of publications. That lasted for decades until the emergence of a phenomenon subsequently referred to as 'the boom of Latin American novels'. Already then, in the late 1960s, we realised that the boom set in not because our books attracted the attention of the outside world but because they began to be read in Latin America. That is to say, a real upswing of Latin American literature occurred only after we succeeded in expressing the aspirations, griefs, suffering and joys of readers in our countries. It was only their success on the continent that evoked genuine interest in those works in major cultural centres. What happened ran completely counter to our ideas: the movement went from the inside and into the outside world rather than from the outside into the entrails of the Latin American continent.

Would you say that the cinema in Latin America is in the same state now as was its literature before the 1960s boom?

Latin American film-making has made today great progress but, unfortunately, it remains almost unknown to the wide audience. We have quite a few stimulating and significant pictures but they have no audience: film distribution in our countries is controlled by major US transnationals that have absolutely no interest in those films and deal with entertaining commercial productions only, the 'mass culture' cinema. We are trying to change this situation with the help of the New Latin American Film Fund, which was set up two years ago.

Can you, as the Fund chairman, tell us of the tasks your organisation has set itself?

First and foremost, to promote the development of Latin American film-making, second, to secure a market for its products, and still another very

important task is to preserve the films made in Latin America. Far from every Latin American country can afford cinema archives taking stock and systematising the films made. This situation has led to the irretrievable loss of some documentaries, though their historical importance can hardly be overestimated. Should the situation persist, in some twenty years Latin America would have no films picturing Che Guevara, Salvador Allende or the dictators. Historical memory should be complete and not something dismembered.

We have conceived a very expensive project for the purpose. We'll try to raise money and provide facilities for storing old, new and future films at the São Paulo Film Library.

To secure a market means to push aside the transnational corporations which control film distribution, doesn't it?

Yes, to a certain extent it does and we have already made some progress in it. I hope every country on our continent will soon have a movie theatre to show films made by Latin American directors. With this aim in view we will also try to rent movie theatres in some European capitals.

And still the main thing is to achieve a psychological breakthrough in the viewers' and film distributors' mentality. This should be accomplished not only in the countries dominated by transnational corporations . . . Paradoxically, Soviet spectators have of late had practically no chance to see the best productions by Latin American film-makers. The thing is that it was not always experts who purchased films on the Soviet side. Guided by their own tastes they often preferred entertainment films to serious ones. We would like to have that practice changed and think it possible especially now that important changes are going on in all spheres of Soviet social life. Perestroika has a tremendous positive potential and I believe that with the establishment of new artistic criteria the Soviet side will show growing interest in serious films reflecting realities of our continent.

Last year saw the opening of the International School of Cinema and Television in San Antonio de los Baños, Cuba. This seems to be the first step towards implementing one of the key tasks of the Fund, which you defined as the "development of Latin American film-making".

Yes, the first and, surely, the most important one. The most costly project of our organisation is the programme of preserving the films of the continent, whereas the school is its most ambitious project. As the Fund chairman, I raised the question of its foundation in different Latin American states without much avail. Cuba immediately saw the importance of the initiative and granted a building, which now houses the school. It trains film-makers, cameramen and script writers.

The Western press asserts that the idea of setting up a school belongs to the Cuban leadership, while Marquez merely propagandises it.

I identify myself with the Cuban revolution to such an extent and have such close relations with the people of that country that I would simply be

ineffective in popularising the ideas of the Cuban leadership in the outside world.

Speaking seriously, however, let me say once again that it is not a Cuban school nor is it part of the country's educational system. We are completely in charge of its affairs and finances. The school is essentially democratic and tuition is free of charge. Lecturers from different countries (who are the best of their class, I would add) work there on a voluntary basis. Of course, not all of them can give lectures throughout the academic year; some come for a limited period, say a weekend, a week or a month. I, for one, for three months every year have a class on 'How to Tell a Story', during which my students and I analyse plots of future scripts.

For me working at school means gaining invaluable experience. If I had known twenty years ago how gratifying it is to teach I would, perhaps, have been unable to write so much. But now I am thinking of combining these two activities. I strive to teach my students above all to learn to think. The main task of my class is to shatter stereotypes and to teach young people to think independently so that they would be able to express the true feelings of their own and of their people. But it is not always that my students, who have already a script or a film to their names, succeed in this. Their previous experience inevitably leaves an imprint and prevents them from going beyond the customary practice.

That is why I am going to enrol in my seminar this coming January ten nine-year-olds rather than ten grown-up students. They would differ from their peers in that they have never been to the cinema nor seen a TV film. They are village children. They are closer to folk traditions, to the people and are not burdened with traditional ideas of the do's and don'ts of writing. It would, of course, be wrong to believe that one should be utterly innocent to create one's own works. But it is likewise impossible to restrict oneself to assimilated culture: one has to think. It has even occurred to me that my class 'How to Tell a Story' should be called 'Just Dare to Think'.

I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the creative intelligentsia Latin America remains avowed to humanistic traditions. The main thing is to act and to struggle. And this struggle will be an earnest of the preservation of genuine culture of the peoples of our continent and genuine culture of entire mankind.

surveys, letters, and diary

Pages Of History

Memorable Dates Of 1988

As usual, our first issue of the year carries a brief reminder of some memorable dates of 1988, tracing the history of world movement, the revolutionary liberation struggles and the peace movement.

THIS year progressive mankind will mark the *170th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx (May 1818)*.

A few memorable dates are related to the ideological legacy of the founders of scientific communism. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published 140 years ago, in February 1848. It was the first programme document of scientific communism.

The first issue of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, edited by Marx, came out in June of the same year.

Anti-Dühring, one of Engels's major works, came out as a book 110 years ago, in July 1878.

Some of this year's memorable dates are related to *Lenin's major works*. In May 1918, 70 years ago, *The State and Revolution* came off the presses; the leader of Russia's proletariat expounded in it the Marxist doctrine of the state. *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* was finished in October 1918; April will mark the 70th anniversary of the publication of 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government' and October, the 80th anniversary of the article 'Marxism and Revisionism'.

A wave of bourgeois-democratic revolutions swept France, Austria, Germany and other countries in 1848, 140 years ago.

An important event in the history of the proletarian movement in Russia will be marked in March: *the First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party opened 90 years ago, in 1898*, to proclaim the establishment of a Marxist workers' party in Russia.

A number of *communist and workers' parties* will mark their anniversaries this year: 70 years ago were established the Communist Party of Argentina (*January*), the Communist Party of Finland (*August*), the Communist Parties of Austria and Greece (*November*). The Communist Party of Hungary, the forerunner of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, was established in November 1918 and the Communist Party of Poland (now the Polish United Workers' Party), in December of the same year.

The 70th anniversary of the Communist Party of Germany will be marked in December, and the 20th anniversary of the German Communist Party (FRG) in *September*.

The Paraguayan Communist Party will mark 60 years of its existence in *February*; the Peruvian Communist Party also celebrates its 60th anniversary this year. The Communist Party of Bangladesh will mark its 40th anniversary and the Guadeloupe Communist Party, its 30th anniversary in *March*.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed in *September* 40 years ago.

The Czechoslovak Republic gained independence 70 years ago, in *October* 1918.

February will mark 40 years of the historic victory of the Czechoslovak working people over reaction and the ultimate transition of the national-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

Ernesio Che Guevara (1928-1967), a Latin-American revolutionary and a leader of the 1959 Cuban revolution, was born in *June* 60 years ago.

The first issue of *Akahata*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Japan, came out in *February* 1928.

WMR will spotlight in its forthcoming issues many of the memorable dates and events of 1988.

Editorial Council Members Reply To Our Readers

An article on the causes of the prolonged conflict in Southern Sudan and another on the programme of stabilising the Hungarian economy open a new section in which Editorial Council members will discuss, on our readers' request, acute problems of their parties, countries and regions.

Southern Sudan: how to heal the bleeding wound?

THE historical roots of the problem of Southern Sudan go back to the nineteenth century, the early period of our country's colonisation. This problem is a logical result of the process of undermining and destroying the productive forces by slave trade carried out by the Turkish authorities. South Sudanese tribes responded with opposition to the invaders.

When the Sudan was a condominium of Great Britain and Egypt, the threat of the South being torn away completely from the North became imminent. The law passed in 1922 declared the southern regions 'closed'. Nothing was done to promote their socio-economic development. Poverty, disease and illiteracy were the lot of the overwhelming majority of the population of Southern Sudan.

It should be emphasised that differences between the Muslim population of Northern Sudan inhabited by the Arabs and the black Christians of the South enabled both the colonialists and the Sudanese exploiting forces to present the problem of the South as purely religious and ethnic. In this way they camouflaged the socio-economic roots and the destructive consequences of the colonialist and post-colonialist policy.

Far from improving, the situation in the South even worsened under the successive national governments after the Sudan gained independence in 1956. Social services (education, health care and so on) existed only thanks to aid from international organisations, among them the World Health Organisation (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the United National Children's Fund (UNICEF) and various commissions for combating infectious diseases. Education was provided only by Catholic missions. At the same time enormous sums were spent to maintain the repressive apparatus ('tribal administrations', prisons, the army and the police). This determined the protracted nature of the first civil war that began as early as 1955 and lasted till 1972. Then there appeared an insurgent movement headed by the Anya-Nya (Snake Poison) organisation. In 1983 the second civil war broke out and is still going on.

In the period of the first military dictatorship (1959-1964) the money received from the IBRD and the US Agency for International Development made it possible to improve slightly the infrastructure, primarily routes of communication. But the situation in the social field remained extremely bad.

Under the second military dictatorship (1969-1985) the South saw utmost decay and economic and social decline. The latter was accompanied by spreading terror and repression and mounting discord and distrust between the North and the South.

The democratic forces, first and foremost the Communist Party of the Sudan (CPS), at the very dawn of independence felt the danger latent in the problem of the South. For this reason the CPS worked consistently to unite all the progressive forces of the Sudanese national movement both in the South and the North against the colonialists and the local reactionaries. Incidentally, the Sudan Workers' Trade Unions Federation played a significant role in that by tying workers' demands for trade union and general freedoms to demands to eliminate the colonialist regime.

When looking for ways to settle the problems of the South, the reactionary forces resorted to chauvinistic, separatist slogans. Certain quarters supported by the missionary groups opted for a federation. Opposing those slogans, the CPS and other progressive organisations advocated a solution which would give the South regional autonomy within integral Sudan on a peaceful and democratic basis.

The stand adopted by the CPS and other democratic forces evoked broad repercussions during the round table discussion of this problem, which was held after the victory of the people's revolution (October 1964) and which involved all the political parties of the North and the South. A key result of the discussion was the first public recognition by the bourgeois parties of the North of the existence of the problem of the South and of the need to resolve it. They had never admitted that previously, especially

when the reins of power were in their hands.

Subsequently, the rightists' striving after power and their desire to eliminate democracy and to ban progressive parties and organisations, above all the CPS, nipped in the bud all efforts to attain a democratic settlement of the problem of the South. The country was plunged into the maelstrom of a political crisis, which led in May 1969 to the establishment of another military dictatorship which stayed in power for nearly 16 years.

In a bid to consolidate its position, the military dictatorship concluded in Addis Ababa (1972) an agreement with the political leadership of the South Sudanese insurgent movement, which provided for regional autonomy of the South. Politicians, administrators and the military representing different strata of the emergent bourgeoisie came to power there. Similar elements also held responsible posts in the central government, in this way ensuring the bourgeoisie an important position among the ruling social forces on a nationwide scale.

The situation caused by the 1972 agreement lasted till 1983 when the second civil war flared up. Its eruption attested to the bankruptcy of the Addis Ababa 'settlement' of the problem of the South. The aforementioned elements exploited their power in selfish interests and in the interests of tribal protectionism. To safeguard and strengthen their positions, they zealously served the Nimeri dictatorial regime. That eventually undermined the Addis Ababa agreement, especially after Khartoum decided to divide the South into three provinces and then to impose Islamic law (the Sharia) there so as to make the whole country an Islamic state.

Those retrograde measures evoked opposition sentiments in the South, especially among the military. Many of them quit the army to found in 1983 the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) headed by Col. John Garang and its military wing — the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). Former officers and soldiers of government troops formed the backbone and the leadership of both the SPLM and the SPLA. The movement, naturally, also incorporated many representatives of the South Sudanese tribes and national minorities. Beginning with August 1985 the People's Liberation Army launched armed struggle against the dictatorial regime's stooges, without letting it up even after Nimeri had been overthrown.

The Communist Party of the Sudan views the SPLM as a product of the subjective experience of the enlightened part of the South Sudanese population in the period following the Addis Ababa agreement. The movement's programme contains the aims which go beyond the problems of the South and envisage a nationwide socio-economic reform. The movement made its contribution to the defeat of separatist tendencies. It took the wind out of the sails of the rulers of the North preaching the ideology of extreme Arab nationalism. The SPLM believes that the problem of the South can be resolved only within the framework of the democratic development of the entire Sudan with the indispensable precondition of eliminating the military dictatorship.

As is seen, the SPLM aims coincided with the aspirations of the National Alliance for Salvation of the Sudan (NASS), a political movement in the

North. But it was impossible under dictatorship to ensure the interaction and coordination between the two movements. That left an imprint on their tactics and methods of struggle for the overthrow of the military dictatorship: the NASS resorted to political strikes, which grew into an uprising, whereas the SPLM considered armed struggle the only way out and called on all the opposition forces to join the ranks of the liberation army.

As a result serious differences emerged between the political movement in the North and that in the South. Our party believes that the SPLM leadership was wrong in its estimates of the profundity and scale of the uprising. It failed to realise that the overthrow of the Nimeri regime spelt nothing but the restoration of political freedoms necessary for the continuation of the struggle for socio-economic and national liberation, for the realignment of forces, for the working out of new tactics.

Despite the above facts and the complicated present-day situation in the country, the CPS and the democratic forces are convinced that a mutually acceptable agreement on ending the war in the South can be reached through dialogue and contacts. There is no alternative to the peaceful solution. Having agreed to this, the SPLM had in March 1986 negotiations with the NASS in Ethiopia. The result was the Koka Dam Declaration, which expressed their desire for dialogue to determine the form of government in the Sudan. A national constitutional conference could provide the organisational framework for such a dialogue. In the same line was the proposal by Sadek el Mahdi, the country's Prime Minister and leader of the Al-Umma Party, which he made in April 1987 though subsequently Khartoum again embarked on the war path.

On June 13, 1987, the Communist Party of the Sudan published a draft plan for putting an end to the civil war and convening a national constitutional conference. Making this initiative, we take into account the conditions and causes of the second civil war, which became a factor of shattering the dictatorial regime and which helped to eliminate it in April 1985.

Our party believes that had the SPLM taken an equal part along with other political forces in establishing a civilian government system subsequently, that is, after Nimeri's overthrow, there could have been no causes for war. Highly regrettably, the SPLM leadership's negative view of the results of the popular uprising, first and foremost of winning the democracy, and also the obstructionist measures taken by the interim government interfered with reaching an agreement.

The draft plan of the Communist Party stressed that the continuation of the war entailed not only new human and material losses. The threat of foreign intervention and military coups persisted. The armed struggle in the South — which has been going on for more than thirty years now — far from resolving, further exacerbates and tends to perpetuate the problems faced by the Sudan.

One of those is to preserve and strengthen the country's national unity. In this connection our party emphasises the need to preserve the army as a closely-knit, integral and solid body capable of defending the Sudan's borders and sovereignty. There can be no national unity without security.

Hence our conviction that the destruction of the Sudanese army runs counter to Sudanese patriotism and is a grave crime.

The Communist Party's initiative contains the general principles, which can ensure an end to the war. We advocate an immediate end to military activities and the working out of guarantees precluding their resumption, which would create a favourable atmosphere for the convocation of a national constitutional conference. Such an atmosphere would also be promoted by:

a) the abolition of Islamic law (the Sharia) introduced in September 1983 and the restoration of secular law;

b) the cancellation of the agreement with Egypt on mutual defence and other similar agreements;

c) refraining from taking any decision pertaining to the prerogative of the national constitutional conference.

There is no doubt that the expansion of the civil war in the South of the Sudan has begun to threaten peace and security already on a regional scale, including the Horn of Africa. The war has led to tensions between the Sudan and its neighbours, primarily Ethiopia. The internal reactionary forces, above all the National Islamic Front, whose aims and interests coincide with the aspirations of the whole of the Arab reactionaries and the imperialists, seek to internationalise the civil war. That is why active efforts to stop the war, to heal the Sudan's bleeding wound and to convene the national constitutional conference are becoming important not only to our people but also to other peoples and national democratic forces of the region.

Ali Ahmed el Tayeb

representative of the Communist Party of the Sudan on *WMR*

Working To Stabilise The Hungarian Economy

THE Hungarian national economy has many achievements to its credit: since 1960, the national income has roughly trebled, industrial output has gone up 3.5-fold, and the population's real incomes and consumption have increased 2.5-fold. These are results in which one can take a justifiable pride.

One also has to recognise, however, that current economic development in the country is markedly at variance with the course set by the decisions of the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party and the targets of the five-year plan. Over the past two years, consumption has grown slightly, in contrast to the national income, while the external debt has risen, to a total of \$16 billion, and so has the state budget deficit.

The profound changes in the world economy over the past 15 years have certainly told on the dynamics of our growth. In view of the need to switch to intensive economic development, the Central Committee of the HSWP has begun to eliminate the accumulated difficulties. Its July 1987 Plenary

Meeting adopted a programme for economic and social development, and the draft of it had been discussed at 38 party, government, social and scientific meetings.

The main objective of this long-term document is to renovate every sphere of society's life, to impart an impetus to socialist construction and to provide the resources required for further economic growth. The unfavourable trends in our national economy are to be halted in a short stabilisation period, which is to be followed by a long period of development.

The first thing to be done is to reduce the debt, to lower and then to eliminate the state budget deficit and to improve the external and internal balances. The modification of the pattern of production, its technical re-equipment and the reduction of inputs now under way are to be widened for the purpose of eventually making economic management more efficient.

Self-reliance with Hungary's active involvement in the international division of labour is the main principle of realising the programme. Here cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has the definitive role in scientific and technical progress and our economic development. Planned and balanced administration of the national economy and perfection of the market with an eye to its law-governed uniformities is the basis for solving these problems. The decision of the Plenary Meeting says that priority must be given to social interests, the spirit of collectivism must be enhanced, and socialist democracy expanded.

Broad masses of the population were informed of the party platform worked out at the Plenary Meeting. It is the basis of the government's programme for economic and social stabilisation until 1990, and it was unanimously adopted by the National Assembly¹, our parliament, in September 1987.

It should be noted that there was wide and open discussion of the document, which was first examined in the various mass and social organisations and the parliament's standing commissions. The lively discussion continued in the National Assembly, which was reported live on radio and television. It helped to clarify the areas in which the most vigorous action will have to be taken in the years ahead.

The first thing that has to be done is, as it was said above, to stop the growth of the external debt and to keep the country solvent. In order to solve these problems enterprises will have to turn out goods in demand on the world market. No-profit lines of production and inefficient exports are being wound up; while development strategy decisions will still be taken by the central leadership, the enterprises will have more say, and their initiative is to be encouraged. Commodity-money relations and the socialist market are to be actively developed. A new tax system will provide incentives for good work in industry, because it encourages those whose economic management yields a profit, and penalises those who are remiss.

These measures will, of course, temporarily curtail individual consumption, hold down real wages and raise prices. Everyone's income now depends to a greater extent on one's output. A personal income tax is

being introduced on every type of earnings: a larger income now also carries larger deductions to the state budget.

The draft of the new tax system for enterprises and individuals was also discussed by the members of parliament, and their opinions differed: 10 deputies voted against, and 21 abstained when parliament debated the personal income tax.

The living conditions of the less well-off will not be worsened, for assistance is to be provided to pensioners, families with many children, and young industrial and office workers.

If the pattern of production is to be transformed, labour power will have to be regrouped, and the government's approach is that choice of job will have to be more concerted with the interests of the society, without any breach of the citizens' right to work.

HSWP General Secretary Janos Kadar told the National Assembly that, in view of the principles of the socialist system, conditions should be created for efficient and rational economic management. Many workers and peasants say: we shall set our house in order, even if it takes some sacrifices to do so. That is the view of the majority in the country.

Sandor Szorcsik

HSWP representative on the journal

¹ The highest organ of state authority in Hungary. — *Ed.*

Letters to *WMR*

Readers Respond, Add And Suggest

COMRADES! Proletarians the world over!

This is a plea from an ordinary worker in small Nicaragua to help us establish peace in Central America. We Nicaraguan workers and peasants want to live in peace. War for us is agony — orphaned children, mothers' tears, desolate dwellings, old people's suffering, and an excruciating pain in people's hearts.

All we want is to work in peace and lay down the arms we had to take up to resist US aggression. We are defending our motherland following the fine example of our national hero Augusto Cesar Sandino.

Brothers the world over! We ordinary Nicaraguans want our fertile land to burst into flower and we want all children in Central America to enjoy themselves as all children should. And we believe that the proletarian solidarity of workers around the globe will help us maintain the freedom of our motherland!

Free Motherland or Death!

P.S. A few words about myself. As a child I went to work at the coffee and cotton plantations and as early as in my teens was active in the

underground struggle against the Somoza tyranny. In 1981, after the country's liberation, I joined the Sandinist militia, which I recently left for health reasons. I am now in charge of an agricultural cooperative in Matagalpa province.

Andrés Zeas Sánchez
Nicaragua

HOW to build up communist ranks, primarily with young members, is a sensitive issue for many communist parties in Western Europe. Some tend to explain it by modern young people being apolitical, while others are blaming a general swing to the right in the West. But maybe we should place the blame at our own doorstep? Maybe we have failed to excite young people's imagination?

Just look how aptly and promptly the bourgeois media are putting their message across to the young. Television, radio and the press are getting increasingly sophisticated in reaching the young audience, as mass culture is fashioning ever new idols for them.

Unless we start looking for more effective ways of influencing young people (even some out of the common run, just to try them out), tomorrow, I think, we may find ourselves in dire straits.

Giovanni Morelli
Italy

I HAVE been reading *WMR* for years. It is certainly of great help to the Greek Communists. I could write a lot about what is good but I think it would be more useful to focus on things which still need improving.

Frankly, my view is that the journal offers few valid arguments to counter bourgeois propaganda stereotypes. I often get the feeling that they are more attuned to the problems of yesterday than today. But life goes on, the ideological contention is acute, and the bourgeois propaganda is fast renewing its stratagems, so we Communists should promptly react to it. It is pointless to concentrate on things our class enemy was preaching in the past and sleep on its new arguments. All in all, we must have a much readier and faster ideological response to such things.

Alexandros Papalexopoylos
Greece

On openness within the communist movement

I HAVE been following various publications on world communist movement problems for several years now. Reading periodicals and special literature I try to understand them; want to know, in particular, why the communist and workers' parties have no international association of their own.

As I see it, the lack of such an international forum in the 1960s was partly compensated by several meetings of communist and workers' parties. But then came a split in Soviet-Chinese relations, signalling initial divisions

within the communist movement. The later years of stagnation in the Soviet Union left their mark on relations between parties, cautioning them that the once solid structure of their solidarity was showing cracks.

Now let us consider the problem from a different angle. The Socialist International was followed by 'internationals' and regional associations of conservative, Christian democratic, liberal, radical, Trotskyite and 'green' parties. Even mercenary counter-revolutionaries ranging from 'contras' to 'dushmans' are forming 'internationals' of sorts exploiting the riveting name.

True, the stagnation in the Soviet Union has led to centrifugal tendencies within the international communist movement. But listen, comrades! The CPSU has been going for much democratisation recently, meeting stiff opposition from conservative elements. What we badly need now is backing by comrades and allies rather than rapturous applause from the bourgeois press.

Another important problem is this: I used to think that the splits in some communist parties were stirred by reactionaries and that of the two parts thus formed one was totally right and the other equally wrong. But the more I read books on the history of the communist movement the more I become convinced that the 'black-and-white' principle is irrelevant here and the truth could only be arrived at in comparing several viewpoints; that is discussion of thorny problems is absolutely vital.

It is my view that *WMR* could have a part in this. It has had many issues discussed but hardly ever one of divisions. We are of course talking not about one's meddling in parties' internal affairs but about an examination, an analysis, with theoretical and practical goals, chiefly to help unification trends along. Now if the journal shuns an important issue like this one it is admittedly doing a disservice to Communists in countries where their parties are at risk of splitting up.

Igor Kondratyev
CPSU member since 1985.
sociologist, USSR

We will keep on publishing your letters with differing views of any one problem and are looking forward to such. Our address is: Czechoslovakia, Praha 6, Thakurova 3.

**They Fought For
The Cause Of People**

A Courageous Revolutionary

SUCH things do not happen every day. However desperately the authorities wanted to forestall a mass outpouring of sympathy for Behice Boran, a deceased activist in the Turkish working class and communist

movement, the funeral ceremonies for her in Ankara and Istanbul in October 1987 strikingly revealed the yearning of the broad public for more democracy and a lifting of bans on progressive activities.

As many as over 20,000 people — factory and office workers, university students, intellectuals, Communists and democrats — gathered in Istanbul to pay tribute to the memory of a woman who had long led the Workers' Party of Turkey and was therefore forced to spend her last years in exile. Prominent political and public figures, among them leaders of the Social Democratic Populist Party of Erdal İnönü and the Party of Democratic Left of Bülent Ecevit, and members of parliament from the traditionalist right-wing Correct Way Party were at the ceremony in Ankara. Erdal İnönü thus wrote in an obituary to Behice Boran, chairman of a party banned in Turkey: "As a parliament deputy from the Workers' Party of Turkey Boran spoke for the socialist movement, its convictions and its richness. The views she propounded were more to the left than ours. But this cannot prevent us from paying tribute to her lofty human traits and her lifelong struggle for her ideas."

Why was all this made possible? The answer lies in Boran's stalwart dedication to the ideas of scientific socialism, democracy and social justice and her many years of championing the needs of the working people, national independence and peace.

. . . After going through university in the US the young sociologist came back home to face with the grim realities of merciless exploitation of the working class and peasants by foreign and local dependent capital. Her conscience rebelled against the injustices of bourgeois society. In the 1940s she joined the working class political movement and was later continually harassed. She got her first taste of it when she and other Marxist teachers were dismissed from a faculty at Ankara University. Her marriage and motherhood combined with her political work, which acquired a new dimension — the struggle for peace. In 1950 she became founder of the association of Turkish peace champions.

Boran and her association colleagues take much credit for a sweeping campaign at that time in Turkey against military participation in the US murderous aggression in Korea. Campaigning for peace is taking big risks in Turkey, where civilian governments, themselves fairly distant genuine democracy, have repeatedly given way to dictatorial regimes. Throughout her life Boran kept true to the noble cause, though it cost her successive prison terms. She was on a peace society banned after a military coup in 1980 and on the World Peace Council.

The Workers' Party of Turkey which Boran joined was formed in the relatively democratic climate of the early 1960s. There she quickly won prestige and in 1965 was elected to parliament. Her work there showcased the opportunities it offered to advance working class needs. As the party foreign policy and defence spokesman, she did an immense lot to draw public attention to the unseemly role of US military bases in Turkey.

As long as 17 years, until her last days, Boran was General Chairman of the Workers' Party of Turkey. The post brought out most strikingly her attributes of a political leader conscious of her responsibility for the future of the working class and communist movement, and this won her much

acceptance from the working people. Further party work among the people was cut short by a military coup in 1971, in which the party was banned and its leadership arrested. Boran was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Her fearless speech before a military tribunal will be remembered by every socialist and democrat. It conveyed her absolute belief in the ultimate triumph of democracy and social progress in Turkey. The years behind bars only steeled the intrepid revolutionary. After a general amnesty in 1974 which made the Workers' Party of Turkey legal again she resumed her leadership of it.

The period of legal struggle was terminated by another military coup in 1980. The party was driven underground and Boran, into exile. There she increasingly concentrated on rallying the forces in favour of joint action by the working class political movement. The first step was the unification of two Marxist-Leninist parties, the Workers' and the Communist. Boran was immediately involved in this process. Shortly before her death she and CPT General Secretary Haydar Kutlu declared at a press conference in Brussels that both parties had decided to merge in a United Communist Party of Turkey.

While she was still alive, Boran was denied the opportunity to get back home. But the parting with the communist leader stirred working people's action for greater democracy and making the communist movement legal. Paying tribute to her memory, democratic-minded journalist M. Kemal wrote in the *Cumhuriyet*: "Behice Boran was a totally unblemished Marxist throughout her life. The CPT and WPT are anxious for the working class to unite. The country's veteran political party wants to operate not abroad but in this country, not underground but at large. The taboo has to be broken. The bans have to be lifted."

The revolutionary traditions and the lifelong example of fighters for the popular cause like Boran are helping to unite the Turkish Communists and all democrats to advance the working people's interests, democracy and peace.

Remzi Dolunay
Turkish journalist

the book scene

May This Swallow Make A Summer

Breakthrough. Emerging New Thinking. Soviet and Western Scholars Issue a Challenge to Build a World Beyond War, Editors-in-Chief Anatoly Gromyko, Martin Hellman, New York, Walker Publishing Company, 1988, 281 pp. Published simultaneously in Canada by Thomas Allen and Son, and in the USSR in Russian by Progress Publishers, Moscow.

THE threat of nuclear war looms large among all the other global problems which should be resolved without delay. The aggregate yield of the world's nuclear arms arsenals is a million times greater than the yield of the Hiroshima bomb. The world's population is 5 billion now but the nuclear Moloch is capable of gulping down 58 billion lives. Our planet Earth has become too little for that monster.

Do we exaggerate the danger of war? Indeed, nuclear weapons have never been used since 1945. Or will the tragic day come and mushroom-like clouds be hung up overhead by someone's malicious intent or by mere blunder? Is there a way out of the vicious maze in which humanity is now locked? Can we build a secure world and achieve guaranteed peace? And how?

Soviet, American and West European authors offer answers to these questions in their joint book, which is a product of the commendable initiative of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat and the American Movement for a World Without Wars. Its authors are academicians, leading university professors and prize-winning scientists. The book has been published simultaneously in Moscow in Russian and in the US and Canada in English.

But how have scientists belonging to the two major antagonist armed camps managed to bridge the gap between their different approaches to the most important problem of our time and draw the common conclusion that war and the arms race should be banished from human life? The paramount factor seems to have been their basic conviction that the function of science is not merely to discover new knowledge but also to break through the barriers raised by inadequate human awareness. "Humanity will either change its thinking or it will die a physical death from misuse of its own technological genius" (Preface, p. xx), they say.

The use of nuclear weapons is suicidal, which makes war senseless and outdated, and more and more people tend to share this view today. But far from everyone is aware that atomic war may be triggered by very different circumstances, including those beyond the control of the nuclear powers. The risk of nuclear war is enhanced manifold by the continued proliferation of nuclear weapons and by the development of technologies

for their production in many countries. "Any determined nation could develop and start stockpiling reasonably efficient and reliable nuclear weapons within ten years, and, in many cases, in a much shorter time. The knowledge, non-nuclear materials, and components needed for the production of nuclear weapons are accessible worldwide" (p. 74), says Theodore Taylor, Chairman of the International Research and Technology Corporation, who contributed to the development of US nuclear weapons. Weapons-grade plutonium is produced by nuclear power plants in 36 countries and by the end of the century there will be enough plutonium to make 500,000 nuclear warheads.

The risk that nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of terrorists or people bent on self-destruction or indifferent to the destinies of the world cannot be disregarded either. The surest way to catastrophe, Taylor warns, is to close our eyes to the implications of new states, political terrorists or criminals gaining access to nuclear weapons.

There are other ways in which a nuclear conflict can be unleashed. One of them, paradoxical as it may seem, stems from the development and improvement of the defence systems of the two opposing military camps. The increasing sophistication and interdependence of the warning and tracking systems lead to the situation in which any suspicious step of one side prompts the other to alert its war potential to a higher degree, which in turn is registered by the former. This step-by-step automatic escalation of alertness may erupt into a nuclear exchange. Soviet Academician Boris Raushenbakh says in the book that "with more complex equipment and shorter duration battles, humans could be forced out of the decision-making loop and critical decisions left to computers. The possibility of triggering this kind of 'computer war' is a reality if 'launch on warning' strategies are adopted or if current plans to militarise space are carried out . . . People thus become hostages of computers. In terms of potential nuclear war, the very existence of mankind is becoming dependent on hardware and software" (p. 46).

All this brings to mind incidents in which computers already pushed mankind to the brink of catastrophe.

On June 3, 1980, the warning system of the US Strategic Air Command Centre near Omaha, Nebraska, showed two submarine-launched missiles in flight towards the United States. In another 18 seconds the system warned that even more missiles were on their way. The signals shortly disappeared from the screens but then reappeared. The Pentagon's warning systems also recorded submarine missile launchings. Crews on duty jumped into their B-52 bombers and started the engines. The ground systems were fully alerted. The flying headquarters of the Pacific Command of the US army was scrambled up from Hawaii . . .

Fortunately, doubts about the reality of the attack quickly prevailed over the US commanders and in 3 minutes 12 seconds the alert was called off. But just three days later another computer error sent the crews running to their places and starting up the engines.

A subsequent check turned up a faulty microchip in a computer which was part of the communications system.

Altogether, 1,152 false medium-level alarms were called in the US

between 1977 and 1984. Verification procedures envisioned for such occasions are not 100 per cent foolproof. The risk of coincidence of several false alarm signals or failure in the back-up system make the strategic situation very unstable and dangerous.

People are even more prone to error than machines, especially in crisis situations, when, according to Prof. Marianne Frankenhaeuser of Sweden, President of the European Brain and Behaviour Society, there occur "the narrowing of attention, perceptual distortions, mental inflexibility and vigilance fluctuations" (p. 57), which are natural human responses to severe strain. Moreover, many of the people involved in the handling and control of nuclear weapons turn to alcohol or drugs to relax or cope with loneliness, boredom or stress. Their actions may become unpredictable.

As you read this book, which discusses frankly and factually the dangers facing mankind, you cannot help sharing the conclusion made by the editors: "Together, whether it be because of one cause or another, there are too many potential causes (of nuclear war — *Ed.*) to ignore. Combined, the probability is so great that sooner or later the holocaust is certain. That is the danger. All together, there are too many causes. No matter how improbable each may be individually, the cumulative probability that one or another will lead to war is not small at all. It is absolutely certain if we continue in our present mode" (p. 6).

The time has come to take a broader view of the present state of affairs, to have another look at our values, to revise our habits and customs and to learn the lessons of history and science. The dangers facing us necessitate a mode of global thinking that would start from awareness of humanity being one and of shared responsibility for our common future.

We tend to lay the blame for any misfortune and even for our own mistakes on some external enemy. "The enemy phenomenon is a powerful driver of the arms race and, ultimately, towards war . . .", say American psychiatrist Jerome Frank and Soviet philosopher Andrei Melville in their article. "That is why relaxation of tension, overcoming the image of the enemy and hostility, and establishing a basic trust between countries and nations are tasks as important as disarmament. They are among the main components for building up a new way of political thinking" (pp. 203-204).

In the vision of humanity as a single whole, everyone bears responsibility for everything taking place in the world, the authors of the book believe, and everyone is offered a part in the solution of any perceived problem. The new way of thinking recognises, *inter alia*, that diversity is a reality in the global unity and that the parallel existence of the capitalist and the socialist systems over a long period of time is inevitable. As for the theories of 'exclusive interests' and the messianic doctrines that only some specific system has the right to exist — whether they come from the proponents of capitalism or from the advocates of socialism — are no longer valid and should be left to the past.

The world is interdependent and security in it can only be multilateral, universal and mutual: it should be based on the premise, as Anatoly Gromyko, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stresses, that "both sides consider each other's interests and, while ensuring security for one side, see to it that the security of the other side is

not compromised. Common security can only be possible when based on the principle of equality and equal security" (p. 113).

Awareness of the interdependence of states is bound to lead to the establishment and expansion of cooperation regardless of ideological differences. The process is facilitated by the present day mass communications, which have provided boundless opportunities for cultural exchanges and cross-fertilisation of cultures and for the accumulation and collation of knowledge.

The emergence of new anti-war organisations everywhere will undoubtedly help accelerate the abolition of war, the authors say. Soviet Academician Natalia Bekhtereva says, *inter alia*: "Large numbers of people engaged in discussions and actions to prevent the extension of the arms race and the extinction of humanity would help assure the creativity and the will to achieve a world where humanity's survival is assured" (p.198).

The conclusion of that well-known physiologist from Leningrad is echoed by Prof. Sidney Drell, an adviser to US Congress and the President on arms control: "It has often been said that war is too important to be left to the generals and that peace is too vital to be left to the politicians. So, too, are matters of nuclear weapons and policy too important to be left to the nuclear-strategy 'experts' . . . What this means is that the public must inform and involve itself actively in the formulation of policy of these issues" (p. 223).

The book can be summed up as an appeal to readers to strive for changes in our thinking in order to avert war and preserve life on Earth, and also to seek mutual security guarantees because an energetic public guided by a clear idea is a strong and effective force in its own right.

Subscribing to this appeal and many other lofty ideas formulated in the book, the present reviewer does take exception to some of the opinions put forward, such as the persisting assertion that the two major nuclear powers are 'equally responsible' for the escalation of world tension, or the arguments of those scientists who call for renunciation of armed struggle for national and social liberation in order to avert the risk of nuclear war, and propose instead a sort of 'non-resistance to evil' policy.

New thinking is being born of the clash of views and of discussion, free and, what is most important, in the spirit of good will, when participants hear out and try to understand one another. It was precisely in such an atmosphere that this book was produced. Elena Loshchenkova of the USSR and Craig Barnes of the USA say in the closing article, *inter alia*: "A common goal, basic good will, openness of mind, and a willingness to hear the other person out, were the things that brought the book to completion. For all of us it was a real exercise in new thinking.

"In the process of working with each other, we had a fantastic cross-cultural experience. We became colleagues, genuinely able to agree and disagree, forcefully, but also kindly and with humour. We became even more than friends" (p. 272).

The book by Soviet, American and West European scientists is dedicated 'To our children and grandchildren' but addressed to adult

minds. It is an early swallow of new thinking, and may it make our summer! It should be read by as many people as possible, and not only in Russian and English.

Jiří Vrba



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