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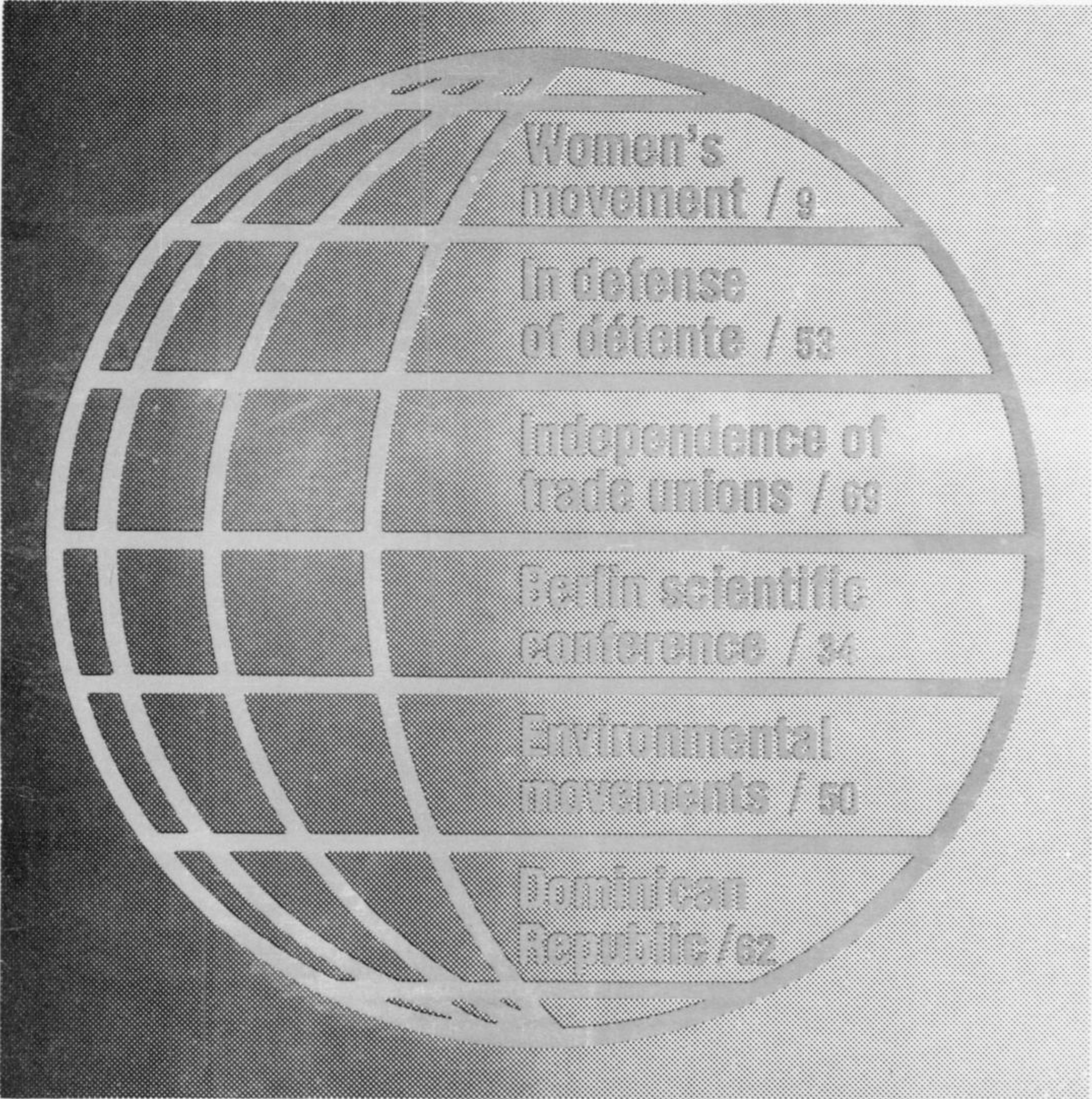
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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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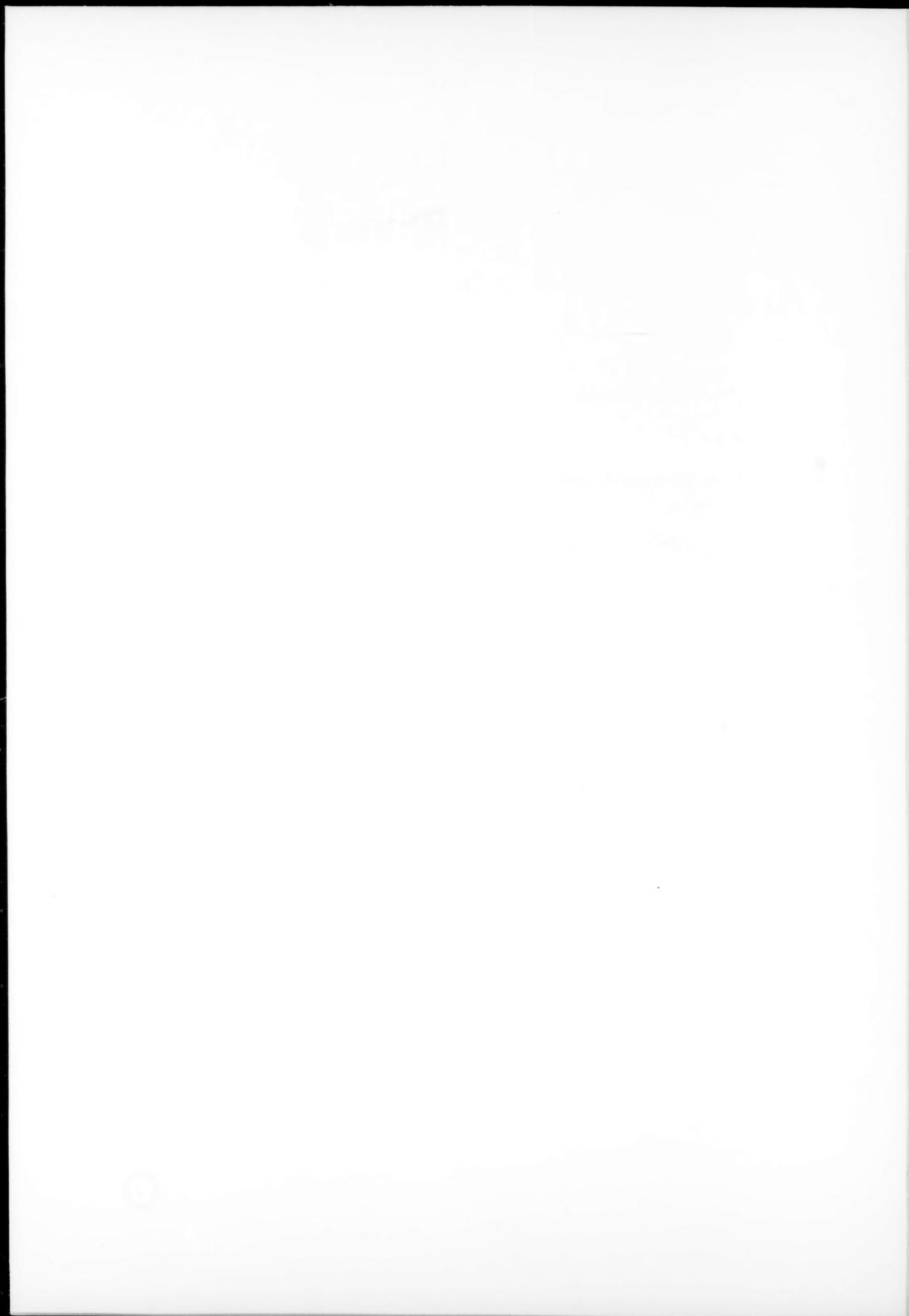
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Illumined by theory, tested in practice

Yumzhagiyn Tsedenbal
CC First Secretary, MPRP,
Chairman, Presidium of the People's Great Khural, MPR

EXPERIENCE OF BUILDING A LENINIST PARTY IN MONGOLIA

The formation of revolutionary democratic parties of a new type is a noteworthy aspect of the national liberation movement. In many newly-free countries of Asia and Africa their rise and evolution into a political vanguard are a decisive internal factor of the advance to socialism. The forms and pace of this advance vary, but its substance remains unchanged: the revolutionary democratic forces, most of which originated among the non-proletarian middle strata, are gradually turning toward scientific socialism.

In the early 1920s, when, under the impact of the October Revolution, the national liberation movement was only just beginning to link up with the struggle of the international proletariat, it was hard to foresee this evolution. Great credit is due to Lenin, who had deep faith in the strength and revolutionary potential of the oppressed peoples of the East, for showing that these peoples could and should form revolutionary organizations of their own, and for pointing out the special objectives and conditions of their struggle.

Founded 60 years ago, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was one of the first parties in the East to translate Lenin's ideas into reality. We believe its experience is of both theoretical and great practical significance today.

I

The MPRP was founded on the crest of the spontaneous struggle of the Mongolian arats (nomad stockbreeders) against internal and external oppressors. Its origins go back to underground groups of arat revolutionaries formed in reply to the abolition of Mongolia's autonomy and the imposition of a brutal regime by Chinese warlords. These groups consisted mainly of military men and minor officials of arat extraction. In those days they were the most progressive members of Mongolian society and expressed the emphatic protest of the masses against intolerable oppression by the feudal lords and foreign invaders. Sükhé Baator and Khorloghiyn Choybalsan, who subsequently founded the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, were active in that movement.

The ideals proclaimed by the October Revolution, which had triumphed in neighboring Russia, powerfully influenced the arat revolutionaries. Thanks to contacts with Russian revolutionaries

living in Mongolia and with representatives of the Bolshevik Party who visited their country, they were abreast of what was taking place in Russia and of the policy pursued by the Soviet government. They founded an integral political organization, realizing that the Mongolian people could win freedom only in alliance with the Soviet Republic and only with its assistance.

A milestone in the ideological and political development of Mongolia's revolutionaries and in specifying the objectives of their struggle was a visit of their delegates to Soviet Russia, where they familiarized themselves with the experience and achievements of the new, Soviet state. Lenin, leader of the world proletariat, offered the delegation valuable comments on the nature, objectives and tactics of struggle in Mongolian conditions. He said that it was important to form a political vanguard of the working people and stressed that "the establishment of a party of Mongolian arats was a pledge of success in their struggle" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, p. 360).

The MPRP was formalized at its first congress in March 1921. The program adopted at the time called for national independence and the social emancipation of the masses, and described the restoration of the country's lost statehood and the establishment of people's power as the immediate goal. The party saw the principal means of achieving this goal in armed struggle against the foreign oppressors and the local feudal lords collaborating with them. The congress recognized alliance between the working people of Mongolia and the victorious proletariat of Soviet Russia as a condition of victory for the people's revolution, Mongolia's national independence and social progress.

Thus, under the leadership of an organized political vanguard, the people began a decisive struggle to end colonial and feudal rule. The party leadership assisted by the Land of Soviets brought about the downfall of the colonial regime and established the people's power. Early in July 1921 Ikh Khuree (now Ulan Bator), the capital, was liberated; central authority passed to a people's government and Mongolia was proclaimed an independent nation.

With the victory of the people's revolution, the MPRP became the ruling party. It had the formidable tasks of safeguarding national independence, emancipating the masses socially, reshaping every sphere of public life along revolutionary lines and developing the country in forms entirely different

from capitalism. These tasks had to be accomplished in a backward economy inherited from the old society, in the face of furious resistance from the overthrown class and of encroachments by hostile external forces. The most important condition for success was to foster the revolutionary consciousness and activity of the mass of the people, almost all of whom were illiterate and profoundly religious.

From this one can appreciate how big was the role assumed by the party as the force leading society's revolutionary transformation. The party could be equal to this role only by strengthening itself as an advanced, politically conscious and organized contingent of its class and by developing as a mass political organization of the new type.

One of the priorities was to consolidate the party's ideological and political positions; its connection with the communist movement proved of invaluable help from the outset in this respect. Of fundamental importance to us was the following idea in Lenin's message to communist organizations of the peoples of the East: "Relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism." He stressed that this was "a difficult and specific task, a task which has not previously confronted the communists of the world" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 161).

It was only natural, therefore, that the MPRP, like the revolutionary democratic vanguard parties of today, assimilated and applied the basic tenets of scientific socialism step by step and according to the obtaining conditions. In the early years of people's rule proletarian internationalism, an essential component of scientific socialism, was embodied in Mongolia's friendly relations with Soviet Russia and in the MPRP's fraternal cooperation with the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) and the Communist International. The party's class approach to its work was seen in the political and economic attack on the positions of the feudal lords. It was also seen in the drive to set up local and central government bodies, which took the form of people's khurals, or peasant councils, as recommended by Lenin. That drive was consummated with the proclamation of a people's republic and the adoption of a democratic constitution (1924), the first in Mongolian history.

A major landmark in the party's transition to scientific socialism was its third congress (1924), which declared non-capitalist development as the party's general line. This was prompted by the innovative thesis put forward by Lenin at the second congress of the Communist International, when he said that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without

having to pass through the capitalist stage" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244).

The theses on "The Future of the Mongolian Revolution," approved by the congress, formulated the main objectives of non-capitalist development. By the time the fourth congress was convened (1925), the party had drafted a new program, specifying its general line.

The main points of the new program were: the elimination of feudal relations and the class of feudal lords; the curbing and ousting of capitalist elements; support for individual arat households and the creation of the conditions for their transition to the socialist road; the consolidation of state sovereignty; an end to economic dependence on foreign capital; the promotion of friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the alliance with the international revolutionary movement; the formation of state and cooperative sectors in the economy and the concentration of economic control in the hands of the state; the development of the new culture and ideology; the abolition of the Lamaist church's dominance of spiritual life.

In implementing this general line, the MPRP had to resist both right opportunist attempts to revise this line and its distortion by "leftists."

In the late 1920s, the rightists won the upper hand in the leadership of the party and state and virtually halted the implementation of the main provisions of the party program. Their attempts to undermine the bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union and fraternal relations with the Communist International and the Party of Lenin, replace Marxism-Leninism by a refurbished Buddhist ideology and substitute nationalism for internationalism inflicted great harm ideologically and politically. The "left" deviators, who were active in the early 1930s, grossly distorted the general line by insisting on "immediate" socialist construction, violating the party's policy toward the arats and the church, and disregarding the concrete historical context of the struggle and the peculiarities of the country's development. The right and "left" deviations in the MPRP were defeated with the internationalist aid of the Comintern and the CPSU(B). The seventh and ninth party congresses (1928 and 1934) were decisive: their resolutions corrected and carried forward the party's general line at the democratic stage of the people's revolution.

The party was initially numerically small. Late in 1921 it had 225 members and three branches. But by 1923, when it held its second congress, it had 2,500 members and 100 branches thanks to the enormous prestige it had won in the meantime. It owed its numerical growth mostly to members of arat origin, who exceeded 90 per cent of the total. But as national liberation was the paramount goal while social progress was only in the making, the party also admitted to its ranks officials, noblemen and members of the clergy who subscribed to its goals. Regulation of the social composition acquired importance as a factor for the ideological

and organizational consolidation of the party. Lenin pointed out that the party's aim was "to become a mass party uncluttered by alien elements" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, p. 361).

The second party congress was the first to call for a firm class approach in the admission of new members. Its relevant resolution was reaffirmed and specified by a resolution of the third congress, saying that "the mainstay of the party consists of poor and middle arats." Reliance on the poor and middle arats for support in party building was the only correct course at a time when the working class had not yet formed and stratification was proceeding among the arats.

In the case of feudal exploiters, it was decided first to restrict their admission to the party and then to bar them altogether. For this purpose a probation term was established varying in length from category to category of the applicants and there were periodical purges. The first purge was carried out in 1925-1926. It resulted in the expulsion of more than 20 per cent of the full and candidate members who had been checked; most of the expelled were feudal lords, ex-officials, lamas, private employers and violators of party discipline.

There were two other purges: in 1929-1930 and in 1932. In the former, the expelled were alien elements who had infiltrated the party as a consequence of rightist distortions of party policy, while the latter affected people who were admitted when the "leftists" ignored Lenin's doctrine that the party is a class-conscious vanguard, with the result that the party's numerical strength was artificially increased.

The mid-1930s saw significant changes in the class composition of Mongolian society. A working class and a people's intelligentsia were beginning to form. The party admitted workers and members of the new intelligentsia to its ranks along with arats.

For the implementation of the party's program it was essential to draw the masses into the process of deepening of the people's revolution. "The transition to communism cannot be accomplished by the vanguard alone," Lenin told the delegates of Communist organizations of the peoples of the East in 1919. "The task is to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organization, regardless of the level they have reached" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 182). The people's government bodies formed on the party's initiative in the early post-revolutionary years, the Revolutionary Youth League, women's organization, trade unions and other mass organizations did much to enlist the various contingents of working people into the building of a new life. In common with the MPRP they constituted the integral political system of the people's democratic state.

The leading, vanguard role of the party in revolutionary transformation was recorded in the republic's new constitution (1940) as follows: "... the more active and enlightened citizens from

among the workers, working arats and intellectuals unite in the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which is the working people's vanguard in their struggle to strengthen and advance the country along a non-capitalist road, a party that is the leading core of all organizations of working people, both mass and government organizations."

It would have been unthinkable to strengthen the MPRP ideologically and organizationally on Leninist principles in isolation from the world communist movement. Our party belonged to the Communist International as a sympathizing organization with a consulting voice but no vote. Its delegates attended Comintern congresses from 1921 (third congress) on. There were permanent representatives of the Comintern Executive at the MPRP Central Committee at our party's invitation and its delegates attended MPRP congresses. Comintern Executive delegations, which included prominent figures of the international working class movement, such as Bohumir Smeral and Vasil Kolarov, rendered our party valuable assistance at its seventh and ninth congresses.

Close cooperation with the Comintern and its leading section, the CPSU(B), many-sided assistance from them, especially in the training of cadre, and their fraternal advice and recommendations enabled the MPRP to master communist theory and tactics and apply them creatively in solving current problems of our revolutionary struggle, learn the difficult art of political leadership of the masses, and properly combine the internationalist with the national in its work.

II

With the completion of general democratic changes, the party was able to move on to a new stage, that of building socialism. By then our country had a progressive socio-political system and had begun to build a new economy and culture. However, the main efforts of the party and the people were directed toward ending feudal relations and defending the gains of the revolution against internal and external enemies. This was the historical reason for the difficulties and intricacies of the transition to socialist construction. Now the party concentrated on material production and the economy's socialist transformation in keeping with the peculiarities and level of the country's development.

The 10th congress of the MPRP (1940) adopted the party's third program for laying the foundations for socialism. Attention was focused on furthering the growth of the productive forces, primarily the state and cooperative sectors, and on introducing annual and then long-term planning and other principles of socialist economic management into both sectors.

Our party's policy toward the arats encouraged them to make maximum use of the potentialities of individual households, while giving production cooperatives full support. However, the cooperative movement was hampered for a rather long time by the mistakes which the "leftist" leadership had

made in the 1930s, as well as by the stratification that the predominance of private households made unavoidable. The policy of winning the arats for socialism prudently, gradually, and on a voluntary basis triumphed in the late 1950s, when most arats chose the socialist road. Well-to-do households were admitted to production cooperatives on general principles and no economic sanctions were applied against them.

With the massive organization of arat cooperatives, socialist property predominated in the economy. A new period of socialist construction set in, characterized by the fact that we set out to lay the material and technical basis of socialism after socialist production relations had been established in every sphere of the economy.

The party's fourth program defining the main tasks for that period said that the chief economic problem "is to complete the creation of an optimal material and technical basis for socialism by continuing to industrialize the country, mechanize agriculture, and improve technological equipment throughout the economy. The party aims to transform the Mongolian People's Republic into an industrial-agrarian country in the foreseeable future."

Over the past 20 years the Mongolian people have traveled a considerable stretch of the distance envisaged by the party program. Industry's share of the economy is growing. Its contribution to the national income rose from 14.6 per cent in 1960 to 29.3 per cent in 1980. Highly mechanized crop-farming, which meets the country's basic grain requirements, is developing along with stock breeding.

Party activity at the socialist stage of solving major problems of economic development is becoming more meaningful. This fundamental aspect of the MPRP's political leadership expresses itself in the systematic discussion and elaboration by party congresses and CC plenary meetings of key problems of economic policy, annual and long-term plans of economic and cultural development, and steps to perfect economic management and planning, make full and effective use of industrial capacities, foster technological progress, ensure the steady growth of agricultural production, improve the quality indicators of the various industries, and so on.

Social relations are being perfected as material production develops. Mongolian society today is composed of the working class, arats associated in cooperatives and intellectuals. The leading role is played by the working class.

Marxist-Leninist theory underlines the vanguard role of the proletariat in the socialist revolution, bearing in mind its economic and social condition as the most ruthlessly oppressed class and the most progressive and consistent fighter for the abolition of capitalist and all other exploitation. The Mongolian working class arose under a people's democratic system and in the absence of its antipode, the capitalist class, and so was never oppressed by capitalists. It has been a champion and exponent of

new, socialist relations ever since its appearance.

As a result of rapid progress in industry, construction and transport, the numerical strength of workers has doubled in the past 20 years. They advance numerous valuable innovations and lead the way in the socialist emulation movement, the movement for high quality and speedy work and production rationalization, and the movement for socialist labor.

Measures for the organized reinforcement of the party are a most important factor of the numerical and qualitative growth of the working class. In the past 15 years, vocational schools have trained over 91,000 young skilled workers. They continuously improve their skills and educational standards and perfect their work habits. It has become the tradition for working class children to follow in the footsteps of their parents.

The MPRP does much for the good of cooperative arats and all other workers in agriculture, who account for half the workforce in material production.

In the 20 years that have passed since the formation of arat cooperatives was completed, the Mongolian countryside has undergone radical changes. Noteworthy progress has been made in improving the living and cultural standards of the rural population and in heightening its social consciousness. Its social composition has changed. The young people who are to replace the older generation of stockbreeders are trained in an organized fashion. In the past decade, upward of 53,000 young men and women have become stockbreeders after receiving an incomplete or complete secondary education. A contingent of rural mechanics is growing in step with the development of crop-farming and the mechanization of fodder production, water supply and other branches of stockbreeding.

In guiding the political system of society, our party proceeds from the fact that socialism offers the greatest opportunities for promoting democracy and drawing the masses into government and social management. Milestones in this respect were the measures adopted by the party to improve the functioning of the state apparatus, eliminate bureaucratic practices and ill-advised administrative methods, end infringements of revolutionary legality, and democratize the electoral system, which meant introducing general elections and replacing what were not entirely equal by equal elections, multi-stage by direct elections, and public by secret ballot. A great event was the adoption of a new constitution (1960), which further extended the working people's democratic rights and specified their duties in the period of socialist construction.

Now as before, the MPRP does much to perfect the functioning of the khurals (government bodies); it extends the powers of khurals of various levels, enhances the role of people's deputies, helps the standing commissions of the khurals to reinvigorate their work, and makes sure that social principles gain ground in government.

At the socialist stage of our country's develop-

ment, friendship societies, unions of creative workers, and committees of veterans of the revolution have joined the system of mass organizations in addition to the RYL, which has over 190,000 members, and the trade unions, whose membership totals 387,000. These organizations operate according to the party's policy line and the tasks set in the sphere of socialist construction, and gear their growing strength to the solution of problems corresponding to their nature and place in public life. The trade unions play an active role in managing production, promoting socialist emulation, improving working conditions, and assuring the cultural advancement of working people; the RYL has assumed stewardship over major economic projects and launched a movement to educate the rising generation in the spirit of the revolutionary, internationalist and labor traditions of the people; women play an ever larger role in public life and production, in the effort to improve everyday life, the education of children and other activities.

With the transition to direct socialist construction, the role of the party as the ideological mentor of the masses grew markedly. At that time the ideology of the past, particularly the private-property mentality, as well as religious and other prejudices, were still a strong influence on the thinking, labor and way of life of the bulk of the population. The initial period of laying the foundations of socialism required much effort by the party. This period coincided with the years when progressive mankind with the Soviet Union at its head was fighting the fascist aggressors. In those grim years the MPRP did much to heighten the working people's political awareness and inspire them with patriotism and friendship for the great Soviet people.

The foundations of socialism were laid, which meant that the socialist system was established throughout the economy, illiteracy was eliminated in the main, and there emerged a new intelligentsia and adequately trained party cadre. This enabled the party to set about molding the socialist consciousness of all members of society, which meant fostering a new attitude to labor and social property, high moral principles, socialist patriotism and internationalism. The party continuously extends the forms, ways and means of its propaganda, enriching its content and enhancing the role of theory in the treatment of historical and political problems.

We strive to make all ideological and political work more effective and to link it intimately with socialist construction, to root out formalism and non-committal attitudes, to enhance the force of conviction of party propaganda, and increase the ideological leverage of its arguments, to spearhead it more explicitly against views alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The task of guiding socialist construction makes growing demands of the party, as our experience shows.

The third party program said that to accomplish

its tasks the party had to be highly organized and disciplined, a militant organization held together by conscious discipline, a single will and united action. Accordingly, the tenth congress, approved the new party rules, which perfected the methods of organization and the standards of party life in line with the actual conditions, the doctrine of a party of the Leninist type, and loyalty to the principles of democratic centralism.

The 12th congress (1954) made important amendments to the rules. These concerned inner-party democracy, collectivism in leadership and, in particular, elections to the party bodies by secret ballot. The congress stressed the importance of enforcing the strictest discipline that would be binding on all party members, enhancing the vanguard role of the communists, and achieving closer unity and more effective organization in the party itself.

In step with progress in socialist construction, the MPRP reinforces democratic centralism in party organizations of all levels, in its every echelon. It considers this an assurance of healthy development, unity and militancy of its ranks, which have close bonds with the masses. The party has always made a point of combining collective leadership with greater personal responsibility and inner-party democracy, with stricter discipline, encouraging criticism and self-criticism, and ensuring unity of the words and deeds of communists. Unfailing adherence to Leninist principles and standards of party life has enabled the MPRP to strengthen its ideological and political unity and beat off the attacks of nationalist and nihilist elements.

Noteworthy changes are taking place in the approach to the party's composition. At the democratic stage of the revolution the party took account primarily of the social origin of applicants; at the socialist stage, however, the main criterion is the level of the applicants' social consciousness, political activity and labor contribution.

The objective need for society's advance along the socialist path accounts for the special effort which the party is making to enlarge its working-class core. While workers in 1940 added up to 6.4 per cent of the membership, their proportion was 26.6 per cent in 1961 and 32.4 per cent in 1980.

The formation of arat cooperatives, which meant the arats' acceptance of socialism, was largely instrumental in strengthening the party. At present, 17.7 per cent of the party membership are cooperative arats.

The party is reinforcing its veteran cadre with young people educated by the RYL and admitting more women in proportion to their growing role in production and public life.

The MPRP has 74,800 members, which means that one in every ten adults is a communist. This is an indication of the party's high prestige and its increased possibilities of influencing every aspect of public life. We spare no effort to promote the vanguard role and militancy of every communist in production and public life and to improve the work of party branches as leaders of work collectives,

which put party decisions and plans into effect and are the direct builders of the new society.

III

Internationalism is a salient feature of MPRP policy and activity. The party's fourth program, approved by the 15th congress (1966), says that the MPRP maps out its foreign policy and internationalist tasks according to its Marxist-Leninist conception of the character of the contemporary epoch, the paths and trends of world development, and the outlook for the development of the socialist world system.

The pivot of the party's internationalist position is struggle for the unity of the world communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles and lasting solidarity with all revolutionary forces.

The MPRP constantly extends its relations and strengthens its cooperation with parties and other organizations representing all three streams of the world revolutionary movement. It maintains contacts with the majority of communist and workers' parties of the world and with many revolutionary democratic organizations of the newly-free countries.

Bilateral cooperation between the MPRP and the CPSU and the fraternal parties of other countries of the socialist community is gaining in quality. It is acquiring a deep-going and systematic character and encompasses every activity of the party and its organizations at diverse levels.

All these forms of contact and cooperation help our party to make a more extensive study and creative use of the vast experience of revolutionary struggle and constructive work of fraternal parties, above all the Party of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this context, of great significance to us is the 26th congress of the CPSU, its elaboration of the Soviet people's strategic aims at the new stage of communist construction, and the further, powerful impetus it has given to the entire world revolutionary movement.

The MPRP has always seen uncompromising struggle against right and "left"-wing oppor-

tunism, anti-communism and reactionary nationalism as a condition of communist unity on Marxist-Leninist principles.

Over the past 20 years the anti-Marxist ideology and great-power hegemonism of Mao Tse-tung and his followers in policy and practice have caused enormous damage to world communist unity and the peoples' revolutionary struggle. Open political struggle and subversion against socialist countries and the international working-class movement, expansionist ambitions, flagrant interference in the affairs of other countries, military threats against neighbors and armed incursions into their territory, unscrupulous collusion with international imperialism, and encouragement of neo-colonialism and fascist and racist regimes all show that the Chinese leadership has definitively defected to the enemies of peace and socialism.

We are deeply convinced that uncompromising struggle against the Maoists is a matter of principle for the communists, their bounden internationalist and national duty. This conviction is based on the experience and lessons of our own struggle. Concessions to the reactionary Maoist ideology, a hodgepodge of petty-bourgeois nationalism, great-power chauvinism and anti-communism discrediting and vulgarizing scientific socialism, are incompatible with preservation of the ideological purity of Marxism-Leninism and its creative application in the revolutionary struggles of our day.

In order to safeguard and consolidate national independence and sovereignty and achieve progress in the peaceful building of a new life it is imperative to resist Peking's ambitions for hegemonist expansion and attempts to disrupt friendship among peoples. Experience shows that the Peking leaders, who are stepping up war preparations in common with imperialist reaction and pose a serious threat to peace, can only be curbed by determined and coordinated resistance to every manifestation of their adventurist policy.

Our party's experience over the past six decades has many aspects. It encompasses our efforts to ensure the victory of the people's revolution and lead the people's fight for fundamental changes at both the general democratic and the socialist stages of development.

A substantial part of this experience is that the party plays an active role in the world communist movement, is supported by it in various ways, and derives ideological and political strength from it. Competent and creative application of the movement's theory and practice in Mongolian conditions enabled the MPRP to direct the country's transition from feudalism to socialism within a historically short period.

The experience of the MPRP is an embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which has been borne out in the building of a socialist society on Mongolian soil. As such, it is part of the historical experience of existing socialism, whose achievements and example are a constant source of strength and inspiration to all champions of democracy, national independence and socialism.

Understanding Marxism

A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

FRANK CUNNINGHAM

PROGRESS BOOKS
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Equality, development and peace

Mirjam Vire-Tuominen
General Secretary,
Women's International Democratic Federation,
Lenin Peace Prize winner

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: MOTTO FOR THE 1980s

Seventy years ago, in March 1911, the working people of several European countries responded to the call of the Second International Conference of Socialist Women, and marked the first-ever Day of Women's International Solidarity for economic, social and political equality.

Seventy years is quite a long period. During those years the political map of the globe has changed: there have been two devastating world wars, the colonial empires have collapsed, and a socialist world system has emerged. During those years spectacular discoveries have been made and ambitious projects have been put into effect in many areas of human activity.

In short, the world is different today. But how much has the position of women changed in this world? The celebration of International Women's Day, I believe, is a proper occasion for raising this question. To answer it, one can draw on the extensive factual material accumulated in the first half of the Decade for Women proclaimed by the United Nations in 1975.

The present situation in which the women's movement for equality, development and peace is active today differs from the situation at the turn of the century mainly that more people have come to realize that social progress is inconceivable and the economic and social problems confronting mankind cannot be solved without the active participation of women. This is only logical, for the structural changes wrought in the economy by progress in science and technology and the further improvement of the division of labor have increased the demand for skilled labor. Growing consumption and the rise of the educational level are helping to lighten the family burden for women and enable them to join in production.

At present there are about 500 million women wageworkers; this is more than 30 per cent of the entire workforce.¹ Many women take part in the trade union movement, thereby making it still more massive and democratic.²

The growing role played by women in production, public and political life, culture, and their tireless efforts to improve their legal, social and economic status are bearing tangible fruit. Many countries have signed the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights, and the convention of the International Labor Organization,

which, in particular, recognizes the principle of equal pay for equal work, guarantees equal opportunities for promotion, and denounces discrimination against women in employment. But, as we all know, the road from the proclamation to the realization of equality is a long and difficult one. It is not declarations but the political, economic and social conditions, and the system of social relations in a country that decisively influence the status enjoyed by women in society. Let us examine this question more closely.

In the socialist countries the equality of women is not only guaranteed by their constitutions. Everything is being done to realize it in practice.

Take, for instance, the extent of women's participation in production in capitalist and socialist countries. In the FRG, 51.4 per cent of women aged between 15 and 60 have a job, whereas in the GDR the figure is 86.8 per cent and in the USSR 93.6 per cent. This high level of women's employment in the socialist countries is due to the fact that such employment is stimulated by the organization of the socialist economy and by the way of life in a society in which the right to work is not only proclaimed but ensured by firm social, economic and legal guarantees. In socialist countries there is, in effect, no difference in the wages of men and women, for they are paid according to the quantity and quality of their work.

State planning in the socialist economy ensures a stable demand for labor. No one loses a job even if some trades are eliminated by scientific and technological progress or when some enterprises or industries are reorganized. When jobs are eliminated as a result of rationalization, workers get new jobs after a retraining course. Besides, when training women for a new job, the management and the trade union take into account their family status, age and skill level.

Thus, under socialism, scientific and technological progress extends the sphere of application of female labor. The proportion of highly skilled workers is growing among women. In the Soviet Union 67 per cent of the operatives of mechanical machines and 40 per cent of the workers servicing automatic machinery are women. In the GDR women account for one-third of the skilled labor force.

The proportion of women among specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education is fairly large. In Bulgaria, it has reached 51 per cent and in

the GDR 40 per cent. In the United States only about 2 per cent of the engineers and 9 per cent of the scientists are women, while in the Soviet Union women account for 35-45 per cent of the engineers in designing, research and development and 40 per cent of the research workers.

While drawing women into economic and public activity, the socialist states are taking steps to protect their health and enable parents to raise healthy children. Labor legislation in socialist countries prohibits the employment of women on arduous manual work. In Hungary, for instance, 200 trades are prohibited for women. The recognition that maternity is a social function has been backed up with the provision of the necessary conditions. These include paid maternity leave (which in the different socialist countries varies from 16 to 26 weeks, after which the mother has the option of not working for a period of from one to three years and receiving an allowance from the state during that period); paid leave for the care of a sick child; a large network of day care centers, schools, extended-day groups at schools, and Young Pioneer holiday camps.³ In some socialist countries the pension age for mothers has been lowered.

All this allows women to combine the duties of mother, worker and citizen. In the socialist countries women hold responsible posts in production, in public organizations and in the organs of power: for example, the proportion of women is 19 per cent in the People's Assembly of Bulgaria, 23 per cent in the People's Great Khural of Mongolia, and 32 per cent in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

However, when speaking about the great achievements on the way to the full emancipation of women in socialist countries, it would be wrong to assert that there are neither difficulties nor problems. Working women still spend much more time than men on family chores. For this reason they do not always have enough time to upgrade their skills or continue their education. Many women are employed as auxiliary workers or at enterprises where no diploma is required, and this narrows down the opportunities for promotion. A good deal remains to be done to improve the services industry. The government, the trade unions and other public organizations in the socialist countries never lose sight of the problems related to the role of women in work, in society and in the family, and are solving them comprehensively.

In the capitalist world the situation is different. Although there, too, some improvements have been made in the sphere of legislation regulating the status of women, they are still discriminated against one way or another. The economic crisis and inflation have stepped up the exploitation of female labor. Despite the formal recognition of the "equal pay for equal work" principle, it is not the type of work or skill but age and sex that are taken into account in fixing wages. As a result, women are paid 30 per cent less than men in the FRG and France, and 50 per cent less in Japan. In the USA the disparity is, on the average, 40 per cent. It was only in 1972 that the U.S. Congress approved a constitu-

tional amendment granting equal rights (i.e., juridical equality of men and women). But to this day this amendment has not become law because 15 states of the 50 refuse to ratify it.⁴ Thus, equality has not even been proclaimed in this self-styled "citadel of human rights."

Discrimination against women is seen also in the fact that they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. The persisting prejudice is that a wife's earning is merely an addition to what her husband earns, that women are merely a reserve workforce.

The reactionary circles insist that a woman's place is at home, that her world is "the family and the kitchen," that if a woman works she ignores her children and household. They attempt to perpetuate the millenia-old notion that man is the head and sole breadwinner of a family. In some countries this notion is enshrined in laws. In Turkey and Greece, for instance, no woman can take a job without her husband's consent, while the law recognizes only paternal rights.

Of course, in the capitalist world the rising cost of living and the widening gap between average wages and the minimum cost of living make women increasingly eager to find a job. It would be a mistake, however, to see only economic reasons behind this. Many women see work as a way of achieving independence and an opportunity to assert their individuality.

The right to work is a major condition of equality. It gives women equal opportunities to learn a trade, upgrade skills and receive promotion without discrimination. But in most of the capitalist countries vocational training is still one of the biggest problems confronting women. Without a sound general education there can be neither freedom in choosing a profession nor the possibility of improving skills. But even in industrialized capitalist countries the bourgeois school does not take into account the changing demand for one profession or another caused by the scientific and technological revolution. It orients young women on choosing so-called traditional female professions. As a result, in the FRG, 75 per cent of young women finishing schools can choose only 16 out of 500 trades; and in Sweden the choice is limited to 25 trades. More often than not, young women receive no vocational training at all. In Denmark, for instance, the ratio between women and men among skilled workers is 1 to 25, and in the FRG one-fifth of young working women are unskilled workers.

The large-scale introduction of automation and electronics and technological breakthroughs decrease the demand for unskilled labor but increase the demand for skilled workers. However, the structure of the female workforce often does not correspond to the existing demand. This places women at a disadvantage in the labor market. In France, for instance, rationalization plans provide for the liquidation by 1985 of 135,000 jobs in the garment industry and 170,000 in the textile industry, in which the workforce consists mainly of women.

Because higher education is expensive, it is out of reach for many young women aspiring for highly-

skilled jobs. A worker's family has a limited budget and for that reason it usually gives preference to its young men. Among higher-school students, the proportion of young women is 22 per cent in Japan and 46.8 per cent in France, most of them studying humanities and not in departments offering training for employment in advanced industries. But even for women who have received good general and professional training, promotion is a problem. Even in education and the health services women are, as a rule, in a subordinate position.⁵

Women are in a particularly difficult position in the developing countries. In some of these countries, notably in socialist-oriented countries, much has already been done to ensure legal and social equality, but the consequences of colonial oppression, the low economic development level, survivals of the past and prejudices are a heavy burden on the working people, affecting women most of all. Suffice it to say that the overwhelming majority of the world's 500 million illiterate women live in countries that shook off the colonial yoke only recently. As a rule, in these countries women are not seen as independent workers; they are housewives or work in agriculture,⁶ and are not protected by social or labor legislation. And those few who manage to get a job in industry are employed mainly in arduous, unskilled and low-paid work.

The practice of women's employment in the capitalist world is in glaring contravention of the proclaimed human rights, above all the right to work. This problem has two aspects. On the one hand, there are objective conditions increasing the demand for female workers. Because of women's natural qualities, such as adroitness, accuracy and carefulness, they are employed extensively in industries such as power engineering and electronics, or at radio and TV factories. But, on the other hand, the rationalization of the economy under capitalism leads to a reduction of jobs,⁷ giving rise to a sense of insecurity among working people. This is not an easy problem today, and it will grow more acute in future.

Under capitalism, unemployment hits all working people, but for women it extends to longer periods and spreads to the broadest sections of the population, affecting clerical staff, engineers, teachers and other categories. According to the ILO, between May 1975 and May 1976 seven million women lost their jobs in Western Europe, the USA, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. In the EEC countries (where women account for about 37 per cent of the workforce) 3,600,000 out of 5,900,900 unemployed in 1977 were women.⁸ These official statistics do not include women on welfare, social benefits, or those working a shorter day. Meanwhile the number of women in the latter category has been growing in capitalist countries. In particular, mothers seek this type of work, for they cannot find child care for their children.⁹ This organization of work means intensified exploitation of labor and brings higher profits to employers, who save on social insurance for part-time women

workers, increase the work norm, and pay lower wages.

The list of the unemployed does not include the overwhelming majority of unemployed married women not entitled to unemployment benefits and also young women looking for their first job.

Unemployment among women, especially young women, has grave social, political and moral consequences, giving rise to spreading alcoholism, drug addiction and prostitution. Some women, who see that their energies and talents are not needed by bourgeois society, come under the influence of extremely reactionary, neo-fascist forces.

Unemployment and the economic crisis are also used to step up political discrimination. Working women who are more active than others in speaking up for workers' rights and interests, particularly trade unionists, are the first to be blacklisted and dismissed.

Protection of maternity and recognition of its social function is still a serious problem in the capitalist countries. Marriage, pregnancy, and the birth of a child are often cause for dismissal. Employers see in maternity only a hindrance to the production process. But even when family legislation prohibiting discrimination against mothers is adopted in one or another country under the pressure of women's or trade union movements or other progressive forces, it is very rarely applied in practice.

It should also be noted that arduous work and its intensification — the lot of many women in the capitalist world — not only ruin their health but often jeopardize their child-bearing function. According to the World Health Organization, the number of women affected by occupational cancerous diseases is growing in capitalist countries. ILO statistics show that this is the case with other diseases as well. In Finland, for instance, the largest number of sick persons (46 per cent) was registered in 1976 in the distributive and services industries, i.e., industries employing mostly women.

In the capitalist world, women do not enjoy full equality also because their rights to participate in public and political activity, though formally recognized, are very rarely implemented. There are very few women in organs of power, state administration or in responsible posts. In the USA the proportion of women in the Congress has not exceeded 4 per cent over the past 25 years; in Belgium only 37 of the 394 members of parliament are women; in Switzerland, where women were granted the right to vote only in 1970, they are not represented either in the federal government or in the governments of 23 canton and three half-cantons. In the EEC countries, less than 1 per cent of women have executive jobs.

All these facts and figures show that the demands for economic, social and political equality, put forward by women 70 years ago, have lost none of their urgency. This question was discussed at the UN World Conference in Copenhagen last July in the framework of the Decade for Women. The participants in the Conference, which was attended by

delegates from 145 countries, analyzed the results of the implementation of the world plan of action adopted in Mexico in 1975 and charted a program in support of women for the second half of the Decade (1980-1985). A forum of non-governmental organizations was held parallel with the Copenhagen conference. Attended by over 8,000 women, representing international, regional and national organizations of every continent, including a delegation of the Women's International Democratic Federation, it gave women from capitalist and developing countries the opportunity of coming into direct contact with delegates from socialist countries, and helped them to see through the lies of anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda about the status of women in these countries and to elaborate a common platform of joint action in the struggle for equality, progress and peace.

The discussions at the UN Conference and the forum in Copenhagen demonstrated once again that the situation of women cannot be improved unless urgent problems confronting mankind, such as peace, détente and disarmament, are resolved. On this point, agreement was achieved at the forum nearly always, in spite of the very different political opinions and social backgrounds of the participants. This was only natural: détente, a curb on the arms race, and disarmament would make it possible to meet the pressing need for housing, day care centers for children and schools, to improve safety, engineering and labor protection, and to create new jobs and new services.¹⁰

War brings inestimable suffering to women, especially to mothers. This is why more and more of them are joining the peace movement. Women have contributed to the mass campaign against the manufacture of the neutron bomb, denounced the plans for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, and came out against militaristic aggressive preparations by U.S. imperialism. They have given effective support to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries aimed at easing international tensions, and they have demanded that the governments of their countries should immediately begin talks on ending the dangerous nuclear arms race. The UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, was handed an appeal against the danger of a new war and nuclear threat which was signed by 500,000 women of Northern Europe. The fact that the signatures were collected within a few months points to the broad possibilities of women in the struggle for peace. Overcoming ideological, political, religious and social barriers, women are becoming ever more resolute and organized in their action to facilitate the solution of cardinal problems common to the people of the world, above all the preservation of peace and the continuation of détente as the predominant trend of world development.

The women's organizations in 70 countries that participated in the discussions at the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia, agreed to

proclaim March 8, 1981, a day of struggle for disarmament, against the arms race and nuclear danger, for solidarity and peace. They supported the WIDF's proposal to convene a world congress of women in October 1981 in Prague and welcomed the initiative of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom to organize an international women's meeting for peace in Washington in 1982 on the eve of the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament.

However, in the women's movement in some Western countries there are tendencies to isolate questions concerning the status of women from broader political and social issues. The reactionary forces bend every effort to split women in their struggle for common goals, to set women in the socialist and the capitalist countries, the developing and the industrial states against each other, to emasculate the progressive content of the world plan of action adopted for the UN Decade for Women and its slogan of "Equality, Development and Peace." But ever more women's organizations and movements in various countries are joining the struggle for women rights. They understand that solidarity and united action are needed if we are to achieve real equality, peace, national independence and social progress. This is also confirmed in the action program adopted by the UN Conference for the second half of the Decade for Women. It stresses the indissoluble link between the promotion of women's rights and the struggle "for the elimination of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, hegemonism, and foreign occupation and domination."

The progressive character of any society and its dynamic development are largely determined by the status of women in that society. One can hardly expect an exercise of human rights where women are not equal with men. History proves that this equality is linked mainly with the liberation of the working class. Therefore women's interests can be protected only through a relentless struggle against capitalist monopolies and exploitation, for profound economic and social change.

The setbacks of fascism and imperialism have extended the opportunities for realizing the hopes of the democratic forces for solving these problems. In the 1980s, the Women's International Democratic Federation will continue to make every effort to ensure broad unity of action by all people of good will, whatever their party affiliation, political convictions and worldview, in the name of the lofty goal of achieving the complete emancipation of women.

In the Appeal to the Women of the World issued on the occasion of the World Congress of Women in Prague, the WIDF declares: "Our approaches to the various problems confronting us in the world today may differ. But we are convinced that our common wish is to preserve and consolidate peace and do everything in our power for the happiness and security of our families, our children and future generations."

1. The proportion of women in the total number of working people is 20 per cent in Latin America, nearly 30 per cent in Africa and Oceania, and about 35 per cent in North America. The figures for the socialist countries range from 35 per cent in Cuba to 51 per cent in the Soviet Union.

2. In Guyana, for instance, women account for 10 per cent of the trade union membership, in Cyprus 32 per cent, in Hungary 44.2, and in the GDR 50.7 per cent.

3. In the socialist countries day care centers cater for from 50 to 80 per cent of the children between the ages of one and six.

4. To become law this amendment must be approved by the legislative assemblies of at least 38 states not later than June 30, 1982.

5. At primary schools in France 70-80 per cent of the teachers are women, but at secondary schools the proportion drops to 50 per cent, and at post-secondary schools to 20 per cent. Among junior medical personnel 88-90 per cent are women (80 per cent in the medium category), but less than one-fifth of the doctors are women.

6. Of the 31 million working women in India, 29 million are employed in agriculture.

7. It has been estimated that in the next five years the use of electronics in West European countries will result in five redundancies per one newly-created job.

8. Young women are the hardest hit. In Italy, 1,800,000 women aged between 14 and 24, i.e., 43 per cent of the total number of women, neither work nor study. In France, 82 per cent on the unemployed under 26 years of age are women, and the figure for Sweden is 60 per cent.

9. In Britain, for instance, only 1 per cent of working mothers have the opportunity to put a child in a kindergarten, and in Austria no more than 2 per cent of the children aged 2 to 3 can get a place in a creche.

10. It has been estimated that while \$500 billion are spent annually in the world on armaments, \$4 billion would be enough to provide food for 200,000,000 hungry children during one year; \$3 billion would be enough to supply the entire world population with purified drinking water until 1990; and \$400 million to give a school education to 800 million illiterates. In the USA alone a switch of the military industry to peaceful production would make it possible to create 6,700,000 new jobs, including 2,000,000 jobs for highly skilled specialists.

Chinese expansionism in Southeast Asia

Xuan Thuy

CC Secretary, Communist Party of Vietnam

Peace-loving people throughout the world are watching Peking's actions in the international arena with concern — they have not forgotten what Mao Tse-tung said 16 years ago: "We must have Southeast Asia, including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore. This region is very rich, there are a great many natural resources there, and it is well worth the effort to gain possession of it. In the future it will be of great use for the development of China's industry. All losses can be made good in that way. After we get that region, the wind from the East will prevail over the wind from the West."¹

In planning their acts of aggression, the imperialists have repeatedly made statements about enlarging their territory at the expense of other countries. Of course, history does not repeat itself. But it is equally true that there are reactionary forces that would like it to repeat itself in their favor. Peking's foreign policy today shows that its leaders are doing everything to make the words of the late "Great Helmsman" come true. They plan to seize territories and wealth primarily in Southeast Asia with the view to building up China's economic and military potential, prepare for a big war and achieve world supremacy.

I

The words "the wind from the East will prevail over the wind from the West" spell out expansion and hegemonism.

As soon as the People's Republic of China was proclaimed, the Peking leaders declared that Asian, African and Latin American countries would follow none other than the path of the Chinese revolution. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Peking called for a "resolute" struggle against U.S. imperialism and a "steadfast" struggle against Soviet "revisionism," thereby bracketing the United States of America and the Soviet Union. It simultaneously began a shrill propaganda campaign alleging that "China had become the center of the world revolution."

The next step was taken in the mid-1960s. Mao's ideas were proclaimed the "summit" of Marxism-Leninism, the "Marxism of the epoch of the fall of imperialism and the triumph of the proletarian revolution." To impose Maoism on the world revolutionary movement, Peking set out to form and fund organizations within the movement.

Ever since the early 1970s China has been trying to assert itself internationally as one of three leading powers. In 1975 Peking resolved to make China a world power that would outstrip all others by the end of this century. Lastly, in 1978, it launched the "four modernizations" program with emphasis on military modernization. It should be remembered that since 1953 Peking has been going all out to manufacture its own nuclear weapons; it made the atom bomb in 1964 and the nuclear bomb in 1967, and tested an intercontinental ballistic missile in 1980.

The activities and theoretical propositions of China's rulers indicate that Han expansionism, great-power hegemonist aspirations and an ambition for world domination underlie their foreign policy and that they play a reactionary role on the international scene.

True to the logic of the "general line of the international communist movement" advanced by Peking in 1963, China's rulers declared in 1969 that there was no socialist world system; they described the Soviet Union as "the most dangerous enemy" and the system established in the socialist countries of Europe as "doomed to liquidation." In the same year, Peking committed an act of aggression against the Soviet Union.

The above allegations were then complemented with the "three worlds" theory. Anti-imperialist aims were supplanted by the slogan of "struggle against Soviet hegemonism." Operating behind this smokescreen, the Peking leaders entered into collusion with imperialism, primarily U.S. and Japanese imperialism. From 1973 on, they have been systematically, shamelessly and openly backing reactionary forces against the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America — Pinochet the butcher against the Chilean people; the South African racists and the counter-revolutionaries in Angola against the liberation movement; the Somali regime against the revolution in Ethiopia; Sadat against the Arab peoples, particularly the people of Palestine; Pahlavi, the tyrant of Iran, the Afghan reactionaries, and the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza against the revolutions in those countries. They imposed the bloodthirsty Pol Pot and Ieng Sary clique on the Kampuchean people, fought a war of aggression against Vietnam, and are threatening to attack Laos. In an effort to impose their "leadership" on the ASEAN countries, they have joined the USA and the Thai rulers in slandering the three Indochinese countries, blockading them and provoking acts of aggression against them.

Nurturing claims to world supremacy, the Maoist leaders of China declare that another world war is inevitable.² They hold that nuclear war is not so very dangerous, contending that the destruction of one-third of mankind is acceptable. Hence their attempts to provoke a nuclear clash between the USA and the Soviet Union while feverishly preparing for a world war, perfecting their nuclear weapons and manufacturing ICBMs. In the past two years China has sent numerous military delegations to Western Europe, the USA and Japan to solicit military aid and purchase sophisticated aircraft and other military hardware.

These goings-on have nothing to do with the struggle against imperialism. Peking still regards the Soviet Union as "the most dangerous enemy," but sees the USA as a strategic ally. In accordance with its "three worlds" theory it urges the Third World to unite with the "second world" and, in cooperation with the USA, to form an "international front against the Soviet Union."

In the tradition of the Han emperors, China's

leaders plan to expand the country by absorbing parts of some or even whole countries. In the past, the Maoists grabbed parts of Burma and India by force.

The Chinese rulers' bid for world supremacy and their great-power thinking underlie their insatiable claim to foreign territory. They look on Southeast Asia as the most favorable direction of their coveted expansion. Southeast Asia borders on China, abounds in natural resources, is strategically situated and has suitable communications with the rest of the world. It is a region of small countries (compared with China) that were, to a varying extent, linked with it in the past. These countries are inhabited by tens of millions of ethnic Chinese (Hua), who constitute a social force favoring Peking's expansionist policy.

In 1954 China's Maoist rulers advocated a continued French imperialist presence in Indochina "to avert the threat from the USA." While the USA's puppets in Saigon were busy killing half a million South Vietnamese patriots, Peking advised the population of the South "to lie low and wait for the right moment." The Chinese leadership also took a stand against the course toward a rising in South Vietnam at the end of 1959 and the beginning of 1960. This explains why the rising of the South Vietnamese population not only sealed the fate of the neo-colonial regime set up by U.S. imperialism but was a sign of a miscarriage of the great-power hegemonism of China's rulers, who wanted to impose their line on Vietnam.

In 1972, or after nearly 20 years of deals with U.S. imperialism, Peking hosted Nixon and signed the Shanghai communiqué. It was a case of dirty political bargaining. China promised the USA that it would help to prop up the puppet regime of Nguyen Van Thieu in South Vietnam in exchange for a gradual "withdrawal" of the USA from Taiwan and China's admission to the United Nations. After the Paris agreements on Vietnam were signed in January 1973, China continued to abet the U.S. military presence in South Vietnam, while the USA agreed to Chinese troops seizing Vietnam's Paracel Islands (January 1974). Thus, while trying to profit from the Vietnamese people's victory, the Chinese reactionaries reinforced their conspiracy with the USA.

At the same time, Peking tried to capitalize on U.S. imperialism's defeat in the region. It intensified its policy of expansion; the Maoists thrust their dirty tentacles into the Eastern Sea and proceeded to establish closer relations with pro-U.S. regimes in Southeast Asia. In February 1979 the treacherous, criminal policy toward Indochina adopted by the Chinese leaders in the spring of 1975 took the form of a 30-day war against our people by China. All this goes to show that China's rulers, who pursue expansionist schemes in Southeast Asia and ruthlessly counter the region's genuine revolutionary forces, are the chief direct menace to the Southeast Asian peoples, who want independence, neutrality, peace, stability and prosperity. More, China's leaders are imperilling world peace.

II

I will now consider some of the methods Peking is using to achieve its expansionist ambitions in Southeast Asia.

The Chinese leaders use the banner of national liberation for their ends, although in times long gone many Southeast Asian countries were satellites of the feudal dynasties of the Celestial Kingdom — a fact useful to recall. During and after the Second World War, struggle against imperialism, for national liberation surged high in Southeast Asia. The revolutionary movements in the region identified themselves with the Chinese revolution, derived inspiration from it, and relied on it for support. In the past three decades, Peking has been able to exploit the grave crisis of colonialism and imperialism in Southeast Asia. The Chinese rulers banked chiefly on the resistance to U.S. imperialism put up by the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

In the 1950s and 1960s Peking, posing as the standard-bearer of the struggle against imperialism and trying to earn China greater prestige, talked a good deal at every international forum about its "powerful support for the Vietnamese people," its "emphatic condemnation of U.S. imperialism," and the "surrender of revisionism." It boastfully presented China as the "champion" of Southeast Asian countries. To carry division in the world communist movement deeper, Peking toyed with the idea of holding (under its own slogans) a separate meeting of 11 Asian communist parties.

But its "revolutionary" phrase-making quickly lost its credibility. From the early 1970s on, China's reactionary rulers, whose attempts to mislead the peoples of the world were defeated, gradually moved toward undisguised collusion with the more reactionary imperialist forces headed by the USA. In Southeast Asia, Peking stepped up its subversive activities in revolutionary organizations in order to reduce them to "leftist" groups of the Maoist type as in Thailand. It backs Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan and other butchers of the Kampuchean people, hand-feeds such bandits as Vang Pao and Kong Le, and with their help organizes subversion against the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. At the same time it skilfully uses reactionary leaders, such as Prime Minister Lee Juan Yew of Singapore, a Chinese by origin, and manipulates influential rightist politicians in Thailand, making them its mouthpiece.

There are about 20 million ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia; Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand have from three to five million each, nearly two million live in Singapore, roughly one million in Vietnam, half a million in the Philippines, and there were a similar number in Kampuchea under the Lon Nol regime. They control many branches of the economy in these countries and dominate trade and usury. Their investments in ASEAN countries exceed \$16.3 billion and their total property in the region is valued at between \$50 billion and \$60 billion. From 60 to 80 per cent of domestic trade and

over 40 per cent of foreign trade is handled by ethnic Chinese.³

In Thailand, for example, 30 per cent of all banking operations are controlled by the Bangkok Bank, which is owned by Tang Pich-Chin, a capitalist of Chinese origin. Twenty-three of the 25 most influential businessmen in that country are ethnic Chinese; they control 63 of the nation's 100 major manufacturing corporations. Ten capitalists of Chinese extraction control 15 per cent of Indonesia's economy; roughly 80 per cent of the export and import transactions are in the hands of Chinese. The Malaysian government has said outright that 90 per cent of the national economy is under ethnic Chinese control.⁴ According to Blitz (India), the economic positions of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, Malaysia and, partly the Philippines are so strong that the Chinese merchants could, if they wanted to, cause economic chaos within three days at most.

Like the former rulers of China, the ruling reactionary group of today uses kinship and nationality to the hilt. It fuels great-power chauvinist feeling among ethnic Chinese to turn them into a force serving its expansionist claims. To put pressure on the countries concerned, Peking occasionally resorts to the myth of "victimized" persons of Chinese origin. It has done so in India (1962), Indonesia (1965), and Vietnam (1978).

A tool of Peking's subversive activities, the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia also remit large amounts of foreign exchange to China. Between 1950 and 1970, they remitted \$3.5 billion as a "contribution to the nation's development," not to mention other forms. Every year ethnic Chinese send their relatives in China the round sum of \$1 billion. Ethnic Chinese capitalists build factories in China. In 1966 they founded an Investment Company in South China with an original capital of \$50 million. It ran 12 factories built on money from ethnic Chinese. In 1966 there were as many as 140 factories of this type.⁵ Today, too, Peking does everything to attract as much money to China as possible from this source.

Counting on China's leverage as a great power, the Peking rulers use economic, financial and military "aid" as an instrument of their policy of expansion. Time was when the bulk of Chinese "aid" to other countries went to Asia and Africa, with a large part of it going to Southeast Asia. Today China is cutting back on "aid" to Asian and African countries. However, the main purpose of this "aid" is still subversion against revolutionary forces and peace-loving nations. As a matter of record, Chinese "aid" looks outwardly attractive. When a Southeast Asian country encounters difficulties in selling its products China makes some purchases from it. Some of these countries are very short of energy resources, so China sells them oil in substantial quantities and at a low price. It also builds strategic roads in some Asian countries. Chinese building workers thrust deep into these countries, form reactionary bands there to fight the lawful government, plunder the nation's riches, and try to stay on after completing the project they had come to build.

The Chinese rulers enlist the services of small groups which have broken away from various patriotic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movements, and make them out to be "revolutionary organizations." Peking has succeeded in imposing Maoism on and making a tool of some parties in Southeast Asia. These form the core of the pro-Peking forces in the world; they play a significant part in publicizing Peking's false, reactionary concepts, such as that of the "revolution of the poor," "nationalized Marxism," or "struggle against the two superpowers." The Peking rulers manipulate these groups according to circumstances, inciting them to armed struggle so as to pressure the government concerned, or recommending that they negotiate and accept a compromise with the authorities and thereby win their sympathy and support.

China's ruling circles are well aware that their policy of expansion in Southeast Asia depends on whether they can control primarily Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the three Indochinese countries located strategically in the region.

When the newly-proclaimed People's Republic of China was concentrating on economic rehabilitation and development and still feared for its own fate in view of the mortal danger threatening it from the USA whose troops were in South Korea, the Chinese government helped Vietnam in its resistance to the French colonialists and its effort to prevent U.S. intervention. But even then China's aim was to bring the three Indochinese countries under its domination. Its ruling circles wanted the division of Vietnam to be perpetuated and a reversal of the revolutionary gains of Laos and Kampuchea. Seeing that they were powerless to stave off a general rising of the South Vietnamese people, they hoped that the war would go on indefinitely, that Vietnam would bleed white as a result, and that the USA would never extricate itself out of the Vietnam quagmire.

Accordingly, the Peking rulers refused to implement the agreements on aid to embattled Vietnam signed by them. They obstructed the transit of arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. When the Vietnamese revolution was at the threshold of complete and definitive victory Mao said: "Vietnam's broom is not long enough; it cannot sweep the pro-U.S. regime out of South Vietnam with a broom like that." When victory came, Peking immediately stopped aid under the agreements signed by it, provoked disgraceful events over "victimized persons of Chinese origin," and fought two wars of aggression against Vietnam on the latter's southwestern and northern borders.

Also, Peking is trying to weaken Laos and encroach on its sovereignty. To this end it has taken advantage of road-building gangs and "aid." It now wants to revive the activity of the bands under the long-time U.S. agents Vang Pao and Kong Le. It has close contacts with extreme rightists among the ruling circles of Thailand in order to put pressure on Laos and create permanent instability there.

After the U.S. defeat in Kampuchea the Peking reactionaries took charge of the Pol Pot, Ieng Sary

and Khieu Samphan clique and turned that country into a Chinese military base, arms dump and bridgehead for expansion. Peking and its Kampuchean accomplices exchanged numerous top-level delegations. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese "advisers," secret agents and army officers were sent to Kampuchea. They worked overtime to form armed forces for their Kampuchean puppets. At the end of 1976, Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan had only three infantry divisions, but by late 1978 they had 23 divisions equipped with up-to-date Chinese arms. Within a very short time the PRC supplied its accomplices with hundreds of tanks, fighter-aircraft, bombers, military trucks, submarines, motor torpedo boats and mine-sweepers.⁶

Encouraged by Peking, its Kampuchean henchmen engaged in genocide against their own people and launched a large-scale war of aggression against Vietnam along the entire Vietnamese-Kampuchean frontier. The case of Kampuchea is typical of the methods used by the Peking leaders to further their expansionist schemes.

Peking did not become any less bellicose after the overthrow of the Pol Pot and Ieng Sary clique or the defeat of its 600,000-strong army of aggression on the northern border of Vietnam. It is now planning another major war venture against Vietnam. Many divisions have been pulled up to the Vietnamese frontier and the Chinese are building roads and new fortifications. Chinese military pilots train in bombing raids day and night and intrude into Vietnamese air space. Nam Hai, or the Chinese Southern Fleet, has been reinforced with new ships and systematically enters Vietnamese territorial waters. Peking enlists agents among persons of Chinese origin and plants them in government and economic bodies as well as cultural institutions in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam: it tries to bribe Vietnamese executives and undermine socialist construction in Vietnam. The Chinese rulers are fighting a psychological war with slanderous propaganda urging the overthrow of the socialist system in Vietnam. While they turn down all the peace initiatives from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the Peking leaders link up increasingly with the imperialists and other reactionaries in defaming Vietnam and trying to isolate it internationally.

Peking continues backing the criminal Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan group. It forms bands of Khmer counter-revolutionaries of every description to fight the Kampuchean people, who have risen, won and become masters of their destiny. Chinese secret services plant Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea's revolutionary government bodies in an attempt to impose dual power at local level. Camps of "Kampuchean refugees" have been set up on Thai territory by agreement with Bangkok. Remnants of the Pol Pot gangs and other counter-revolutionaries are operating under this guise. With help from Washington, humanitarian aid from international organizations is used to keep the remnants of the Khmer Rouge well-fed on Thai territory; they are helped to make their way into Kam-

puchea to provoke riots. Peking encourages the rightist authorities of Thailand to encroach on the sovereignty of Kampuchea and Laos and blockade these countries. This traditional device of Chinese feudal lords — taking the enemy in pincers — is now being used by the Peking reactionary ruling group, which plans to seize Indochina as a preliminary for a further offensive against Southeast Asia.

III

The present epoch has seen the rise and fall of nazism as well as the ignominious defeat of U.S. imperialism's aspirations for world domination. We are now witnessing the birth and collapse of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. Their total defeat is inevitable. However, we should not underrate some of the factors enabling Peking to achieve temporary successes.

Peking is bringing pressure to bear — not without success — on some Southeast Asian countries by means of its economic potential and military superiority. Another circumstance helping it is that it has at its disposal huge numbers of ethnic Chinese who can exert considerable if transient influence on the economic and political situation in a number of Southeast Asian countries. Also, Peking is, as I have mentioned, using the Maoist organizations active in some countries of the region. "Leftist," pseudo-revolutionary catchwords borrowed from the Peking leaders are in many cases still enabling these groups to mislead the local population.

During the past few decades, the most bitter struggle between the revolution and imperialism's forces of aggression and its accomplices in the region has been going on in the three countries of Indochina. The peoples of these countries have achieved impressive victories. However, every progressive movement has its growth pains and entails formidable trials. Even after victory, the peoples of these three countries have to grapple with enormous difficulties resulting from wars, underdevelopment and the hostile designs and activities of imperialism and international reaction. Peking is trying to benefit by these difficulties, in other words, to fish in troubled waters.

Collusion with U.S. and Japanese imperialism is highly profitable to the Peking leaders even if it pursues purely temporary interests. The chief benefit is that it has ended Peking's total isolation in the world. Besides, among the ruling circles of some southeast Asian countries there are extreme right-wing elements who now support the hostile policy of the Peking reactionaries and U.S. imperialists toward the peoples of the three countries of Indochina.

But these are short-term benefits. Time is working against the Peking expansionists; more and more, it lays bare and aggravates the difficulties and contradictions in their policy. The activities and "theories" of the Peking rulers have exposed them as advocates of expansionism and hegemonism, products of reactionary Han nationalism bearing

the brand of centralized militarist feudalism. They make common cause with a declining and decaying imperialism. There is thus no chance of Peking concealing the unjust, reactionary character of its policy. Its hegemonism and expansionism have been rejected by revolutionaries throughout the world and are historically doomed.

Ours is an epoch of the rapid ascent of the three world revolutionary streams. The socialist system with its growing political, economic and military power has become the decisive factor of civilization's development. The national liberation movement advances irresistibly from victory to victory. The international working class movement is making dynamic progress. Socialism today is a world system with the great Soviet Union as its strongest bulwark. This system is the common achievement of the world revolution. A new social system, it embodies the will and strength of all three world revolutionary streams. In the end, the counter-offensive of the Peking reactionaries will stop short at the insurmountable barrier consisting of this new social system.

The world has witnessed imperialist counter-offensives against socialism, such as the intervention by 14 countries against the proletarian revolution in Russia, the nazi aggression during the Second World War with the destruction of the Soviet Union as its objective, or the wars of aggression unleashed by the French colonialists and U.S. imperialists to strangle the new-born social system in Vietnam. The record of these counter-offensives is a record of crushing reverses for imperialism and brilliant victories for socialism.

China's great-power expansionism, too, has suffered a series of setbacks over the past 10 years. The Chinese reactionaries were defeated during the military provocation on the Chinese-Soviet frontier in 1969. They were defeated when they tried to destroy the gains of the national democratic revolution in Kampuchea and attacked socialist Vietnam. The aggressive designs of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against the three states of Indochina have an insuperable obstacle — the socialist system. The people of Indochina have shown very clearly that they are determined to overcome all difficulties and the most severe tests in order to strengthen their countries, achieve solid unity, and create an impregnable stronghold of peace and national independence and an outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia. The friendship linking the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea is the pivot around which all the forces of Southeast Asia fighting for peace, stability, independence and prosperity are uniting. This friendship is dependably supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries, by other revolutionary forces and progressives all over the world; their support is the decisive factor of the ultimate victory of the peoples of Southeast Asia over Chinese expansionism and hegemonism.

Peking's policy thus boils down to collusion with U.S.-headed world imperialism, resistance to newly-independent countries, the national libera-

tion movement and détente, unqualified advocacy of the arms race and preparations for major wars against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The immediate target is Indochina. Subsequently, however, Peking expects to annex other Southeast Asian countries, divide spheres of influence with the USA and Japan, and proceed to bring its dream of world hegemony to materialization. This is why, to repulse the counter-revolutionary designs and subversive activities of China's rulers is not only a matter for the Indochinese and other Southeast Asian countries but a common cause of all progressive mankind. The peoples of Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole must achieve close unity and fight resolutely and unrelentingly for peace and stability in the region. At the same time they must put the formation of an international front of peoples for peace and social progress on the agenda. Such a front would be strongly supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community nations.

The expansionism and hegemonism of China and other bellicose forces with U.S. imperialism in the lead are at variance with the course of history. They come into conflict with the legitimate aspirations of mankind and are doomed to total failure. Peace, national independence, democracy and socialism will prevail.

1. Extract from Mao Tse-tung's speech to a closed meeting of the CC Political Bureau, CPC, in 1965. *Journal of Theoretical Information*, Hanoi, 1979, pp. 69-70 (in Vietnamese).

2. With reference to unpublished records of talks between some Chinese leaders and foreign delegations, recent reports about this thesis having been abandoned have never been confirmed officially. Most likely they indicate a change of tactics. — Ed.

3. *Cong San*, August 1979, p. 81, and *Vietnam Courier*, February 1979, p. 10.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Vietnam Courier*, February 1979, p. 11.

6. *Cong San*, December 1979, pp. 8-9.



The SUPG: joint course toward the promotion of socialist economic integration

Paul Verner

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

Led by the party of the working class, the people of the GDR are making noteworthy headway in all-sidedly strengthening their socialist country. With "The Finest Achievements for the 10th Congress of the SUPG" and "Everything for the Benefit of the People" as their slogans, their sights are set, above all, on enhancing labor productivity. This is an important condition for the further fulfillment of our program of ensuring full employment, the people's welfare, economic growth and stability despite the drastic changes on the international economic and political scene.

A purposeful deepening of socialist economic integration with the USSR and other member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is a key condition of the GDR's further progress. As time passes it becomes apparent that the all-round development and strengthening of each socialist country is a decisive factor of the advancement of the socialist world community and, conversely, our community's progress is the guarantee of further positive economic and social changes in each of its member-states. This is why in our party's programs economic integration is characterized as the solid foundation for the steady expansion of cooperation and the systematic drawing together of the socialist

nations in every sphere of society's life. This process is steadfastly directed by the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal countries.

Socialist economic integration is, on the one hand, based on the socialist relations of production predominant in all the CMEA member-states, on relations determined by public property in the means of production and by the political power of the working class and its allies headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties, and on the identity of political and economic aims of the socialist community. On the other hand, it is objectively predicated on the rapid growth of the productive forces resulting chiefly from the acceleration of scientific and technological progress in all the socialist-community states. The worldwide class confrontation with imperialism requires unity among fraternal countries in order to strengthen each of them and the community as a whole.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels wrote: "National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding

thereto . . . In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."* In the *First Draft of "The Civil War in France"* (1871) Marx noted that in the course of the class struggle the working class arrives at a harmonious national and international coordination of social forms of production. Lenin wrote: "Already under capitalism, all economic, political and spiritual life is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 246).

The tendency toward the internationalization of society's life, noted by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, is being embodied in the integrational processes of the present stage of socialism's development. Socialist economic integration has led (especially during the past decade, from the moment the comprehensive program was adopted in 1971) to a dramatic expansion of cooperation among the fraternal nations in science and production. Today the socialist-community countries have gone beyond simple trade: they are coordinating their economic development plans and making broad use of qualitatively improved forms of direct economic interaction. Moreover, central issues of economic development are now increasingly decided jointly. For example, five-year plans are coordinated, and this provides the foundation for the promotion of mutually beneficial relations in science and production, relations based on a division of labor and direct cooperation.

Economic integration is closely linked to cooperation among socialist countries in other fields of life. Our experience is that the consolidation of the alliance among the fraternal parties, of their ideological and political unity on the unshakable foundation of their common worldview — Marxism-Leninism — and the growing coincidence of their approach to the application of the general laws of socialist construction are a paramount condition ensuring the development of economic integration. On the other hand, any deepening of interaction in the different areas of the superstructure is inconceivable without broad and dependable links in material production, which is the principal area of human activity.

The internationalization of the economic life of the CMEA member-states and the resultant expansion of cooperation to all areas of economic activity are evidence that today the economic laws of socialism are applied more effectively and consciously than ever before. The tasks in the scientific, technological and production spheres are steadily growing bigger, and because of their size and complexity they can only be carried out by joint effort.

Thus, ever larger investments are needed to ensure high rates of scientific and technological progress and the rapid and maximum effective use of its results in the national economy. The international

division of labor and cooperation allow saving a growing proportion of these investments and, at the same time, achieving impressive economic results.

Moreover, scientific and technological progress leads to a steady widening of the assortment of qualitatively new types of products and also to significant improvements of existing models. For example, more than a thousand such articles are developed annually by the GDR's metalworking industry. Moreover, the demand for profitability in production is growing constantly, and in many cases only the international division of labor allows organizing profitable serial production and securing a reliable market for its output. In this way the conditions are created for a further intensification of socialist production as a key factor of the economy's growth and efficiency. This points to the need for a more effective utilization of the potentials of specialization and cooperation on both the national and the international scale.

Broad economic cooperation with other socialist-community countries has always been of vital significance to the GDR. When, soon after our republic was founded, it joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, its economy had not yet recovered from the ruin inflicted by the Second World War. The imperialists went to all lengths to obstruct its socialist development. As the western outposts of socialism in Europe, the then young republic was fiercely attacked by imperialism's reactionary forces. But the imperialist plans for strangling the first German workers' and peasants' state were countered by the GDR's cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA member-states. With the assistance of fraternal countries we built up basic industries as the foundation of our country's economic development within a relatively short span of time. A member of the socialist community, the GDR is today part of the world's most dynamic economic region and among the 10 strongest industrial states.

The republic's economy increasingly feels the benefit of its participation in investments jointly with the USSR and other CMEA member-states for the enlargement of energy and raw material resources. In the 1970s the republic contributed 10 billion marks to increase the output of oil, natural gas, iron ore, asbestos, pulp and paper, and other commodities.

Participation in investments helped to increase the GDR's imports of raw materials from other CMEA member-states, with the result that the conditions were created for a steady expansion of our industrial output. Thanks to this participation, oil imports from the USSR more than doubled between 1970 and 1980, rising from 9 million to 19 million tons. Imports of fuel are extremely stable at a time when throughout the capitalist world the supply of oil is becoming increasingly erratic.

Marked progress has also been made in ensuring our national economy with natural gas. We have been importing it from the Soviet Union since 1973. Beginning with 700 million cubic meters, these imports reached 6.5 billion in 1980. This is the

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 124-125.

direct result of our participation in building the Soyuz pipeline running from Orenburg. We meet more than 90 per cent of our oil and all of our gas requirements with imports from the USSR.

Integration has led to major advances also in scientific and technological cooperation. Of these, special mention must be made of such globally acknowledged achievements as the designing, jointly with Soviet research teams, of a high-pressure polyethylene installation (it became operational at the Leuna-Werke on the 30th anniversary of the GDR), a 30-ton plasma-smelter in Freital, and a multispectral chamber. Joint work has been conducted in the study of outer space.

Our many-sided cooperation with the USSR, which has a huge potential in terms of science and research, has made it possible to begin quickly the manufacture of a large range of commodities that meet world standards. The content of scientific and technological cooperation has undergone a fundamental change. Whereas formerly it involved mainly exchanges of the results of research, today joint work by scientists acquires growing significance. The Program for Specializing and Cooperating Production Up to 1990, signed on October 5, 1979, in the presence of Erich Honecker and Leonid Brezhnev, is of special importance for the GDR. This program extends the framework of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR by envisaging the pooling of the two countries' material, scientific and technological resources on a mutually beneficial basis for joint long-term and large-scale economic projects.

We are keeping steadfastly to the course we have adopted. This is illustrated by the agreements on specialization and cooperation in the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industries and also in the optico-mechanical industry signed in December 1980 at the 27th sitting of the Inter-Governmental Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. The GDR and the USSR now have agreements on basic areas of the division of labor, specialization, and cooperation in 35 spheres of science, technology and production. In particular, provision has been made for the joint elaboration of the technology of concentrating coal and the chemical processing of brown coal, and for the development of more sophisticated technological methods and processes for the metal-working and chemical industries. It is planned to speed up the development of microelectronics and instrument-making. Fulfillment of these and other plans will allow making more rational use of the scientific and production potentials of the two countries, reducing the time needed for research, experimentation and design, developing effective technology and automated processes for the manufacture of goods with new consumer properties, achieving a larger saving of materials, and utilizing secondary raw materials more effectively.

For instance, installations for the production of normal paraffin and fatty-series alcohols have become operational in 1980 near Leningrad and in Perm respectively. The technological processes

were developed by engineers from the two countries, while the equipment was supplied by the GDR. Soviet engineers have helped to design new systems of microprocessors, whose production has been started at a microelectronics equipment plant in the GDR. A medical and laboratory equipment factory is supplying both countries with a jointly designed automatic blood-group determiner. Some of its units are manufactured in the USSR. As a result of scientific and technological cooperation between our countries we now have more than 400 common patents and upward of 2,800 uniform standards.

The results of integration, linked to the expansion of specialization and cooperation of production, have a direct bearing on the growth of the republic's economic potential, the efficiency of its economy and the quantity of consumer goods available to its population. Besides, this is of great political importance because in the GDR and in other fraternal countries the successes of integration are evaluated by, among other things, what it gives to day-to-day life.

Mutual deliveries under long-term agreements on specialization have grown very significantly in recent years. Today the GDR has nearly 500 such agreements with the CMEA member-states. Of these 390 are bilateral and the rest are multilateral. Most of the agreements concern the organization of modern large-series production. They ensure many of our factories with stable export markets. By exporting to fraternal countries goods needed by them, the GDR contributes to the expansion of the material and technical basis of the entire socialist community.

Along with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, the SUPG sees socialist economic integration as a long-term, complex process. We set ourselves tasks that meet with the specific conditions of the given stage of economic, scientific and technological progress and for whose fulfillment both the objective and the subjective potentials are on hand.

Under socialism, too, there are national features and interests springing mainly from historical distinctions in the level of development, from the political situation in each given country, and from the international situation. At the stage of building a developed socialist society there is a widening community of interests and aims, but this does not impinge upon the specific requirements of each CMEA member-state. From experience we know that this is due chiefly to two reasons: first, economic and social development is gradually levelled up at the given stage, and there is a greater identity of interests; second, the tasks that arise at this stage are of a scale and complexity that can only be tackled effectively by the entire community.

In charting their general economic strategy and in specifying areas of socialist economic integration, the fraternal parties keep their sights on ensuring harmony between national economic interests and the international interests of the CMEA member-states. Each of the community's states voluntarily and independently decides whether it has

to take part in one or another project and the size of its contribution to the fulfillment of that project. Cooperation is based on full equality of all the participating countries. In contrast to capitalist integration, we do not have supranational agencies interfering in the rights of individual states. Contrary to the assertions of our adversaries, socialist economic integration in no way infringes on the sovereignty of any country. Each country can safeguard its sovereign rights against encroachment by imperialist and revanchist forces only with the support it gets from the entire socialist community. This is the only way that the economic and, consequently, political sovereignty of each socialist country can be ensured.

The ongoing internationalization of economic life and economic integration are playing a growing role in the ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism. Attacks on socialist economic integration are one of the central orientations of anti-communist subversion by the ideologues of imperialism. They have to acknowledge that the increasingly closer scientific, technological and economic links among the CMEA member-states are among the main factors changing the world balance of strength in favor of peace and socialism. That explains the efforts the imperialist circles are making to sow division among fraternal countries and, most importantly, isolate them from the Soviet Union and direct their development into a channel desired by imperialism. Reactionary propaganda tries to discredit the socialist principles of cooperation in all fields, including the economic sphere, and belittle what has been achieved as a result of this cooperation. It misrepresents the role played by the USSR in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, endeavors to question the scientific and technological potential of the Soviet Union as an economic partner, and spreads the lie that it benefits unilaterally from integration.

Innumerable facts refute these insinuations. For instance, the Soviet Union's scientific and technological power is corroborated by its universally acknowledged role of pioneer in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and in space exploration. In fields like mechanics, quantum electronics, solid-state physics, kinetics and thermodynamics Soviet science plays a leading role in the world. Soviet scientists have developed a number of highly-efficient technological processes, including the method of continuous steel pouring, plasma alloying, and microbiological processes of the transformation of matter. Also eloquent is the fact that many firms in industrial capitalist countries buy Soviet machinery and products. General Electric, as we know, signed a long-term contract for deliveries from the USSR of the latest electronic circuit elements for the clock and watch industry. The low-quality brown coal mined in Texas by the open-cast method is now processed by the Soviet technology of underground gasification, which allows developing deposits of that coal with greater efficiency. These are only a few of the examples that make it

clear that the Soviet Union is by no means the "poor, technologically backward country" that imperialist ideologues make it out to be. It leads the world in many areas of science, technology and machinery.

Also, the facts completely demolish the allegation that the Soviet Union benefits unilaterally from socialist economic integration. To begin with, let us mention the massive assistance rendered by the Soviet Union for the industrialization of other CMEA member-states, most of which were, in the recent past, agrarian nations and, in terms of economic development, the most backward in Europe. Without this assistance, which was unprecedented in the history of international economic relations, the socialist community would not have been able to develop into the world's most dynamic and powerful economic force within only a quarter of a century. With Soviet assistance, the other CMEA member-states built more than 1,500 industrial enterprises, which annually produce 21 million tons of pig iron, 26 million tons of steel, 6 million tons of cement, and huge quantities of chemical products and modern machinery and industrial plants. It may be said that these enterprises determine the economic potential of the socialist-community countries and the structure of their material and technical basis. In the GDR the Ost Metallurgical Complex, built within a short time with assistance from the USSR and other fraternal countries, is one of the factories symbolizing economic cooperation and the building of the foundation of a socialist society. This complex is one of the main producers of steel that is so vital to our national economy. Mention must also be made of some other projects: the metallurgical factories in Riesa and Groditz, the thermal power stations in Thierbach, Hagenwerder and Boxberg, the Bruno Leuschner nuclear power stations near Greifswald and in Rheinsberg, the oil-refinery in Schwedt, and many other factories equipment for which was supplied by the Soviet Union.

Stable long-term contracts with the Soviet Union help to promote traditional industries in other CMEA member-states and organize new large-series production, frequently on an unparalleled scale. Examples of this are the factories manufacturing transport and hoisting equipment in Bulgaria, buses and car units in Hungary, railway rolling stock, ships, and presses in the GDR, building and road-building machines in Poland, oil boring installations in Romania, and heavy industry equipment in Czechoslovakia.

The allegation that the USSR benefits unilaterally from socialist economic integration is completely belied by what we know of the Soviet Union's outstanding contribution to ensuring a dependable supply of raw materials to the other countries of the community. In the period from 1976 to 1980 it supplied them with nearly 370 million tons of oil, 88 billion cubic meters of natural gas, and 64 billion kwh of electric power. During that period the supplies of energy and fuel were half again their volume during the first half of the 1970s. It would be

hard to overestimate this fact, especially in view of the difficult situation in the world energy market. In 1976-1980 the USSR exported 114 million tons of iron ore and 27 million tons of steel rolled stock to other CMEA member-states. These large deliveries provided the basis for the growth of output in industries consuming ferrous metals and also for the further industrial development of the countries concerned.

Other evidence may be cited to show the Soviet Union's profoundly internationalist attitude to the development of socialist economic integration. It will be recalled that the price of raw materials, especially of fuel, rose steeply in the 1970s throughout the world. But in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, prices have remained at an incomparably lower level. Take the prices of major fuels imported by the GDR from the USSR. In 1979 they were roughly between 30 and 40 per cent below the mean prices in the capitalist world market. Stable, long-term deliveries of such fuels ensure the further economic growth of all the countries of the community.

The benefits from economic cooperation among fraternal countries are mutual, not unilateral. In this connection, note must be made of the importance of exports to the Soviet Union of modern plant for the metallurgical, heavy engineering, chemical and

consumer goods industries and also for transport. For example, the USSR uses equipment imported from other CMEA member-states to produce 26 per cent of its ammonia, 40 per cent of its carbide, and nearly 20 per cent of its sulphuric acid. The German Democratic Republic has sold some 3,000 ships to the Soviet Union. About two-thirds of the excavators and cranes imported by the USSR are from the GDR. It accounts for nearly 60 per cent of the Soviet Union's imports of marine diesel engines, and machine-tool-testing machines, and between 70 and 80 per cent of its imports of press and forge equipment and also equipment for the building materials industry. We export to the USSR about half of our output of ships, machine-tools and tele-types, 60 per cent of our output of refrigerator-trucks, and 80 per cent of our passenger railway carriages. Our economic relations with the USSR are not the "one-way street" the adversaries of socialism would have people believe; it is a mutual process permeated with the spirit of socialist internationalism and based entirely on the principle of mutual benefit. These are international economic relations of a qualitatively new type that appeal strongly to world opinion.

As we progress in the direction of economic integration the economic, scientific and technological potential of the socialist community will increase more perceptibly and the conditions will become more felicitous for spreading mutually beneficial economic cooperation worldwide. The countries of our community advocate the abolition of all artificial barriers and an end to the policy of discrimination against the CMEA and protectionism pursued by some industrialized capitalist countries.

We have every justification to say that much has been achieved in the way of socialist economic integration. The agreements on cooperation for 1981-1985 and for longer terms, signed lately by the CMEA member-states, are a solid foundation for sustained economic growth. But much remains to be done to attain the high targets set for the 1980s. At its 34th session, held in Prague in June 1980 the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance unanimously defined new measures to facilitate the success of the complex process of ensuring the economic growth of the entire socialist community and of each of its member-states.

In the GDR the people approach the implementation of all these plans with the full understanding that the maximum must be done to enhance the socialist community's economic potential and world prestige. Apart from everything else this is the decisive condition for preserving world peace. Nobody will deny that peaceful development is the overriding condition for ensuring the welfare of every nation, for the further promotion of living standards in the socialist countries. Now, as before, the efforts of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, of all the people of our republic are directed toward achieving that goal. There is no doubt that the decisions of the 10th congress of the SUPG will be instrumental in realizing these aspirations.

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Fidelity to the revolution

Ali Nasser Muhammed

CC General Secretary, Yemen Socialist Party,
Presidium Chairman, Supreme People's Council,
Prime Minister, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

The year 1980 saw an event of tremendous political moment in the life of our party and people — this was the extraordinary congress of the Yemen Socialist Party. Long before the congress was convened (it held its sittings on October 12-14), our working people looked forward to it with hope. Throughout the country, workers, peasants and armymen, the entire nation, prepared for the congress, demonstrating by their work and initiatives their unqualified fidelity to the revolution and the country and their resolve to move forward under the leadership of their heroic political vanguard, the YSP.

The extraordinary congress was convened two years after the first congress, in conformity with a decision adopted by the latter and with the defense of the Yemeni revolution, the fulfillment of the five-year plan, and the nation's unity as its key-notes. In between the two congresses, these key-notes determined the basic orientations of our work in the face of serious difficulties and threats at home and from without.

The delegates debated and unanimously approved the Central Committee report, instructing all party organizations and members to take guidance from the conclusions, proposals and guidelines contained in the report.

Foreign policy

The congress noted that the experience of past years had confirmed the correctness of the republic's foreign policy of peaceful coexistence with countries with different social and political systems and also of internationalist solidarity with all champions of freedom, peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world. On the international scene our party and republic see their main objective in ensuring the conditions for consummating the national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective and for building a new, happy life for the working people. At the same time, it is our internationalist duty to go on doing our best to help and support all the people fighting colonialism, imperialism, fascism and racism.

Over the past year the international situation has changed for the worse; the black clouds of war are again gathering over the planet. In these circumstances it is all the more imperative to intensify and extend the struggle for peace and international security, against the extremely dangerous schemes of the most aggressive imperialist forces. Our party regards this as a highly important task in whose

fulfillment a wide range of social forces have a stake whatever their ideological or political differences.

On the Arab scene as well, we are witnessing stepped-up pressure by imperialism, Zionism and local reaction. They are going to all lengths to nullify the gains of the Arab liberation struggle, undermine national independence and sovereignty, consolidate and extend their political, economic and military supremacy in the Middle East, perpetuate Zionist rule in Palestine and other occupied territories, and remove the Palestine problem from the agenda. They would like to drive a wedge in the strategic alliance of the Arab fighters for freedom and independence and the revolutionary forces of the world, primarily the socialist-community countries headed by the mighty Soviet Union.

In pursuing their aims, the imperialists and their accomplices employ a variety of methods. First of all, they try to undercut and bring down patriotic regimes in Arab countries. They put political and economic pressure on these regimes, organize subversion against them, and abet and back elements engaged in overt or covert counter-revolution, including persons who use religion as camouflage. World imperialism relies heavily on intrigues to prolong and aggravate discord between Arab countries and between progressive patriotic contingents active in the Arab world, provoke friction and clashes between them, and divert their attention to religious, communal or regional conflicts. Moreover, the imperialist powers, primarily the USA, resort time and again to a show of strength. They mass warships in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea, set up military bases in our region, and try to form military blocs.

Our party sees a serious threat to the security and sovereignty of the countries of the area in the fact that Oman, Somalia and Egypt have signed agreements giving the USA military privileges, including the establishment and use of military bases and the holding of joint exercises by the Egyptian army and the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force to "defend" so-called "vital U.S. interests." The imperialists are fuelling tensions and fomenting local conflicts in order to clear the way for armed intervention with the objective of seizing the oil resources of the Middle East and crushing the region's liberation movement. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen urges a political settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, which runs counter to the interests of both countries, distracts them from the fight against

the common enemy — imperialism, Zionism and reaction — and furnishes a pretext for imperialist intervention.

The Camp David conspiracy is still the pivot of a policy to disrupt the Arab national liberation movement. However, the sustained struggle by the Arab peoples, primarily by the Palestinian Arabs and progressive patriotic forces of the Arab world, especially the countries affiliated to the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, has reduced the conspirators to isolation. Attempts have lately been made to end the Camp David impasse. The most dangerous of them is, probably, the "European initiative" peddled by some circles as evidence of a "fundamental change" of posture by the West European imperialist powers on the problem of the Middle East and Palestine. Our party considers that far from contradicting the Camp David line, the "European initiative" helps carry it forward and fits in with attempts to end the just struggle of the Palestinian people for their legitimate national rights.

The violent attacks by the combined forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction accentuate the need for unity and solidarity among all Arab patriots in the anti-imperialist struggle. Our country will continue to make every possible contribution to the joint actions of Arab countries and to the search for more effective ways and means of cooperation and coordination with a view to aborting the conspiracies that are being woven. It is our opinion, however, that moves such as the Arab summit in Amman last November in the absence of the main parties concerned — the Palestine Liberation Organization, Syria and Lebanon, as well as Libya, Algeria and the PDRY — undermine national solidarity and help U.S. imperialism and other parties to the Camp David deal implement their criminal designs.

In order to widen the Arab national liberation movement and enhance its role in the world revolutionary process it is vital to strengthen the relations between this movement and the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. Since the first YSP congress, our relations with the socialist community have made visible headway in every sphere at both the state and party level. The PDRY's admission to the CMEA as an observer, the exchange of visits by statesmen and party leaders, the conclusion of important political, economic and other agreements, and the signing of treaties of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the GDR are indicative of the high level attained by our relations with the socialist world. What makes these bonds of friendship and cooperation unshakeable is that they meet the requirements of the revolutionary process in our country, the goals of the Yemeni revolutionary movement, and the interests of the Arab peoples' liberation struggle.

The slogan of Yemeni unity is inscribed on the banner of our party. The extraordinary congress reaffirmed the need to continue advancing toward this great aim by peaceful means, on democratic principles. Unity will help realize the hopes of our

people and give a powerful impetus to their social advancement. It will also help ensure regional stability and security, reinvigorate the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and pave the way to Arab unity on a progressive basis. But this problem, so important for every Yemeni, cannot be resolved without a correct understanding of the correlation and influence of the social forces interested in unity and without dropping sentimentality and idealism over this question.

We understand that imperialism and reaction fear to lose their predominance and influence, and will therefore not end their conspiracies against our people and the party. They will make every effort to perpetuate disunity and sow discord, push the Yemeni people onto the path of fratricidal war, and torpedo dialogue, rapprochement and coordination. These intrigues should be resolutely rebuffed, the congress declared.

Economic development

The congress closely scrutinized the problems of the country's economic development. It charted scientific ways and means of removing the difficulties and shortcomings that have surfaced with the implementation of the party's policy of advancing the economy and raising the standard of living.

In spite of difficulties we have been making progress according to plan. Our achievements show that we are on the right path. The first five-year plan (1974-1978) has been fulfilled, as has the plan for the first year of the second five-year plan (1979-1983).

In the first five-year plan period the aggregate social product increased by 51 per cent, the national income by 43 per cent, and per capita income by 25 per cent. Output grew by 167 per cent in industry, 32 per cent in agriculture, and 137 per cent in fishing. Construction increased by 320 per cent, transport by 230 per cent, and trade by 110 per cent.

The economic structure has undergone noteworthy changes. In production the share of the public sector went up from 24.6 per cent in 1973 to 52 per cent in 1978, and that of the mixed sector from 2 to 6.3 per cent. By contrast, the share of the private sector dropped from 61.3 to 30.4 per cent. As for the share of the cooperative sector — 11 or 12 per cent — it has remained virtually unchanged.

These statistics indicate that the public sector has become the decisive factor of the economy. The YSP regards the further expansion of this sector as a political and economic imperative, a condition for accomplishing the tasks of the national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective, a means of reducing dependence on the world capitalist market, and an important factor of cooperation with the socialist community. It is safe to say that we will be able to spread the ideas of scientific socialism among the masses, reinforce the people's confidence in YSP policy, and unite them more closely around the party to the extent that we ensure the efficient functioning of the public sector as a model of socio-economic activity.

As a form of organizing producers that frees them

from the shackles of exploitative semi-feudal and semi-capitalist relations, the cooperatives are a major achievement of our people. But to be able to carry collectivization forward, we will have to overcome difficulties that have lately cropped up in this sphere.

In the first five-year plan period, the cooperative sector showed hardly any progress. The main reason for this was that the reorganization of relations of production in farming and fishing by setting up cooperatives was not accompanied by any real growth of the productive forces in either of these branches. The problem was also compounded by the opportunist activity of the "leftists," who ignored the peculiarities of the cooperative movement and seriously hampered it with measures affecting prices, sales and management.

The YSP Central Committee and Political Bureau took steps to remedy the situation. They emphasized the need to improve the management of cooperatives, adhere strictly to party guidelines on this matter, develop the productive forces in the cooperative sector, and improve the training of personnel. These steps began to show results in 1979 and 1980, but it will take time to bring all their benefits into play.

Dynamic economic progress was also hampered by other difficulties and complications, due above all to the legacy of the colonial past and to the transitional character of the stage reached by our country. After the first YSP congress, which approved the main lines for the second five-year plan, the working people set out to carry out the plan, seeing its fulfillment as a major socio-economic advance. However, an analysis of the economic effort in 1979 revealed that enthusiasm alone is not enough and that a great deal depends on management, planning, organization, technological equipment and effective use of machinery and plant. The situation in all these fields fell below the set requirements. The principal reason for this was that many decisions aimed at correcting the economic development trend and removing shortcomings and miscalculations often remained a dead letter or were carried out belatedly. As a result, the increase in the aggregate social product recorded in 1979 was a mere 4.4 per cent. These results are entirely out of keeping with our aspirations and have affected the overall social and economic situation.

Taking into account this state of affairs, the experience of the two years that have passed since the first YSP congress, and the PDRY's admission to the CMEA as an observer, which made it necessary to coordinate our economic development plans with those of other members of that organization, the extraordinary congress discussed and approved the main lines and indices of the second, amended plan for 1981-1985. The drafting and adoption of the plan marked a new and higher stage in the effort to perfect economic planning. At the end of the five-year period the aggregate social product is to go up by 61 per cent and the national income by 62 per cent. This is a feasible if exacting task. To carry it

out, we will have to mobilize all our material, financial and production potentialities and resources and concentrate on fundamental problems, such as raising productivity, achieving the correct balance between production and wages, selecting, training and placing personnel, applying the principles of cost accounting more effectively, and doing more to foster a proper attitude to labor.

How far our progressive regime is strengthened and the standard of living improved will depend on the fulfillment of our plans. The quality of our life tomorrow will be determined by our work today. Impressive socio-economic results have been achieved thanks to the party's correct ideological and political line, the support given us by the working people — by their creative and devoted effort in building a new, humane society — and the disinterested all-round assistance from the socialist-community states, primarily the Soviet Union. This is not to say, however, that all problems have been solved. We will have to work harder to overcome the obstacles to the construction of a stable national economy.

Growing role of the party

In trying to undermine progressive regimes in developing countries, including ours, imperialism and reaction count largely on exploiting the objective difficulties encountered by these regimes. This makes the subjective factor — a strong vanguard party playing a growing role in leading society — highly important in carrying forward the revolutionary process and warding off the dangers that arise. To fulfil its mission, the party, which is already equipped with the theory of scientific socialism, must learn to be more efficient in guiding the working people's production effort and public activity. It must improve and vary the methods of its organizational work; above all else, it must build up its ideological, political and organizational unity and resist every opportunist deviation, right and "left" alike. Unless it is united on these lines, the party of the new type cannot operate as vanguard, or leading force, nor can it direct the revolutionary process toward the ultimate goals.

In promoting the party's leading role, we give priority to the principle of democratic centralism. This helps improve party discipline, expose trends toward deviation, take steps to eliminate them, and in this way prevent the development of a malignant tumor that would endanger the party.

The events of June 25 and 26, 1978,* gave a powerful impetus to the assertion of revolutionary traditions in the day-to-day activity of the YSP and in inner-party life. We took steps to meet the requirements of collective leadership and personal responsibility and to end duplication in the work of party and government bodies. The party heightened its membership's vigilance toward unhealthy phenomena, such as the tendency to conserve obsolete relations that come into conflict with the pro-

*The abortive coup by a "left" opportunist group under Salem Rubaya Ali. — Ed.

gressive class and ideological changes that have taken place in the party and the country within the framework of the revolutionary process. Inconsistency in combating these phenomena has allowed the party and government bodies to degenerate into instruments furthering personal interests of an opportunist and reactionary nature, which very nearly caused serious damage to our revolution.

Today we note with satisfaction that party members are becoming increasingly aware of the vital need to abide by the fundamental principles of inner-party life. This makes it possible to strengthen the party's ideological, political and organizational unity, which finds expression in the membership's common stand on numerous burning issues.

Another big problem on which we have concentrated ever since the first YSP congress is to improve the social class composition of the party and the qualitative composition of the leadership, and to increase the proportion of workers and other working people in the party's ranks. Only by bringing this about can we make the party an organization guided by the ideology of the working class and build up its influence among the masses.

We have exchanged party cards and held elections for all party organizations. The former of these important measures, which involve personal interviews with every full or probation member, proved very useful organizationally and educationally. It

enabled the party to ascertain and creatively compare the members' views and helped remove shortcomings in theoretical and practical work and achieve closer unity between the leadership and the rank and file.

The election campaign began immediately after the exchange of party cards. For the first time since the founding of the party, elections were held in organizations at all levels. This made the campaign a most important factor improving the composition of the party's leading bodies and work.

We are determined to consolidate the YSP organizationally. This implies, first of all, improving party discipline, achieving solid ideological and militant unity among the membership, and ensuring their firm support for the party's organizational, ideological and political guidelines. It is only on this basis that the cause of the party and the people as a whole can triumph definitively and completely.

The extraordinary YSP congress was a milestone in bringing the innermost aspirations of the Yemeni people to materialization, in building the new society, whose outlines are becoming more and more distinct. Our people are now working on the goals set by the congress. They are convinced that the party's policy is correct and are prepared to make sacrifices so that the banner of scientific socialism flies always over the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and that our country gains in strength and maturity as a bastion of freedom and progress.

The communists in French society

Roger Martelli

The French Communist Party has marked its 60th anniversary. The article below, written for this occasion, is by a French communist historian, who is member of the executive board of the Institute of Marxist Studies.

People acquainted with French reality must acknowledge that in spite of everything France has retained her greatness. She knew times of stress but has preserved her national identity: the French have not been reduced to the status of a second-rate nation.

It cannot be said that all is well for those who are refashioning France by their labor: poverty, unemployment, anxiety and insecurity are their constant fellow-travelers. However, despite everything, gains have been safeguarded in an unremitting struggle, and in present-day France, which is harsh to the poor and kind to the wealthy, they continue to serve the working people.

More, France has not lost her hope of change. She is in the midst of an acute crisis, but there is a way out without austerity. This is the revolutionary way,

the way of profound changes. It is the way of socialism in the colors of France, a socialism of democracy, self-administration, social justice and brotherhood, of social progress and economic growth, a socialism of freedom. Such will be France's great contribution to the movement for the emancipation of peoples, to the building of a new world.

Everything that has been achieved is not the fruit of fortuity. It is the result of unceasing work. Nothing of this would have been, had the French revolutionaries not made the correct choice in Tours in 1920.

Tours — the correct choice

Indeed, in December 1920, most (3,200) of the delegates to the 18th national congress of the Socialist Party, the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO), made the correct choice when they voted for affiliation to the Third International and thereby paved the way for the formation of a fundamentally renovated party.

The renovation was in keeping with the impera-

tives of the day. Europe had just emerged from a carnage, in which 1,400,000 Frenchmen lost their lives and more than a million were disabled. The war left a deep and cruel scar in the minds of its survivors. Horror and nausea blended with a feeling that it had all been absurd and senseless. The working class movement was particularly hard hit by the war; in fact it sustained a double blow. On top of everything there was a sense of painful disenchantment over the fact that the socialist parties of the Second International had revealed their total lack of credibility: their eloquent, anti-war resolutions gave way in 1914 to undisguised bellicosity. More, not only were these parties, the SFIO among them, unable to prevent the conflict from erupting, but during the war they vigorously peddled the idea of class collaboration. The working-class movement linked to them participated actively in the war effort alongside the bourgeoisie. Support for the Holy Alliance was advocated by the Socialist Party and by the trade union movement led by Leon Jouhaux. The minority, which protested against the war, could do nothing in the SFIO or the General Confederation of Labor (CGT).

However, the point was not only in the war. The ineptitude of the socialist movement, brought to light in connection with the war, had deep roots. Prior to 1914, despite its bombastic declarations, the Socialist Party had confined its activities to parliamentary and electoral struggles. It ignored the peoples of the colonies, who constituted the majority of the population of the French empire. There were very few women and young people in the party. Although it saw itself as a party of the working class and the bulk of its membership (largely renewed after the war) consisted of workers, its leaders were intellectuals, members of the liberal professions and teachers. Over and above that, the organizational structure, based on the territorial principle, separated the party from the people on the shop floor and facilitated the deepening of the traditional contradiction between the parliamentary Socialist Party and the trade unions, which distrusted politics and were strongly influenced by "revolutionary syndicalism."

In short, in war-ravaged France, where the political power was in the hands of the right, the working class, whose hardships were increased by the war, and the working-class movement, which reared its head again after the disappointment of 1914, were faced with the cardinal problem of whether to leave everything as it was and endlessly continue the old practices that had led to collapse, or to set up a political organization that would enable the working class to fulfil its revolutionary mission, revive the traditions of the French revolutionary current and surmount some of its former weaknesses.

The debate over these issues was by no means academic. This was accentuated by the fact that a new solution had surfaced and proved its effectiveness at the very height of the war. The wind of hope blew from Russia in 1917: the relatively small Bolshevik party led the people to the triumph of the October Revolution, which became the principal

event of contemporary history. It was that very same Bolshevik party that had courageously denounced the war at a time when European social democracy, contrary to all its former declarations, was wallowing in the Holy Alliance. The Bolsheviks paid dearly for their opposition to the war, but within a few years, after having gone through exile and hard labor camps, they appeared as victors before the whole world. While the mighty battalions of French and German socialists suffered defeat, the Bolshevik party ushered in a new era, setting an example of realized socialism, a social system that hitherto had been no more than an ideal of the oppressed.

The breath of the triumphant October Revolution stirred humankind. Was this a world revolution? The revolutionaries had to lose no time in mustering their forces. The Third International was founded in March 1919 and it called upon all the revolutionaries of the world to form themselves into effective organizations prepared for the difficulties of the imminent class battles. Not everything was clear, of course: little was still known in France about Russia's experience, and for many people information about the International was confined to the names of a few leaders, chiefly of Lenin. For its part, the International was not fully informed of the contradictory, multiform realities of different countries. But the revolutionary experience of Russia, developed by the Communist International, gradually fused with the aspirations of the French revolutionary vanguard. It was this, after some complications and long processes in the French Socialist Party, that determined the choice in Tours. The arrogance of the bourgeoisie, reinforced by the election campaign of 1919, and the setbacks that overcame the working-class movement in the battles of 1920 on account of the inactivity of reformist trade unionists and politicians made this more urgent than ever.

It was a correct choice: in favor of a new party, a party of the working class adhering to positions of class struggle, a genuinely internationalist party effectively fighting for a socialist revolution.

This was a correct choice also because it permitted the formation and development of the party's eventful 60-year history, but we shall try to highlight some characteristic features and evaluate some results of its activities. The former is indivisibly linked to the latter: one cannot, after all, separate what determines the FCP's special place in the latest history of France from the influence exercised by the party on French society.

New practice in politics

The party is historically linked to the destinies of the working class and revolutionary current in France; it is a party of the working class by its prospects, organizational structure, social composition (of the rank and file and the leadership), and electorate; it is a democratic party by the content of its policies and activities; it is a revolutionary party by its strategic aims and by its understanding of its role in social changes, and by its activities and principles (organizational norms, democratic centralism,

collective theoretical work and creative quests). All these features took shape thanks to the choice made in Tours, and they allowed the party to make a lasting mark in the life of society.

From the moment of its foundation the FCP has been implementing a new practice in politics.

No sooner had it been constituted than it proved its internationalism. Its first major political campaigns were significant: these were in solidarity with the young Soviet Republic and against the occupation of the Ruhr and the imperialist war in Morocco. These actions, predicated by the very nature of the FCP, were in sharp contrast to the policy of the parties of the Second International. The FCP did not confine itself to declarations but, in spite of the harsh repression against it, gave its utmost support for the young liberation movement. And this at a time when this movement was still not recognized in France, that had emerged victorious from the war and remained the world's third strongest imperialist power, in a country where at the time it was not at all easy to take a resolute anti-colonialist stand.

As soon as it was founded the FCP publicly declared its solidarity with the struggles of the workers. Its militants fought consistently, including in the class Unitary General Confederation of Labor, against the escalation of capitalist exploitation, rejecting the class collaboration offered by the entrepreneurs, and speaking out against the working people paying for progress and then bearing the burden of economic crises. Very soon, by their concrete actions, despite some errors of assessment and the one-sidedness displayed at a certain stage in the attitude to the struggle for economic demands, the communists won the reputation of intransigent champions of the workers, as determined fighters against entrepreneurial cynicism.

The new political practice accentuated the interests of the working people and its crux was that beginning with the 1920s the party pursued a firmer, humanitarian line in the municipal leadership in defense of the disinherited. The honesty and straightforwardness of the communist deputies stood out strikingly against the background of dirty political scandals. When, after the Resistance and the liberation of France, the communists entered the government (albeit for a short term) they were able to draw on their own experience and display their former qualities: the communist ministers heeded the voice of the working people and served them; they were men of action, real fighters.

The main characteristic feature of the French Communist Party — its immutable organic link with the working class — was thus asserted. This link did not appear spontaneously; it was always a principled, consciously implemented guideline of the party, which understood the role of the French working class and gave it its constant attention. In 1925-1926 the party's link with the working class was formalized organizationally: communist organizations sprang up at the factories, this was unprecedented for a French political party. The FCP's working class character soon made a deep imprint on the whole of social reality and influ-

enced the electorate. Studies reaffirm that for many years mainly the urban population, the workers in the first place, have been voting for the communists.

Enabling the working class to perform its historic role consistently, the FCP is incontestably a party in which workers hold their due place. However, this does not belittle the role of other segments of the population. Contrary to tenacious legends, the FCP is not an "ouvrierist" party. More, it was the first to start an offensive against ouvrierism in the French working-class movement. Let us note here that in the party, problems are not raised in terms of workers having a special status relative to others or in terms of alliances. Each communist acts on the basis of equal rights and duties for the sake of aims which party members together elaborate and work to attain.

The new political practice of the FCP spells out constant concern to prevent separation from the world of labor and, in contrast to other parties, to make sure that words and deeds are not at variance. The FCP has always sought to keep its promises, although sometimes it has had to pay dearly for this (recall the persecution by entrepreneurs, the police harassment and the savage repression by the nazis).

The FCP and French society

By its activities in the course of 60 years the FCP has made a deep imprint on the nation's life. Being a constituent of national reality and thanks to its strength and role, our party is one of the intrinsic features of the French nation in its contemporary development.

Key moments of the history of France are linked to the name and initiatives of the FCP. Actively involved in the struggles of the working class, the party initiated the formation of the Popular Front in the 1930s; it started a broad struggle against the crisis; it directed anti-fascist actions into an organized channel and gave the popular movement political prospects. Through its efforts unity acquired tangible outlines, and became an idea that captured the minds of the masses and then acquired life in social practice. Through the efforts of the party, which sank ever deeper roots in the national soil (including the electorate), the working class became a national class in the full sense of the word, a class capable of exercising a positive influence on the nation's development.

During the bitter war years the party's class roots and the determination of its militants helped to turn the Resistance into a people's movement in the true sense of the word. This movement enabled France to contribute to the common victory over the nazis. As one of the inspirers of the movement the FCP, already in the fire of battles, gave that movement real political prospects for the future, for the period after the war.

The two years that followed the victory were a major milestone of our society's history; it influenced the make-up of the state, the social organization, and the conditions of political life. These years witnessed dramatic progressive changes in the

interests of the working class; indisputable social gains and rights were won and these were written into the constitution; the communists entered the government and, despite difficulties, were able to act effectively on a legal basis.

Whereas France benefited by even the short term that communists were ministers in the government, what did she get from their brutal eviction for a prolonged period, lasting to this day, from participation in administering the nation? The eviction of the communist ministers was soon followed by inflation, by an offensive against nationalization and social insurance, by repression against the working class, and by increased exploitation. There came a time of sanguinary and shameful colonial wars and a limitation of the national independence of France herself.

The time after 1947 was, of course, not the easiest for the FCP. The party was removed from participation in the nation's leadership and was savagely attacked by all the other political forces, beginning with the socialists, who independently or together with the right wing formed the government. This was a period when the party's political line was especially problematic, when serious mistakes piled up and limited its ability to act. But even under these conditions, it continued to play an important part in national life. It fought courageously and effectively against the war in Indochina and then in Algeria. In the early 1950s it conducted a successful campaign against the formation of a European Defense Community, and passionately championed peace when mankind faced the threat of a war that large and influential imperialist circles wanted to start against socialism. On the whole, in those anxious years the FCP, despite some mistakes, followed a sure road, its correct choice.

A picture of the activities of the French Communist Party would be incomplete if it were limited to only key moments of contemporary history. The FCP is active day after day and its influence on society's life is constant and profound.

The vigor and permanence of the working class struggles are likewise the outcome of the FCP's efforts. It is not accidental that throughout the postwar period France has been among the European countries with the largest number of mass actions, chiefly strikes over, among other things, the question of wages. Despite persecution, internal divisions and sweet-voiced advocacy of class collaboration, the French working class movement has never ceased to fight exploitation. In spite of everything, France's largest trade union association — the General Confederation of Labor — has remained a mass class organization, and the French communists can justifiably take pride in the fact that this is mainly due to their efforts, that they helped to preserve the characteristics that today determine the distinctive features of the French working class.

The preservation of national consciousness is yet another fact linked to the activities of the FCP. France has not lost her identity and her people love their homeland, cherish the nation's heritage,

and show a concern for its destiny. Much of the credit for this belongs to the FCP, which has always sustained the struggle for national independence, rejecting all the theories justifying abandonment of national interests. More, it not only contributed to the preservation of national consciousness but also reinforced some of its former features stemming from the revolutionary past. Thanks to the FCP, the national consciousness acquired a new image beginning with the 1930s. This explains the close link between national consciousness, one may even say the sense of national pride, and the internationalism and solidarity inherent in the working class and other segments of society. It is a fact that even with growing unemployment and a mounting sense of insecurity among the working people, in France racism does not develop into a really mass, legalized phenomenon and an obstacle to the ongoing mass struggle.

Note must also be made of the strong link between national consciousness and national demands, on the one hand, and the class consciousness and demands of the workers, on the other. The interlocking of national consciousness, class consciousness and internationalist solidarity has become a typical trait in France fueling mass support for the demand for the development of national production and the establishment of a new, more equitable international order facilitating the progress of humankind.

The specific interpretation of the question of alliances is likewise largely the result of the activities of the FCP. The broad growth of the revolutionary current in the working class and the existence of an independent political organization of that class, of the champion of its interest, the Communist Party, which is rooted in national life, have powerfully influenced the political and social struggle. In general outline this influence boils down to the following: in the world of labor there is a widespread understanding of the need for alliances — both on the concrete basis of struggle for definite demands, when there is a natural close link and mutual support between the movements of the most diverse sections of society, and in the form of social consciousness; the latter manifests itself in the difficulties encountered by entrepreneurs and the authorities when they try to isolate the actions of members of one social category or another (doctors, lawyers, teachers and so forth).

Further, the FCP's vigorous actions, particularly in the question of unity, sustain a specific feature of the political struggle in France, namely that no political machinations can deprive this struggle of its social content. In the different periods of French history, depending on what aims were pursued, one can see more or less clearly that political debates revolved around definite visions of social prospects, of the future of our society. In France, where a Communist Party exists, in spite of all the efforts of the bourgeoisie to destroy it, it is not easy to conceal the fact that in political life

there is the concrete question: Are there to be changes or not?

Can this be regarded as the result of the activities of the FCP? It unquestionably draws on the rich traditions of alliances formed for the sake of change, in particular, on the extensive revolutionary experience of 1789 and 1793. But its paramount merit is that it brought the working class into the sphere of alliances while preserving its independence and leading role, helping it to be a genuinely revolutionary and national class of our country. This was strikingly seen in the periods of the Popular Front, Resistance, and Liberation. This is also borne out by the party's painstaking and responsible work, by the years of struggle and quest.

These efforts and quests were what gave rise to the prospects opening up for our people, the prospects for a socialism in the colors of France that is democratic and based on the principle of self-administration.

The FCP — revolutionary party of France and for France

The FCP's ability to influence French society is not the product of fortuity. It springs chiefly from the party's features mentioned above: its profound working class character, its link to social movements through party militants, its intellectual activity, and its own inner life. This ability is due to the fact that the party has become part and parcel of the tissue of national public life, thanks to which the FCP is not a foreign body in society but an intrinsic element of French reality.

The FCP's activities developed not in blank space but in a socio-political environment that took shape under the impact of powerful ideological currents and the cherished hopes of the masses. This activity continues to rest on many-faceted links to the preceding forms of the revolutionary movement. Thanks to this in France a very large, almost majoritarian revolutionary current, a current involving the majority, can exist in the working class movement, a current that can refashion national history fundamentally, blending with national reality while remaining absolutely independent. For a long time this has enabled the FCP to enjoy a relatively stable nationwide influence, and become a party that combines the vanguard role and links with the masses in a distinctive way.

At the same time our genuinely national party does not fence itself off from the rest of the world, where rapid changes are taking place. It is a revolutionary force on which the people can count in their advance toward socialism.

When we say this we by no means wish to give the impression that the communists of the 1980s are untroubled optimists resting on their laurels. To be true to the choice made by the Tours congress and to the struggle of several generations of communists does not mean lapsing into idleness and apology. For example, today we note that in 1956 we did not draw all lessons from the resolutions of the 20th congress of the CPSU relative to the events in the

Soviet Union of the time of Stalin, that not all the possibilities were used to elaborate distinctive ways to socialism that would take the new conditions in France and in the world into account.

Since then the French communists have done much to analyze and understand the processes developing in the world and also the opportunities opening up as a result of the struggle in France itself, particularly after the events of 1968, and tried to find answers to the questions posed by the deepening crisis. These efforts were reflected in the work of the party's 22nd and 23rd congresses and in the fulfillment of the resolutions passed by these congresses.

Thus, we have analyzed the character, causes and effects of the crisis that has engulfed French society. We soberly studied — although we do not consider that this work has been completed — our history and the history of the international working class movement, the experience of existing socialism, and the changes that have taken place in the world. We have elaborated and enriched our concept of socialism for France and the ways and means of realizing that concept.

The depth of the crisis, the need to meet the aspirations of the working class and all other working people, and the nation's very future make it imperative to give a rebuff to the dominance of capital and then put an end to it, and point to socialism as the only way out. As the answer to the crisis of society, socialism will have its own features in France: it will be democratic and self-administering socialism, French socialism.

This conception rests on the conviction that one cannot fight for the happiness of the people without the people, much less force upon them something against their will; that the national soil is most conducive for the formation of the alignment of forces required for socialist transformations. We know that socialism requires changes in the ownership of the basic means of production and exchange, a restructuring of the nation's leadership, and — since in themselves these changes are still insufficient — a huge effort to reorganize social relations.

However, these requirements or general laws of socialism cannot conceivably be separated from the actual conditions of the revolutionary struggle. It would be wrong to regard them as immutable, to believe that they cannot be enriched and diversified. With this as our point of departure, we speak of a general democratic element of socialism, which acquires growing significance, especially in connection with its successes. By this we imply the emancipation of people and the consistent democratization of social structures and relations, which conform with the aim of and are the means of developing socialism.

This orientation signifies neither isolation nor imitation. We know how much damage would be done to our struggle by isolation from the struggle of world forces against imperialism, for socialism. Independence does not in any way come into con-

fluct with internationalist solidarity: on the contrary, it is an inalienable part of it.

We advocate the development of new relations in the international communist movement, relations based on the independence of every party, on equality and non-interference. The movement no longer has a center and, in our view, there cannot be one in any shape.

Experience has shown that solidarity assumes diverse forms. The Communist International was dissolved in 1943 when it was found that there were significant distinctions in national conditions and under the impact of our movement's successes and in keeping with the demands of the struggle. The Informbureau, set up in 1947, ceased to exist in 1966. Today solidarity is manifested in the growing movement that is marked by an ever larger diversity. We take this into account in its full volume and in all its aspects. We are doing this for ourselves and speak about it to others, believing that it is better to acknowledge divergences of views openly and calmly than to try to obscure or surmount them at all cost, even when the conditions for this are non-existent. But divergences by no means signify refusal to promote relations or abandonment of joint actions in the struggle for common aims.

We thus speak in favor of and advocate the promotion of internationalist solidarity that would be measured by the scale of all that is advanced in the world, of all the forces fighting against imperialism, for independence, peace and socialism. Solidarity can become even more effective if we find new forms that accord with present-day conditions.

Being a concrete answer to concrete historical requirements, socialism in France will be based on the national conditions of the life of her society. The road leading to it has its own distinctions. We see the democratic movement toward socialism as a process of breaking, of rupture, as a series of actions by the masses, as a revolutionary and democratic way. This movement toward the aim is beginning already today, in the struggle against capitalism; it can rest only on the growing role of the working class, on a conscious alliance of the majority — of all who are interested in society's socialist transformation, in other words in revolution. As we see it, only a struggle prepares the expression of will at general elections, guarantees the realization of the choice that has been made, and ensures new successes. A powerful struggle in a diversity of forms, a struggle that has increasingly more lofty aims, will allow the working class and the entire nation to put an end to what now takes place around elections: non-fulfillment of pre-election promises, limited achievements. The democratic way to democratic socialism presupposes, as was noted at the 22nd and 23rd congresses of the FCP, a revolutionary struggle and the implementation by the working class of its role.

On this road, both today and tomorrow, there must be an alliance of working people — factory

workers, clerical workers, engineers, technicians, peasants and intellectuals — around common and clearly-defined aims. Such an alliance is one of the conditions for the creation of a transformative movement of the majority, and in France it must find its expression politically.

From this standpoint we have analyzed the experience of our party and, in particular, the unsuccessful experience of the joint government program. The lessons we have drawn are that the alliance can be effective and stable only when its roots are embedded in the conscious movement of the masses. An alliance is always a matter of the working people themselves, a matter which they cannot turn over to anybody. The formation of an alliance is a question of struggle and the consciousness level, of the role and strength of the Communist Party.

The strategy we have adopted requires of the Communist Party, of the party of the working class, an ability to exercise its leading influence and to show, under present-day conditions, its revolutionary qualities and its merits. For that reason the party attentively develops its ability to analyze, display initiative, expand its influence and promote its activities in all areas of national life.

The decisions it has adopted should enable it to carry out the tasks it sets itself. Our theory is thus not a rounded-off system. The underlying propositions on the socialist revolution, evolved by Marx and Engels and then by other outstanding revolutionaries with Lenin in the first rank, have been and continue to be developed in life. We took precisely this development into account when in the party rules we replaced the words "Marxism-Leninism" with the words "scientific socialism;" we endeavor to improve the mechanism by which the party itself functions by a broader and more creative participation of communists on the basis of observance of the norms of party life that guarantee democratic policy-making, unity and effective action.

This is the significance of the amendments introduced in our party rules at the 23rd congress. Their purpose is to ensure the further improvement of the democratic mechanism by which the party functions. They allow every party member to keep abreast of what is taking place and state his mind. They guarantee the participation of communists in the drawing up and implementation of decisions. In the final analysis, all this makes the party such as it is needed by the working people in their struggle against capitalist exploitation, for embarking upon the democratic road of society's socialist transformation.

This is how the French communists think and act today. They calmly look back over their history, the history of a revolutionary party that has done much for social changes and having a sense for the new, a party that therefore does not fear needed changes, without which there can be neither the development of a revolutionary current in France nor the prospect of changes.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

JOINT WORK

Pedro Ortega Diaz

Political Bureau member,
CC Communist Party of Venezuela

Q. The sixth congress of the Communist Party of Venezuela,* held last year, adopted the policy of seeking broad-based democratic unity. Could you comment on the experience of joint action gained so far?

A. The political declaration approved by the congress says that our policy calling for cooperation among democratic forces should be extended to win new partners. This idea can be illustrated by citing a fact which may be said to have prompted us to include that thesis in the declaration. I mean the campaign for the enactment of a law raising wages. It involved all working people, all left-wingers and even the pro-government Confederation of the Working People of Venezuela (an organization which has never before given active support to the basic demands of labor). This extensive participation assured victory. In view of this experience, our party feels more strongly than ever that in the case of specific problems we can cooperate not only with left-wing organizations but also with members of other trends.

In advocating unity we called as early as 1978 — during the preparations for the presidential elections — for the nomination of a common candidate of all democratic and left-wing forces. Our proposal was strongly backed by the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), a party closely linked with radical students and middle strata. By 1979 a coordinating committee of the left had been formed. In addition to the CPV and MIR, it comprised the following political organizations: the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS), which may be described as a party of socialist or social-democratic orientation; the People's Electoral Movement, which proclaims anti-imperialist and sometimes socialist slogans, the Socialist League, once Maoist and now acquiring the features of a Marxist-Leninist type of movement (its mainstay is students but lately it has won some influence among the workers); the United Vanguard, a group that withdrew from the CPV some time ago; lastly, two alignments which are yet not formally organized as parties: the People on the March and the Revolutionary Action Group; both organizations originated in the left-wing current of the Social-Christian Movement and are linked with the working-class movement.

The committee made its first gains in the 1979

municipal elections, in which we put forward a single list. In preparing for the elections, we worked out a certain system and our experience may arouse some interest, primarily in countries where the left encompasses numerous parties and other organizations as in Venezuela.

According to the agreement reached by us, electoral lists were to be headed locally by the parties which had won the greatest number of votes in the previous elections in the given constituency (in most cases it was the MAS). Should the left coalition win the elections, the functions of municipal councillor were to be performed on the principle of rotation by the candidates of all parties on the coordinating committee, the term in office depending on the number of votes won by the party concerned while there was a single list (each party had ballot papers of its own color, which enabled it to ascertain the proportion of votes cast for it). If, say, the Communist Party polled 50 per cent of the votes cast for the left in this or that constituency its candidate was to assume the office of municipal councillor for half of the five-year term established by law. Subsequently, he was to be succeeded by a candidate of another left-wing party, his term in office likewise depending on the extent of the electoral support. In some constituencies the parties agreed on the rotation of councillors once a year, which meant that a councillor from the party which had won half of the votes would serve six months, four months if it won one-third. This is repeated during each subsequent year.

Needless to say, the application of this system depends on the country's legislation. Venezuelan legislation allows such a practice. Our system is certainly not flawless. If, say, a councillor violates the agreement and refuses to make way for the next candidate he will have the law on his side. (Under Venezuelan law, only the person who has polled the largest number of votes is regarded as elected.) I must say, however, that this sort of thing is rare. The coalition won nearly 150 seats on municipal councils and, so far, there were only three cases of candidates refusing to honor their obligations.

By applying the new system we achieved noteworthy results that may be said to have exceeded all our expectations. Operating on its own, the CPV could have counted on three seats but there are, in addition to these three, another 30 seats which communist councillors hold by rotation. Altogether the left-wing parties, which could severally have won the election of a mere 30 councillors, have won five times as many seats by forming a bloc.

The eight organizations on the coordinating committee have no common ideological platform. This is why our party considers that the struggle for unity should be coupled with a continuous ideological effort, which is what we are actually doing. As a

*See Radames Larrazabal, "From Analysis to Conclusions," *WMR*, December 1980.

result, the CPV, which is relatively small, has already demonstrated its ideological strength. During the anti-Cuban campaign of 1980, for example, many left organizations vacillated and made statements often out of keeping with the need to defend Cuba. Our party sponsored a discussion on this issue and spelled out its meaning, with the result that we brought about appreciable changes in public opinion. Cases of this nature are not few, in particular when it comes to solving problems of internal life. A substantial change in the sentiments of the masses stimulates unity. Officially recognized opinion polls have shown that about 80 per cent of the electorate would vote against the ruling party today. Therefore unity among democratic forces, which is what the communists are working for, could become a real alternative at the forthcoming elections and break down the "change-of-guard" tradition established for the two party system of the ruling classes.

Q. How do matters stand today?

A. Cooperation among the left-wing forces is continuing. So is the activity of the coordinating committee. Current problems are discussed collectively. Not long ago there was a national meeting of municipal councillors from left-wing parties. In preparing for it, we held a conference of communist councillors. It was a major action and was a great success.

At the moment we are examining the possibilities of working out a common program for the presidential elections due late in 1983. We encounter difficulties on account, in particular, of rivalries over a single candidate. The CPV stand on this issue is explicit — we must not allow the left-wing forces to split almost three years before the elections, at a time when they are faced with numerous problems of national magnitude. I mean the catastrophic rise in the cost of living, the right to strike, the need to improve working and living conditions, and civil liberties. We cannot indulge in controversies over the nomination of candidates but must think of the people's interests.

Recently there was a powerful strike of textile workers in which left-wing organizations of the whole country took part. The strike was led by the United Center of the Working People of Venezuela, in which most key positions are held by communists. Although rather small, the union succeeded in winning the support of workers looking to different parties for guidance. This is precisely what we need today.

The People's Electoral Movement has proposed to all left-wing forces to persevere in joint street actions and begin at the same time evolving a system of nominating presidential candidates that would result in choosing one leader, even if there are several candidates. He could be chosen either by voting at the level of all parties on the committee, appointed by the leading council of the committee, or nominated at an extraordinary congress of the parties. We are in favor of this procedure.

The results of cooperation are also in evidence in

other spheres. The youth organizations of left-wing parties also have a coordinating committee of their own. Indeed, this committee shows greater determination and the sphere of cooperation among youth organizations is much wider. For instance, they hold joint meetings with youth organizations of the ruling Social-Christian Party and the Democratic Action Party which had formed the previous government. It goes without saying that they do not always come to terms, but cooperation on a number of important issues turns out to be possible. When word came that the government was going to acquit the criminals who had blown up a Cuban plane, young people, including members of the Democratic Action Party, issued a strong protest. Needless to say, some questions are easier to settle than others. But speaking generally, the organization of joint youth actions is at a higher level than coordination of the activity of parties.

Q. What lessons can be drawn from past experience as you see it?

A. One of the main conclusions is that the only way to achieve tangible results is to work hard and show patience. Another conclusion is that in solving specific problems it is essential to couple ideological struggle with respect for the political postures of diverse parties. When a concrete action program is put forward the chances of success grow even if at the initial stage they seem illusory in view of ideological differences.

The third important conclusion is related to the vanguard force. We have repeatedly said that the role of vanguard cannot be assigned to this or that party by voluntarist decision, nor does it necessarily depend on the numerical strength of the given organization. A small party, too, may be able to play the leading role. The CPV has played this role in many cases.

The final point I would like to make is that unity is never absolute, at any rate in a complicated political process such as the one under way in our country. We must always be prepared to face discord or misunderstanding, and must never take them to mean the end of our common cause. In 1978, for instance, the left-wing forces were disunited during the presidential election campaign. But even then they worked out coordination principles which were successfully applied in solving the next concrete problem during the municipal elections. The coordinating committee of the left declared that while the member-parties were preparing to nominate different candidates for the presidency they would abstain from mutual attacks and continue coordinating their positions and cooperating productively.

There are many difficulties, but the left parties have one common platform — joint opposition to the present government. They unanimously reject the economic policy based on "price liberalization," resolutely denounce interference in the affairs of other countries, specifically the support rendered to the criminal, pro-imperialist junta in El Salvador.



Against imperialism, for social progress

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE IN BERLIN

WMR continues its publication of materials of the scientific conference on the theme "Joint Struggle of the Working-Class and National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism, for Social Progress" sponsored by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and *World Marxist Review*.^{*} The speeches in the second commission, which discussed the "Struggle Against Neo-colonialism, for a Democratic Restructuring of International Economic Relations" are presented below in abridged form.

ALTERNATIVE TO NEO-COLONIALIST EXPLOITATION

Speaking in support of the demand for a new international economic order, the participants in the conference gave much of their attention to the ways and means of deepening the anti-imperialist content of this demand, the role played by the socialist community in the struggle to democratize international economic relations, and the further unfolding of the offensive of the peoples against neo-colonialism on the world scene and in individual countries. It was shown that imperialism is the main barrier to the establishment of equitable international economic relations.

A pressing demand of the peoples

Regression rather than any form of economic growth characterized the so-called developing countries in the 1970s, said Pieter Keuneman, CC Deputy Chairman, Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

Neo-colonialism, imperialism's counter-strategy in response to the victories of world socialism and the national liberation movement, has now developed into a ramified and sophisticated system, whose mechanisms are constantly elaborated, and perfected along the lines of "collective colonialism." Imperialist circles are skilfully exploiting the economic vulnerability of the new states, a vulnerability inherited from their colonial past and added to by the fact that the majority of these states, after winning political independence, have not only remained dependent parts of the capitalist world economy but also try to develop on capitalist lines

^{*}The first instalments of the conference record were published in WMR December 1980, and January and February 1981. The closing instalment will be published in the next issue of WMR.

at a time when world capitalism is in profound crisis. Moreover, the neo-colonialists show greater flexibility than in the past, creating mechanisms through which they can adapt themselves to changes in situations and the balance of forces.

Although not directly anti-capitalist, the demand of the developing countries for a new international economic order is a potentially important one in the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism. But in this demand there are negative features that arise from the bourgeois character and outlook of the governments in most of the developing countries. For instance, the role of the socialist countries in the totality of world economic relations tends to be overlooked; the practical demands raised are directed more toward changes in the ruling mechanisms of international capitalist relations rather than toward the need to restructure them; and the democratic content of the demands tends to be played down and the distributive factors highlighted.

However, even though the demand as advanced at present does not directly challenge imperialism, it restricts its capacity to maneuver. But with the growing class polarization in the developing countries, the pressures of the active mass movement, especially of the working class, and the fact that some new states have chosen a socialist-oriented road, more fundamental demands are being raised involving the fight against the transnational corporations. These are the right to nationalize foreign investments and to own and control one's raw materials; relations with the socialist countries; the need to get rid of neo-colonial institutions.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that it is impossible to establish a really just new international economic order while remaining dependent on the capitalist world system and refusing socio-economic restructuring in one's own country. The revolutionary forces should express solidarity with the demands of the developing countries, fight against the attempts of the neo-colonialists to sidetrack issues into interminable and fruitless "North-South dialogues," and help to guide the movement in the direction of a more fundamental restructuring of world economic relations. They should expose the disruptive "theories" spread by the neo-colonialists and Maoists.

In the final analysis, the development of the popular mass struggles in the developing countries, the closest unity between the three main streams of the world revolutionary process, and the link-up of

the struggle against neo-colonialism and the demand for a new international economic order with the fight for peace, disarmament and détente will be decisive.

The prevailing system of world economic relations, said *Laye Camara*, CC inspector, Democratic Party of Guinea, took shape mainly at a time when most of humankind was regarded as an object of exploitation. Now that they have won political independence the developing countries are, with the support of socialist nations, demanding the democratization of international economic relations. Their aim is, to varying degrees, first to limit and then abolish the exploitative character of these relations.

The people, party, and government of Guinea are conscious of the need for a new and more democratic and just order, and their principle in the struggle against neo-colonialism is that any assistance which does not help them to do without aid should be rejected. The African countries see the basic aim of cooperation in promoting independent but not autarchic economic development on the continent. It is a matter of the people becoming the true masters of their countries and of relations with other countries. It is envisioned that the character of the new economic order will be anti-imperialist, and it can be established provided there is class solidarity among all the anti-imperialist forces.

There is a tendency, said *Abdullah Fadi*, Deputy Chairman of the Commission for Culture and Economics of the Lebanese Communist Party, to inject the new international economic order with a content that will in the long run not come into conflict with imperialism's basic interests.

However, the struggle for a new order cannot be neutral in terms of class. Being directed against imperialist exploitation of peoples, it is closely linked to the development of the national liberation movement in the direction of socialism. The lesson of experience is that the disparity between the economic levels of industrialized capitalist and developing countries has never been only quantitative. It is mainly a qualitative disparity and stems from imperialism's dominance in constantly changing forms. This disparity will not be transcended so long as relations of domination are not destroyed. Today nobody is under the illusion that a levelling up can be achieved by joining in the existing international division of labor. The new economic order cannot be established overnight; there will inevitably be a number of stages and the revolutionary-democratic forces throughout the world will have to wage an unrelenting struggle in a diversity of forms.

There are people, said *Ahmad as-Salami*, CC Economics Department head, Yemen Socialist Party, who say that the new economic order is an alternative far removed from both capitalism and socialism and that it is designated for developing countries.

But there is no third way for the economic and social development of these countries, for putting an end to their backwardness. Socialism is the only

system that allows doing away with backwardness, oppression and exploitation, and using all resources and the national wealth to raise the people's living standard and cultural level. On this road exploitative relations can be abolished and replaced with new relations of production based on public ownership of all the wealth used in the interests of the working people. The capitalist way preserves dependence on world imperialism, aggravates social antagonisms, and deforms the productive forces that are affected by crises and other socio-economic factors hindering the building of a worthy life. All pretensions to a "third way" ultimately end in the adoption of the capitalist road.

The successes achieved by the developing countries are the result not only of the independent actions of these countries but also of the existence of the socialist system, of the power of its member states headed by the Soviet Union, all of whom play an influential part in world politics and economics and support the developing countries.

Although, as a whole, the community of anti-imperialist interests provides the developing countries with a basis for a joint platform, declared *Raman Mazumdar*, staff member, International Department of the National Council, Communist Party of India, the centrifugal trends within the movement for a restructuring of international economic relations often give rise to inconsistency and even contradictions. The nature of the change in the world economy, proposed by many developing countries, is conceived solely on capitalist principles. These countries have yet to realize the intimate connection between neo-colonial imperialist exploitation and the capitalist system. No essentially capitalist reform of international economic relations will abolish the foundation of neo-colonialist exploitation.

It is this lack of realization on the part of many Third World countries that finds its reflection in the complete dissociation of the program for a new economic order from the necessary internal changes. Many developing countries fail to differentiate between the socialist and capitalist countries and class them together as "developed countries" or the "North" and present virtually identical demands to them to make up for the damage caused to developing countries exclusively by imperialist plunder. It must be realized that the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the developing countries, which has given a decisive impetus to the latter's struggle for economic independence, has not come as atonement of past sins but as solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism.

The movement for a new international economic order is backed by a wide variety of states who have different interests, said *Thomas O'Flaherty*, National Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Ireland. Imperialism can divide them by exploiting these interests. Its task is made that much easier by the political and sometimes military conflicts between some of these states. Moreover, it must be seen that in the mounting revolutionary

process there is a factor that can upset the present unity of the developing countries. The reactionary regimes are dependent on imperialism not only economically but politically also. A decisive influence on their stand may be not the conflict of economic interests of the developing world and imperialism but the coincidence of the socio-class and political interests of local reaction and imperialism.

In recent years, said *Fernando Sanchez Albavera*, National Leadership member and Secretary for International Relations of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Peru, the world economy, particularly the economy of Latin America, has undergone radical modifications as a result of the changes in the international division of labor. The traditional division of countries into exporters of raw materials and exporters of manufactured goods applies only to a few countries in Latin America. The Latin American states have built up their own industry in one form or another. But it depends on the fluctuations in the world economy and on pressure from the transnational corporations. They have been drawn into the internationalization of capital and production and are subjected to double, harsher exploitation. The imperialist bourgeoisie continues to exploit their natural resources, and little of the revenue goes to them. Moreover, it transplants industries to these countries and pollutes their natural environment. These industries are confined to primary processing or the manufacture of consumer goods that do not require highly-paid labor. As a result, exploitation of large sections of the population is intensified.

The new forms in which Latin America is brought into the world economy have not removed its long-standing imbalances. The Latin American countries suffer constantly from economic and fiscal instability. The crisis in these countries was not triggered by the plummeting of world prices for raw materials; it is a structural crisis. The root of the problem is in the structure of our production apparatus, which conforms to the logic of transnational capital and makes the external debt an inalienable feature of the functioning of the existing system.

Naturally, we by no means object to a discussion, at international forums, of issues linked to the stabilization of prices for raw materials. But we are not indifferent to what is meant by stabilization. In the capitalist world, where inflation is a permanent phenomenon, stabilization should, in our view, be directed toward sustaining the purchasing power of exporting developing nations and cannot be based on the present price-formation system, which was shaped by relations of exploitation and international institutions that ignored the interests of developing countries. One cannot speak of stabilization without fighting the vicious trade policy of the transnationals relative to developing countries and without taking into account the benefits recorded in the contracts with these corporations for the exploitation of these countries' natural resources. Such efforts will be futile if the developing

countries have no autonomous access to world markets.

By and large, in order to change the existing situation in regard to raw materials, the foundations of the world markets, notably the conditions of production in developing countries, must be re-fashioned. This is why we stressed that a new economic order will be a farce if the conditions for the national liberation of our countries are not ensured in advance. Hence, the great significance of the non-aligned movement, in which there are states that have shaken off colonial oppression and are doing all they can to make it act vigorously against imperialism.

The fact that developing countries have put forward a program for a new international economic order, said *Hector Heras*, researcher at the World Economics Studies Center (Communist Party of Cuba), is linked directly to the successes and upswing of the national liberation movement, to the aggravation of the contradictions between imperialism and former colonies and dependent countries. It was made possible by the existence and steady development of the USSR and the other socialist-community states.

This is a contradictory program, for it was not elaborated in any specific socio-economic system. The distinctions between Third World countries in socio-economic structure, the nature of the ruling classes, and the type of relations with industrialized capitalist states are accentuated by the circumstance that the potential effect of some of the demands cannot be the same for individual countries. In some cases it will foster development, but in others it will lead only to a concentration of the revenues of the oligarchic strata or even of the transnational corporations. The political demands concerning the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and all forms of oppression, for the right to self-determination of peoples, are positive aspects of the program for a new order.

Fundamental UN documents on the question of a new international economic order, said Professor *Tamas Szentes* of the Marx Institute of Economics in Budapest, Hungary, contain some provisions that go beyond the framework of palliative measures and touch on essential problems. These provisions include, for instance, the principle of the sovereignty of nations in questions related to their own economy; the principle of compensation for exploitation, losses and damage; and control of the activities of the transnational corporations.

Scientists have worked out and proposed quite a few forms of cooperation that allow avoiding or gradually removing the most harmful and dangerous consequences of dealing with foreign companies. One example is the practice in East-West relations that helps to gradually cut down participation by foreign capital by turning direct investments into a form of loan capital repayable from the revenues of the constructed enterprise.

Role of the socialist community

The demand for a restructuring of international

economic relations, said *Samba Dioul de Thiam*, Political Bureau member, African Party of the Independence of Senegal, highlights the class battles against monopoly oppression and imperialist exploitation. Although the new states have won independence, they are still largely raw material appendages of the former colonial metropolises.

A neo-colonialist interpretation of the new economic order, expressed in formulas like "mutual dependence" and "common destiny" underlie utopian projects of various kinds designed to divert the developing countries from the urgent tasks of national and social emancipation.

Special mention must be made of the role played by socialist countries in the struggle to restructure international economic relations. In the same way as on the political, ideological and military planes the socialist countries are the main factor of the positive changes in the alignment of forces on the international scene, in the restructuring of world economic relations. The existence and consolidation of the socialist system is of underlying significance for all anti-imperialist movements. The common revolutionary duty of the adversaries of imperialism throughout the world is energetically and consistently to support, promote and improve cooperation between developing and socialist countries.

Economic independence that makes it possible to safeguard and consolidate the political independence of developing countries, said *Sabit al-Ani*, Political Bureau member, Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, can be won through a broad people's struggle to remove the dominance of the monopolies over national wealth and develop the economic potential freeing the national market from subordination to the capitalist market. Attainment of this aim presupposes the leading role of the working class and of the communist party jointly with other patriotic forces. In recent years many developing countries have wrested their national wealth from the monopolies, a step reinforced by a UN resolution that recognizes the lawful right of countries to dispose of their national resources themselves.

The Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community and the assistance they are extending to developing countries in economic construction and the training of cadre are a dependable bulwark of the peoples fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism. The developing states acting against imperialism and the monopolies are getting massive support from the working class and the communist and workers' parties of capitalist countries.

Our experience, said *Abdel Wahhab Rashwani*, CC Member, Syrian Communist Party, is that the methods employed by neo-colonialism are directed basically toward keeping the Syrian economy dependent on industrialized capitalist states. Specifically, imperialism is doing all it can to obstruct the building of projects contributing to the attainment of economic independence as the cardinal factor strengthening national sovereignty.

The problem can be correctly resolved by establishing broad economic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist-community states. All the terms of cooperation with them operate in our favor: projects are built, tested and placed in operation on or ahead of schedule; in most cases credits are repayable by instalments with the output of constructed projects and, moreover, the repayment of credits and the interest begin on the day the project is commissioned and not on the day construction is started; local technical cadre able to take over and operate a project as soon as it is commissioned are trained as construction proceeds.

Cooperation between developing and socialist countries is vitally important to progress in the struggle against neo-colonialism, said *Vladislav Zastawny*, CC Member, Polish United Workers' Party. To a large extent this cooperation facilitates the independent development of former colonies. Support from socialist countries, including assistance in economic development and the training of cadre, helps to mobilize local resources, especially for the enlargement of industries vital to economic progress. We regard the participation of countries like Afghanistan, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Mozambique in the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (usually in the capacity of observers) as a positive development. In the long term this will make it easier for them to join in the international socialist division of labor and utilize its benefits.

Consolidation of the privileged position of industrialized capitalist states in the world economic system, said *Pavel Auersperg*, CC member, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, is prevented by the existence of a realistic alternative — equitable and mutually beneficial relations between socialist countries and also between socialist and young countries. The attractive force of this alternative is extremely great for developing countries: the dynamic economic growth which enabled some socialist countries to end economic backwardness rapidly and resolve pressing social problems cannot be denied even by bourgeois propaganda. Devised by bourgeois politologists, the theory of "modernization," which reduces the positive significance of the socialist economic system to the surmounting of backwardness, is getting no response in former colonies and semi-colonies, where the problem of speeding economic growth remains paramount. By its nature imperialism cannot offer effective means for resolving this problem. More, it widens the gulf between industrialized and developing countries. To surmount backwardness is for the young states a gigantic stride along the road of socio-economic progress.

The demand for a restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equality, democracy and mutual benefit is not new, said Professor *Peter Stier*, Director of the Bruno Leuschner Higher School of Economics (GDR). It was first advanced during the preparations for and at the Genoa conference in 1922. At the time Lenin instructed the

Soviet delegation to insist on a number of provisions and principles that should underlie cooperation between countries with different economic and social systems. Lenin proposed a world conference on economic problems, saying that it was important that such a conference should be attended not only by governments but also by representatives of workers' organizations and colonial peoples.

Relations that we see as the prototype of a new international economic order are taking shape in the socialist community, which appeared after the Second World War.

The socialist countries, said Professor Rudolf Brauer, director of a research institute of the GDR Ministry for Foreign Trade, have extensive experience of new international economic relations. This experience is useful to all the peoples who have begun or will begin the building of socialism. The successful development of the socialist community increases its force of attraction for the countries that have won liberation. A natural outcome is that a growing number of countries are expanding relations with socialist states and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Socialism's influence on world economic processes has consequently grown considerably and continues to grow.

The inequitable world economic order set up by capitalism, said Professor Max Schmidt, director of the Institute of International Politics and Economics (GDR), is also prejudicing socialist countries, which annually lose many millions of dollars as a result of the disintegration of capitalism's monetary system and its discriminatory trade and monetary policy toward them. This practice is sustained not only by capitalist governments but also by the direct profit motive of the transnationals.

Our stand on the question of forming democratic economic relations in opposition to transnational corporations and imperialist states specifies the following elements: the creation of an international climate that would substantially expedite the necessary economic growth — and this means peace, limitation of armaments, general disarmament, equality and non-discrimination; compensation for damage inflicted or being inflicted by colonialist and neo-colonialist practices; effective control of the activities of transnational corporations; mobilization of the developing countries; own potentialities; structural changes needed for socio-economic development promoting the welfare of humanity; and the training of skilled national cadre at all levels.

A further advance toward a democratic restructuring of international economic relations, said Professor I.A. Sokolov (USSR), depends to a very large extent on how active all the peace-loving states and peoples are in the struggle against the encroachments on détente, against a return to the cold war. All the possibilities exist for the success of this struggle.

The Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community invariably support the just

demands of the countries that have won liberation and they effectively help to restructure international economic relations on a democratic foundation. By promoting economic cooperation with developing countries on the basis of full equality, mutual benefit and respect for sovereignty, and helping them extensively within the framework of this cooperation to build up and strengthen their independent national economy, the Soviet Union fosters the development of a new type of relations and strengthens the positions of the developing countries in their struggle against imperialism for their economic rights.

NEO-COLONIALIST EXPANSION AND THE WORKING CLASS

At the discussion of problems of the struggle for a new economic order and the democratization of international economic relations, against neo-colonialism, the participants in the conference considered the contribution of the working class of capitalist countries to this struggle, identified some of imperialism's political and economic maneuvers aimed at preserving and intensifying neo-colonialist exploitation in the world today, and exposed the attempts to justify these maneuvers ideologically. They underscored the importance of the working class mapping out a policy in the question of restructuring international economic relations.

Common interests provide the foundation for solidarity

In our understanding, said Benjamin Degen, Political Bureau member of the Swiss Party of Labor, imperialism is not a word denouncing our political adversary but a real system of rule by international monopoly capitalism. In the course of 30 years after the downfall of the colonial system the industrialized capitalist countries got more wealth out of the young nation states than the former colonial metropolises got out of their colonies in 300 years. Neo-colonialism has brought about a greater disparity than ever in the development levels of countries.

To a large extent Switzerland, too, participates in the exploitation of Third World countries. Tens of billions of francs flow annually to Switzerland, which has deep-rooted relations of capitalist ownership and a highly organized banking system. The Swiss banks export capital and make short-term cash investments abroad, while the interest goes back to Switzerland. In most cases this is speculative capital used to obtain profits from the exploitation of developing nations.

The high living standard enjoyed by Swiss factory and office workers is partly due to the fact that the money and commodity turnover with developing countries benefits only one side, Swiss capital. One of the difficult tasks of the workers' parties in Western Europe is to repulse the impingements of the bourgeoisie on real wages and, at the same time, explain that in these countries it is necessary to reduce the consumption of energy and raw materials. We would like to see Africa, where in 50 years'

time there will be roughly 12 per cent of the world's population, have 12 per cent of the world's students, teachers and scientists and also 12 per cent of the world's output and consumption. We put this aim forward not out of considerations of achieving a levelling but guided by democratic consciousness and being profoundly convinced that all nations are equal.

Naturally, the new world economic order presupposes a new world monetary system. It is time to end the dominance of the U.S. dollar, the Swiss franc, the West German mark, and the British pound. Currencies must be coupled to raw materials such as coal, ore and oil, and also to the actual production capacity of nations. The industrial Western states use the existing monetary system to shift the burden of inflation to Third World and socialist countries. It is only by strengthening the alliance of all the anti-imperialist forces will it be possible to create a new world monetary system and break the resistance of the leading imperialist powers.

In order to strengthen the alliance our, albeit small party, which is one of the workers' parties of Western Europe, must act with greater determination than ever against bellicose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. This alliance can only grow stronger if all the potentially anti-imperialist forces understand and acknowledge the humane and democratic character of Soviet foreign policy. The alliance will be served by an expansion and improvement of contacts between communist parties and also between the communist and other anti-imperialist parties.

Dependence of developing countries on the capitalist world market and the influence of the transnational corporations on the economies of these countries have remained and — in some case — in fact increased, said Pim Juffermans, staff member of the Theoretical Center of the Communist Party of the Netherlands. This has meant that in an economic sense many economic characteristics of colonialism have been conserved or even reinforced. Transnationals are the main factor in this situation, which is detrimental to the interests of the people in these countries.

It is, therefore, completely erroneous to suggest, as many social democrats do, that there is a conflict between the interests of the population in the Third World and the interests of the working class in the West. The main point is to harmonize these interests and move toward common aims. To this end the transnationals must be brought under control. We hold the view that the grip of the workers' movement in the West and of the peoples in the Third World on the multinationals must increase. The workers' movement in the Western countries (and not only the leadership of the trade unions) should be more involved in the international negotiations about the new international economic order. Our main thesis is that the new international economic order should be realized in accordance with the interests of the working class everywhere in the Third World and in consultation between the

various elements of the working class in the world.

For us representing the labor movement in the industrialized capitalist countries the main problem, as I see it, said Professor Jan Otto Andersson (Communist Party of Finland), is that we have not been able to analyze all important aspects of the situation and to work out a consistent strategy for how international economic relations should be changed. On the one hand, there is large moral support for the demands of the developing countries for a new international economic order, and for some kind of global reformism, as suggested by, for example, the Brandt commission. On the other hand, we in Finland restrict ourselves to putting forward rather narrow and short-term protectionist measures in order to redress a negative balance of payments and to secure jobs. There is, as I see it, no effort to elaborate a strategy based on the long-term interest of the working class for changing the international economic system. There is a great danger in the lack of a theoretically well-elaborated strategy in these crucial matters, because the present crisis situation can be used both by conservative "ultra-imperialists" and reactionary nationalists in order to weaken the position of the progressive forces in the industrialized capitalist countries.

Reunion, said Paul Verges, General Secretary of the Reunion Communist Party, is essentially a typical neo-colony representing, in spite of the considerable differences in one area or another, a microcosm of the main contradictions of Third World countries.

In considering our struggle against neo-colonialism within the framework of the general movement of the peoples — today and in the future — we take as our point of departure the following factors, which we feel are essential: the present crisis of the capitalist system will be protracted and it will be a hallmark of the 1980s; the arms race is being escalated and there is a growing threat of war; the most destructive consequences of capitalism's crisis are borne by African, Asian and Latin American countries.

The question is how in the course of the last two decades of the 20th century, states and entire continents will be able to surmount the barriers to economic, social and cultural development? If we take non-oil-producing backward countries we shall find that with some exceptions they are becoming increasingly dependent on the capitalist West. Already monstrous, the social effects of super-exploitation continue to worsen due to demographic growth. The problems facing African, Asian and Latin American nations are hunger, health, education, urbanization and the very survival of hundreds of millions of people. The consequences of demographic growth are evidently underrated at least in research conducted by communist scientists known to us. Humankind is going through very dramatic changes. Although these changes have no precedent, it is our view that the present stage must be considered with an awareness of catastrophic dangers and, at the same time, belief in the triumphant outcome of our cause.

Reactionary Western governments increasingly dread the imminent changes: they want to conserve the existing order. The social democrats are giving more and more attention to the problems of development and have taken many steps toward their solution. We must act more militantly.

In our unstable and volatile world, when social progress is being hastened and it is becoming clear that the capitalist system is incapable of solving the problem of the life of hundreds of millions of people, we must see that the changes in the history of humankind are taking place under the influence of the powerful socialist world system and that African, Asian and Latin American peoples can achieve genuine independence only along the socialist road. Here there is no alternative.

However, the success of the struggle depends on the understanding that the new economic order is inseparable from a new social order throughout the world and, above all, in each country, that the new economic and social order requires a new cultural order and new morals. We must show militancy, for instance, in the struggle for human rights. Man's prime right is the right to life, and this is what imperialism denies to the majority of humankind.

The inspiring revolutionary prospect should not blind us to the many complex problems awaiting their solution. Eurocentrism, as any other narrow vision, must be transcended; we should set the example ourselves of a new international order for which we strive and which requires a new way of thinking. There must be, in our view, a new internationalism standing at a level hitherto never attained, an internationalism that would unite the revolutionary forces of socialism and the international working class more closely with the national liberation movement.

The restructuring of international economic relations is a democratic task, said Professor Petko Petkov, consultant of the CC Department for Foreign Policy and International Relations, Bulgarian Communist Party. The question is chiefly to remove discrimination and diktat from international economic practice and give the economic relations between countries a just, democratic foundation. This aim can be achieved only if the unity of the three main currents of the revolutionary process is steadfastly strengthened.

Proletarian internationalism is the tested foundation of the solidarity and unity of the forces of socialism and the international working class with the national liberation movement. The outcome of the struggle for the democratization of international economic relations depends directly on the consolidation of détente and its conversion into an irreversible process. In turn, the restructuring of international economic relations would facilitate and help to deepen détente.

In many respects the Brandt commission report is evidence of the acuteness not only of the political but also of the ideological struggle for a new economic and political order, said Philippe Dumont (French Communist Party). The report obscures the class content of this struggle. The steps being taken

by the socialist countries are either ignored or depicted as valueless. Nothing is said of their successes in economic development and social progress, and also of the results of the economic and social changes that have been started by many (and a continuously growing number of) Asian, African, Latin American and Caribbean countries that are entering the path of socialism, choosing new and frequently specific forms of development. Nowhere in the report is there mention of capitalist exploitation or of imperialism.

The Brandt commission report suggests a definite type of growth, a specific model of development envisaging the export of raw materials and manufactured goods and the opening up of broad opportunities for foreign capital and the transnational corporations. This would impinge on the sovereign development of the economies and even limit the independence of nations. The type of international division of labor suggested by the Brandt commission report is being resisted today by peoples whose wealth it is intended to plunder and whose labor will be subjected to super-exploitation. In their research and actions, the revolutionaries must bear in mind the aims of the reformist line of action under Brandt's leadership.

The new international economic order desired by the peoples of our planet, said Raul Gonzalez Soriano, head of the CC Department for Economic Studies, Mexican Communist Party, cannot and should not be confused with the practices of imperialism. An economic order complying with the interests of peoples is part of revolutionary strategy that calls for solidarity among the working people of the world and intolerance of racism and nationalistic collisions into which different sections of the working people are drawn.

However, it must be admitted that Marxist thought and the views of workers' parties, trade unions, and youth and other organizations are still far short of elaborating a program combining the ultimate aims of the working class struggle with the urgent demand for a new economic order.

For the Mexican Communist Party, the striving for such an order signifies a desire to create more favorable conditions in the world for the attainment of our people's historic aim. A pressing task is to reappraise the present relations between countries so as to ensure peace and security to humankind.

Israel has been in occupation of Arab lands for 13 years, said Tamar Gonzanski, CC member, Communist Party of Israel. This occupation is accompanied by repression and by the oppression of the Palestinian Arab people. But there is another aspect to it. The Israeli monopolies have opened up new and profitable markets for themselves. Of the goods imported by the occupied lands, 90 per cent come from Israel. In these lands 35 per cent of the work-force works for Israel and gets the lowest wage. For the people and working class of Israel the occupation spells out a constant increase of military spending and stepped up militarization of the economy. Inflation is running at a record rate. In a situation where so-called aid is spent entirely for military

purposes, Israel is increasingly losing its economic independence and becoming a dependent country.

Our experience is that the working class of Israel will not shake off the influence of bourgeois-Zionist doctrines until it links the struggle to maintain the wage level, against unemployment and for economic independence to the struggle against the threat of war and fascism, for a just settlement of the conflict in the Middle East and the Palestinian issue that would include the important provision on the creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Countering imperialism's maneuvers

The struggle of Swedish communists against neo-colonialism, said Kenneth Kvist, Board member, Left Party-Communists of Sweden, and secretary of the party's faction in the Riksdag, has the following guidelines. A consistent anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy presumes Sweden's withdrawal from the capitalist world system. In turn, this requires complete public control of external economic relations. The conditions for the attainment of these aims are that Swedish monopoly capital must be broken and that the nation should take the path of socialism.

In the period when Sweden had a social-democratic government some progress was made in the relations with developing countries, for instance, in extending assistance to some national liberation movements. Sweden was one of the first capitalist countries to establish diplomatic relations with embattled Vietnam. All this was the result of a broad and active movement, which could not, however, change the exploitative nature of Swedish society. Nevertheless, the opportunities for continuing the struggle exist under the present system.

The present bourgeois government of Sweden is attacking progressive gains. It has linked the country more closely to imperialist international institutions than before. It is making it easier for Swedish imperialists to export capital and seeking to increase aid to countries ruled by reactionary governments dependent on neo-colonialism.

However, there are contradictions in the bourgeois state system. Despite bourgeois rule, it has been possible to secure a formal ban on further direct Swedish investments in South Africa.

The Swedish communists demand:

- the cessation of aid to reactionary regimes; Sweden's withdrawal from imperialist international institutions, which are bulwarks of neo-colonialist policy;

- the introduction of strict monetary-fiscal legislation prohibiting the export of capital to the detriment of the Swedish working class. The communists are opposed to neo-colonialist ambitions and advocate cooperation with regimes pursuing a progressive or socialist orientation. They demand a ban on the export of capital to countries with a fascist regime and the rupture of economic relations with countries like Chile and South Africa;

- a trade policy aimed at contributing to the economic and social progress of developing coun-

tries and drawing them up to the level of industrialized states;

- the cessation of sales of Swedish armaments because they foster the further escalation of the arms race and, in most cases, contravene Sweden's proclaimed policy of non-alignment. Moreover, these armaments are sold mainly to regimes that are, in one way or another, in collusion with neo-colonialism.

These demands have wide support among the Swedish working class and people. If they are met, Sweden can play a progressive part in the struggle against neo-colonialism, for democratic international economic relations. Of course, their realization is linked to success in the struggle for peace, détente and disarmament.

The FRG government, said Peter Dietzel, researcher at the Board of the German Communist Party, has never concealed its negative attitude to the lawful demands of developing countries. In this the federal government is fundamentally in agreement with the top echelon of all the parties represented in the Bundestag and championing the interests of West German monopoly capital. Lately the SDP/FDP federal government has been trying to pursue a more flexible policy combining concessions in some, minor, issues from the standpoint of preserving the imperialist system with hard-line opposition to the basic anti-imperialist demands in the concept of a new international economic order.

On the "North-South dialogue," mentioned by other speakers, Peter Dietzel noted that it is fairly obvious why concepts like "North" and "South," "poor" and "rich" countries are being planted in the movement for new international economic relations. The aim is to camouflage the character of the confrontation between the two systems, equate imperialism and socialism in their relations toward developing countries, down play the fundamental alternative suggested by socialism, embellish imperialism and absolve it of responsibility for the poverty of developing countries, and charge socialism with complicity in the crimes of colonialism and neo-colonialism. In terms of theory, the so-called "North-South" conflict is nothing less than a specious concept meeting specific interests and aims and having a definite designation in the international political and ideological class struggle.

In Greece, said Jannis Tolios, CC staff member, Communist Party of Greece, the "North-South" relations concept is presented in a somewhat different light. According to this concept, as applied to Greece, this problem can be resolved in the EEC framework. It is asserted that membership in this association by Greece and other South European countries will level out the power balance between the "developed North and the less developed South" of Europe and help to remove disparities in economic growth and revenues. In practice, however, membership in the EEC by the "less developed South" will not modify the anti-people, pro-monopoly character of this association or the state-monopoly regulation of international economic relations.

At best, there would be a dubious reform of these relations within the capitalist system. The proponents of the "North-South" concept in both its general and specific forms reject class criteria of analyses of socio-economic phenomena in favor of geographical, extra-class criteria that hinder the elaboration of correct policy relative to the monopolies, the imperialist powers and the associations set up by them.

The working class of the United States has begun to organize support for the freedom struggles of the South African peoples, said *Arnold Becchetti*, CC Political Bureau member and Secretary for Organization of the Communist Party of the USA. It is, after all, a struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism and its allies. For us this means a fight for total sanctions against the South African regime. Such sanctions mean, for example, a total embargo on trade. No loading and unloading of goods to and from South Africa. It means no loans or further investments. It means a fight for withdrawal of investments. It means no military assistance or alliances with apartheid-fascism. It means the complete diplomatic, political and military isolation of this regime.

Opposition by the ruling class in Australia to processes of social change, said *Jack McPhillips*, CC National Executive member, Socialist Party of Australia, extends to the struggle against neo-colonialism and for a democratic structuring of international economic relations. In this connection its principal role is that of supporter of the main lines of the ruling circles of the USA and Japan. In recent times there has been a speeding-up of a process, commenced earlier, directed at establishing a Pacific Basin Community. This concept was originally sponsored by leading forces in Japan with support from the USA and sections of the Australian ruling class. The main states involved in considering this concept are five industrialized capitalist nations (the USA, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand) and the five ASEAN nations (Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia). Because of its special relations with Japan and the USA, Australia has come to the fore in pushing this concept.

To date participation in discussions of this matter has proceeded through academics, businessmen and prominent representatives of governments. The most recent documents covering these discussions reveal an intention to restrict the economic community, at least at this stage, to the "market" economies of the area with a suggestion of sympathy for the early inclusion of China. In fact the moves for an Asian-Pacific Community have all the hallmarks of a maneuver to cope with the demand for a new economic order by the creation of a regionally-based form of a new economic order tailored to meet the needs of the transnational corporations.

The social system of the ASEAN countries is marked by replacement, to an extensive degree, of former feudal relations by newly established labor-capital relations and by low wage rates, poor work-

ing conditions and suppression of trade union rights. These conditions are among the attractions of this area for transnational and other capitalist capital investments. They are also conditions fueling processes of social change. This latter factor and the economic expansion needs of the main industrialized capitalist nations in the area — including Australia — are factors compelling, as seen by imperialist forces, the creation of a form of new economic order serving monopoly. The concept of a Pacific Community is seen as a means to that end.

A factor of concern for those opposed to continuing forms of neo-colonialism in the area of the Pacific Ocean and who support the need for a democratic structuring of international economic relations is the increasing pressure being exerted on Japan to play a more extensive military role in the area and the pressures being put on the ASEAN nations to extend their current forms of association to include military purposes.

Canadian corporations, both independently and in league with U.S. transnationals, have accelerated their foreign holdings, said *Tom Morris*, CC member, Communist Party of Canada, assistant editor of the *Canadian Tribune*. Concentrating on raw materials extraction, they are to be found in Indonesia, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana, Chile and many other countries. They have formed close partnerships with repressive regimes in Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Haiti and elsewhere. As our Australian comrade noted, Canada is a staunch member with a new-found interest in the imperialist moves in the Pacific region along with the USA and Japan. Imperialism, the transnationals, and the repressive regimes which they support, are responsible for colonialism, for poverty and economic disparity.

Lately, deliberately ignoring the Vietnam lesson, the imperialists of the USA have been seeking by every means to increase their involvement in Asia, first of all, in Southeast Asia, said *Nguyen Van Quy*, division head, International Relations Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. What is to be noted here is the fact that in this new adventure U.S. imperialism has now got the complicity of a new ally, namely, the reactionaries in the Peking leadership. Close alliance with Peking hegemonism and expansionism, Japanese big monopoly capital and other imperialist and regional reactionary forces against revolution in Southeast Asia and, above all, against the peoples of Indochina, for the purpose of keeping Southeast Asia under U.S. control — such is the characteristic feature of U.S. policy in the region at the present time.

The presence in many Southeast Asian countries of a large stratum of compradore bourgeoisie of Chinese descent, who hold in their hands important economic levers as well as important positions in the administration of these countries, is a factor which the Peking leaders did not fail to use. With the help of these Hoa capitalists Peking seeks to steer the policy of these countries in a direction favorable to China.

The fact that the leading U.S. companies lost their former nearly total control of international commerce in oil in the 1970s is an aspect of the breakdown of U.S. imperialism's economic hegemony with the most significant immediate and long-term effects, said Jeronimo Carrera, CC member, Communist Party of Venezuela.

Imperialism's apologists are ascribing the responsibility for the present economic chaos in the capitalist world to the oil-exporting nations. The heaviest assaults are directed at some OPEC and other developing countries, whose policy is described as one of "blackmailing" North American and West European states. Actually, the imperialist monopolies were the first to use oil as an instrument of political pressure, as a major lever of their policy of dominance and exploitation in their own and foreign countries.

The current restructuring of the pattern of industry in capitalist countries is designed to raise their economies to a new level and, at the same time, conserve the essential features of the capitalist international division of labor, said Professor Constantin Mecu, pro-rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. This involves the concentration of the most productive and effective activity in the capitalist centers and the conservation of backwardness and structural imbalances of the underdeveloped economies. In developing countries we observe industrialization of a special kind, that makes them dependent on imports of Western technology.

In backward countries economic development should, naturally, rely mainly on their own effort. Experience shows that under the present economic order the opportunities for speeding up the development of such countries are very small because in many cases the results of the efforts of these nations do not go to them. It is important to couple these efforts with the struggle for a new international economic and political order.

The advances of the nations that have chosen the socialist road of economic and social progress are of historic significance. In our view, this is the only way to safeguard civilization, ensure the maximum acceleration of progress, and bring to realization the people's ideals of national freedom and social justice.

International monopolies are now in control of all of Turkey's key industries and fiscal nerve centers, said the representative of the Communist Party of Turkey.

Turkey is a capitalist country dependent on imperialism and has a medium level of development. Another crucial factor hindering social progress is the pervasive backwardness of the nation's economy. Pre-capitalist survivals are conserved and small-scale production is widespread. Socio-economic backwardness, once the cause of dependence, now persists as its result.

Moreover, dependence on imperialism and penetration by foreign state-monopoly capital are accompanied by the import of state-monopoly rela-

tions into Turkey. For example, the emergence of a monopoly bourgeoisie in the 1960s did not accord with the relatively low development level of the nation's productive forces. This bourgeoisie is collaborating with international imperialism and, step by step, gaining control of economic and, thereby political life.

ON THE ROAD OF SOCIAL EMANCIPATION

The participants in the conference gave much of their attention to the question of the link of the class struggle in developed countries to resistance to neo-colonialism. They spoke of the experience of their parties and organizations, of the problems and difficulties encountered by the peoples in their struggle for national and social emancipation, and of the role of international solidarity among the revolutionary forces in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the settlement of our epoch's cardinal problem — humankind's transition to socialism.

Nations must be masters of their destinies

A new just and democratic order in international economic relations, said Colette Samoya, Second National Secretary, Party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi, spells out the preservation of peace and security in the world, the establishment of equitable relations between nations, and the strengthening of solidarity. However, the obtaining international economic situation is not conducive to the triumph of these ideals.

The system of imperialist domination is today ensured chiefly by the "aid" strategy and by the penetration of Third World countries by transnational corporations. Aid to developing nations has a neo-colonialist twist; the imperialist powers extend such aid — especially to countries with large reserves of raw materials and minerals — in exchange for political and economic benefits; the transnationals operate in developing countries with total impunity, preventing them from achieving economic independence; these corporations organize production in accordance with the state of the market in industrialized capitalist countries where the decision-making centers are based and remain a foreign body in the national economy of developing countries. The responsibility for the continued underdevelopment, particularly in African countries, devolves chiefly on neo-colonialism.

The principal ways of changing the present situation are to organize regional economic solidarity and ensure the sovereignty of the exploited countries over their resources.

The Party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi is mobilizing the people for a drive against underdevelopment with emphasis on their own resources. From the proclamation of independence in 1962, the governments that succeeded one another in Burundi were allies of imperialism and did little for the country's development. Stable democratic political and state institutions were set up as a result of the formation of the second republic. The Party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi, founded

22 years ago, built up its numerical strength, grew more dynamic, and adopted democratic ideological principles as its guide. Ever since its First National Congress, held in Bujumbura in December 1979 the party, headed by its Chairman and the nation's President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, has been the inspiring, motive and directing force of the country's development.

Burundi faces many socio-economic problems. The country has no outlet to the sea, more than 90 per cent of the population lives in rural localities, and the conditions of life are hard. Communal development seems to be an effective method of mobilizing the nation's labor resources to surmount difficulties and resolve the problems posed by the orientation of economic development set by the second republic. The formation of peasant producers' and consumers' cooperatives is opening up the opportunity for increasing agricultural output.

In international relations Burundi is resolutely opposed to imperialism and, along with other progressive states, presses tirelessly for a new international economic order. In keeping with the principles of independence and sovereignty, Burundi unfailingly supports the national liberation movement in Africa and the rest of the world. In alliance with peoples aspiring for peace and justice, Burundi demands the earliest extirpation of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa. In foreign policy Burundi proceeds from anti-imperialist solidarity with peoples fighting against oppression and exploitation.

The people of my country, said Alain Branban, CC member, Martinique Communist Party, and editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Justice*, remain in colonial dependence, are subjected to economic exploitation, and are the victims of repression by French occupation troops.

Imperialism's strategy is to let monopolies penetrate more and more regions. They feel cramped in their own countries, where, on top of everything, they bear the expenses of the gains won by the working people. They are, therefore, set on siting their subsidiaries where labor is cheap and profits high, and also where pro-fascist regimes block the demands of the working people. In this respect Latin America and the Caribbean are suitable regions for them. The strategy of re-siting monopolies in new countries is not in the interests of the working people either of capitalist Europe or Latin America and the Caribbean. In capitalist Europe the re-siting of monopolies means the closure of factories and the growth of unemployment. In the Antilles, which are a springboard of this strategy, and in Latin America and the Caribbean it deepens backwardness and intensifies superexploitation.

Today imperialism wears the garb of neo-colonialism, said Sidiki Diarra, National Council member, Democratic Union of the Mali People. Its advocates want to see the international community divided into two groups: centers of rule, consisting of metropolises; and completely dependent neo-colonies, whose interests are taken into account

only to the extent they serve the prosperity of the centers.

It is a mistake to believe that today any country, regardless of its political system and wealth, can be autarchic economically. This is borne out by the fact that economic, scientific and technological cooperation between socialist and capitalist states is regular and systematic, not sporadic. What we question is not international cooperation as such, but its present character, because we believe that cooperation should serve the liberation and progress of peoples and that it should be a powerful means for abolishing exploitation of man by man. Science and technology are unquestionably a great achievement that can benefit the peoples. Whatever the system in the country where science and technology are developing rapidly, scientific and technological achievements are a boon, and it is a crime to deny this boon to the people. Proceeding from this principle, our party is emphatic on the point that there must be cooperation in this field with all countries on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Following its Constituent Congress in March 1979 the Democratic Union of the Mali People firmly steered a course toward the building of a democratic, just society, the building of a nation open to progress and cooperation but resolutely strengthening its dependence and sovereignty. Our party opted for an independent, planned national economy and a national-democratic state representing the organized political power of the working masses aspiring for independent and progressive development.

The party is aware that no aim can be set without mapping out the means for its attainment, hence its understanding of the need to scientifically define the stages of the realization of its program, to identify and support the social forces objectively interested in the achievement of the aims of each stage, and to neutralize those that oppose the fulfillment of democratic tasks. This is also our point of departure in our struggle against neo-colonialism, for a more just organization of international economic relations. In terms of domestic policy, this means achieving economic independence and social emancipation, in other words, improving the people's living standard and raising their cultural level, wiping out poverty, and ensuring the working people's participation in the administration of the state. In order to bring its actions in line with reality, the party is creating the political, economic and social conditions for significant changes.

The Caribbean historically has been a haven of colonialism, said Clement Rohee, Central Executive Committee member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana. Nowadays, for the most part, it is seen as a preserve of neo-colonialism. Neo-colonial policies are pursued, promoted and implemented relentlessly in all their forms.

Today, Guyana has again become the object of a revitalized neo-colonialist offensive. Tested and well-known instruments are employed to ensure

and hold Guyana in the fold of neo-colonialism. Primary among them are the use of imperialist-controlled financial institutions, namely, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and others. Additionally, our doors are re-opened to foreign private capital. There was also a recent public announcement stating that our state-owned industries will be put under cooperative ownership, a retreat. Such developments are occurring in the face of a declining economic situation; deteriorating social conditions and living standards; increasing repression; growing political instability; and new undemocratic measures by the ruling regime to entrench itself in power.

Prior to the victory of the revolution in Iran, said Hamid Safari (Tudeh Party of Iran), the Western media were vocal about the nation's rapid economic development and wrote about the "Iranian miracle" accomplished allegedly with the assistance of imperialist powers led by the USA. It was forecast that in the immediate future Iran would be an independent industrial state. But what was taking place in Iran had nothing in common with independent economic development.

The offensive by international monopolies reached a scale that enabled them to take over control of all of the nation's social, economic and political institutions within a short span of time. The contradictions between the Iranian people and imperialism became more glaring with the growth of dependence on industrialized capitalist countries.

The atmosphere of peace and détente gave socio-political and religious organizations and groups in Iran the opportunity to muster their forces and unite against the shah and all the others who ruled the nation in a manner suiting imperialism.

Today the dramatic changes in and outside the country have posed the progressive forces of Iran with the problem of fighting against the dominance of monopoly capital, for economic progress and social emancipation in a more acute and complex form. Imperialist intrigues against Iran are not diminishing. The USA and its allies refuse to reconcile themselves to the loss of their economic, political, military and strategic positions in Iran. Needless to say, the threat of U.S. aggression hangs over not only Iran. Imperialism is fueling tension and conflicts in order to retrieve what it has lost as a result of the struggle of the people for peace and social progress, against political and economic domination of developing countries. Imperialism is not renouncing its claim to control of the energy and raw material resources of developing nations.

The success of the struggle for lasting peace, freedom and progress depends on how closely the revolutionary forces of all continents cooperate and, chiefly, on interaction of the anti-imperialist forces with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The peoples of developing countries see the USSR as the pioneer in establishing a qualitatively new type of international relations based on equality, mutual benefit and independence. In a situation of peace and se-

curity these relations are helping many new states to safeguard their independence, develop their economy and culture and put an end to the legacy of backwardness left by colonialism.

Unflagging explanatory work is needed to make the peoples see the real meaning of the struggle for social emancipation and the demand for the consolidation and deepening of détente, which is intimately linked to that struggle.

More than half the population of Latin America, said Celia Jil (Socialist Party of Uruguay), live in countries ruled by fascist dictatorships or fascist-type regimes. This is leading to the rise of new forms of colonialism and subjugation and turning national armed forces into an army of occupation, an accomplice of a small oligarchy serving foreign interests. As we see it, the present struggle against imperialism in Latin America is, at the same time, a struggle against local fascism.

Uruguay's transition to a socialist-type socio-economic system in the future will require the restoration of all the democratic gains that have now been lost, and their extension in the economy and in society's life. We believe that on the Uruguayan road, which is profoundly national, the task of building socialism is fusing with the nation's specific problems that we have to resolve today.

For the past 10 years Bolivia has been the scene of a complex political struggle in which the issue is: "fascism or democracy," "imperialist dependence or national liberation," said Felipe Rodriguez, CC member, Communist Party of Bolivia.

With its penetration into the armed forces, the threat of fascism has become real in Bolivia. An instrument of internal and external counter-revolution, fascism usurped power in Bolivia as a result of the coup in August 1971 and the establishment of the Banzer dictatorship that lasted for seven years.

A pole antagonistic to the fascist regime — a genuinely popular movement for democracy with a liberative, anti-imperialist orientation — came into being and developed in the long struggle against the fascist regime. With fascism's assumption of power prominence in the movement was given to the task of restoring democracy as a vital preliminary condition closely linked to the new orientation of the revolutionary course. The struggle for a "democratic breakthrough" required coordinated action by the masses aimed at creating the conditions for revitalizing and strengthening the anti-fascist forces, the installation of a really democratic government, and the attainment of complete national sovereignty. Underlying our understanding of "democracy of the masses" is a continuous people's anti-imperialist revolution that would make the socialist transformation in Bolivian society possible.

Our people, led by the Democratic People's Unity Front, of which the Communist Party of Bolivia is a member, won a political victory. In 1978 Banzer resigned and a democratic process began in Bolivia. In the next two years the Front was victorious in three elections. However, right-wing reaction and military putschists prevented the people from coming to power. On July

17, 1980 insurgent generals struck at the government. The military junta headed by General Luis Garcia Mesa was fascism's bloody revenge for its recent defeat. The dictatorship resorted to terror to destroy revolutionaries, democrats and trade unionists physically.

Today the struggle for democracy for the people is waged in a new situation, which demands greater resistance than is now being shown to the dictatorship and a further offensive on a qualitatively new level. The masses must learn to employ all forms of struggle. Our future and our struggle are part of the general struggle of all the peoples of Latin America against fascism and imperialism, for peace, national liberation and social progress.

The Argentine government, which came to power as a result of a coup in 1976 and has aggravated the situation in the country still further, said *Leonardo Paso*, CC alternate member, Communist Party of Argentina, maintains that national development depends not so much on the internal situation as on international relations and is forcing a policy of neo-colonialism on the nation. Alleging that funds are lacking for the development of new branches of the economy (which, in fact, is not true), it is adjusting industry to the interests and requirements of the transnational corporations, denationalizing state enterprises that play a positive role in a dependent country, annulling taxes and customs tariffs on imports, and so on.

Embracing all spheres of society's life — socio-economic, political and cultural — neo-colonialist policy hits the interests of the working people. The concept of "development" propounded by the government makes the country's progress dependent on imperialist capital and in fact nullifies all of the people's hard-won gains. Practice is dispelling the illusions entertained by some segments of society. The awareness is growing among the people and also among patriotic and democratic military that independent national development is possible only if there is real democracy in society.

Some lessons of revolutionary experience

Although the situation in the Arab world as a whole and in each Arab country is complex, said *Rafiq Ali*, CC member, Tunisian Communist Party, we do not lose sight of the positive aspects of the situation, namely, Egypt's isolation, the growing role played by the UN, the development of relations with socialist countries, the spreading democratic struggle, the new role of the communist parties, and the inclusion of new social and political forces in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. While anti-imperialist motivations increasingly influence the general decisions of Third World countries, there are difficulties and setbacks: anti-capitalist, democratic steps do not always accompany anti-imperialist policy in each country. From this it may be inferred that anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism and democracy do not fuse automatically.

In some cases there is the paradox that some

countries that pursue a pro-Western foreign policy have been able to steer toward a progressive orientation in economic development (an example being Tunisia in the 1960s). At the other extreme, in some countries whose foreign policy was anti-imperialist and provided for cooperation with socialist countries, the transformations were limited and communists were subjected to repression. In this context permit me to accentuate some contradictory aspects of the experience of some anti-imperialist states.

The strategy of "non-capitalist" development or "socialist orientation," which individual countries adopted, was in some cases accompanied by serious shortcomings, mistakes or deviations to which we should not close our eyes. Of course, as in the past these countries continue to act against imperialism, but some factors slow down revolutionary development, making it unstable and vulnerable. What are these factors?

First of all, socio-economic reforms are frequently elaborated and put into effect voluntaristically and in an authoritarian manner, without any real participation and mobilization of the social strata interested in these reforms. Further, a new privileged bureaucracy has emerged with the build-up of the state apparatus and not enough is done to fight corruption among that bureaucracy. Yet another factor is the underestimation of the people's desire for an extension of democracy, for participation in the administration of the nation's affairs; communists and other progressive elements (even if they participate in government) are made victims of ostracism or, even worse, repression by their former allies. Lastly, a revolutionary vanguard and a cadre capable of taking over from the first generation are slow to take shape. In this connection the developments in Egypt after Nasser's death are a grim lesson.

The swing to the right in individual countries (given all the diversities of its form and content) indicates that the anti-imperialist character of a movement or a nation is not a sufficient guarantee of revolutionary development and the irreversibility of that development. The revolutionary process must be evaluated in terms of its anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and democratic content. By underscoring the need to take into account the diversity of the concrete situation in each country and the heterogeneous character of the national liberation movement, we want to avoid a simplified approach to problems so that there are neither illusions nor disappointment about the development of the national liberation movement within the framework of the national-democratic revolution.

The Tunisian communists, who champion the interests of workers, peasants, young people and intellectuals, firmly believe in the possibility of a democratic stage in Tunisia, that may become a step on the road to progressive socio-economic changes.

It is important that there should be a dependable link between the struggle to change the structure and democratize international economic relations and the struggle of the masses for national and class

aims, said **Salem Hamid** (Communist Party of Saudi Arabia). Among the many tasks of the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia is the struggle to abolish all forms of foreign economic, military and political influence and all the benefits enjoyed in our country by the USA and other imperialist powers. It is demanding democratic freedoms for the people (freedom of the press, assembly and demonstration) and respect for political persuasions and other human rights. It demands total control of the nation's natural wealth. In our country it is important to have diverse sources of national revenue by developing industries and also by cutting back the import of luxury items and non-vital consumer goods. We are pressing for the establishment of diplomatic relations with socialist-community countries. One of our aims is to show the true nature of the economic and political role of the rulers of Saudi Arabia and their fundamentally reactionary concept of Arab solidarity directed toward subordinating the Arab world to the interests of the USA.

Our party and the revolution led by it in Syria, said **Abu Salim**, Regional (Syrian) Leadership member, Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, are countering the threats of enemies and working on extremely complex and inter-related problems. The progressive national front, comprising five political parties and representatives of workers and peasants, is functioning under ASRP leadership. The Front is mobilizing all national progressive forces in order to withstand conspiracies and aggression, and crush reaction, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood gangs that get considerable foreign financial and military assistance and engage in subversion against the state, not shrinking from assassination. Moreover, it is helping to harden Syria's national-progressive orientation, deepen socialist changes and reinforce the nation's staunchness in the struggle for national and general Arab aims.

As regards general Arab affairs, Syria plays a decisive vanguard role in the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation. In this Front, which is the mainstay of all Arab national progressive forces, it is the main element of the opposition to Israel and holds a special place in the acute struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction and their plans of aggression. Together with fraternal Libya, Syria is now preparing to set up a united state, that will be, as is noted in the Declaration on the Creation of a United State and in the Resolution on the Proclamation of Unity Between Syria and Libya, a force and a mainstay of the Arab liberation movement.

In order to ensure the conditions for a full, just and lasting peace in our region Syria is moving to strengthen Arab unity against the Camp David accords, prevent the spread of that conspiracy, further isolate its proponents and lay the ground for demolishing it. The main condition for such a peace is the creation of the corresponding balance of strength that was upset by the Camp David conspiracy and the Egyptian regime's collusion with U.S.

imperialism and Zionism against the Arab nation and its liberation movement, against a just and lasting peace in the region and worldwide.

Syria and its National Progressive Front, headed by the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and its General Secretary and President of the Syrian Arab Republic **Hafez al Assad**, are pursuing a firm and principled policy of close alliance with the socialist-community states led by the Soviet Union, and with all other forces of liberation, progress, socialism and peace. Recently Syria took a qualitatively new step toward the promotion of historic relations of friendship and cooperation with our staunch ally, the Soviet Union. This was the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which is an example of unity between world socialism and the national liberation movement. Syria maintains relations of cooperation and solidarity with all national liberation movements, denounces racist regimes and demands the eradication of all survivals of colonialism, imperialism and racism, the dismantling of military bases and an end to political and economic dominance.

The countries of the Arab and Muslim East, said **Daoud Talhami**, National Council member, Palestine Liberation Organization, and member of the Bureau for International Relations of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, have now become the object of the neo-colonialist policy pursued by world imperialism in diverse forms and, at the same time, an arena of the tenacious struggle of the Arab peoples to abort this policy, and also of the Palestinian people who are resisting colonialism that has encroached upon their homeland. Our people are at the center of the great battle being fought in the region to shake off imperialist rule, against the attempts of U.S. imperialism to control raw materials, chiefly oil resources.

Our struggle for national rights is closely linked to the aspiration of the peoples of the region to rid themselves of neo-colonialist dominance, ensure complete economic independence and control of their natural wealth, establish equitable international economic relations, and put an end to the intensifying imperialist plunder resulting from non-equivalent exchange, under which manufactured goods are exported by industrialized capitalist countries and raw materials by developing nations. It is now vitally important to enhance the level of coordination and solidarity between the three powerful revolutionary currents in order to stem imperialism's growing aggressiveness and compel it to retreat.

Touching on the view, stated in the discussion, that the apartheid regime in South Africa should be brought down by force of arms, **Collete Samoya** (Party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi) noted that this is a very questionable view because the South African armed forces are being strengthened. The people of South Africa, remarked the representative of the **FRELIMO** Party (Mozambique), should themselves determine reliable forms of their struggle to abolish apartheid. The fact that South Africa is strong militarily does

not at all mean that there are no possibilities for bringing the regime down. The days of the racist regime are numbered.

The racist regime of South Africa, said Francis Meli, editor-in-chief of the journal *Sechaba* (African National Congress of South Africa), joining in the discussion, is very strong militarily and economically. This inspires fear because the countries that have common frontiers with South Africa are weaker. However, we should not write off the regime's internal contradictions. The principal of these is that although it is a racist state, South Africa cannot dispense with Black workers. Africans are forced into what are called bantustans and regarded as members of a hostile population. However, white entrepreneurs need Africans as labor, whose absence would bring factories to a halt.

The Congress believes that in the present situation an armed struggle is the main form of struggle in the country. But we do not absolutize it, we do not regard it as the sole means of struggle. Adherents to our movement take part in strikes and school boycotts. It would be wrong and dangerous to believe that the racist regime in South Africa is stable. Its weakness lies in the total absence of democracy, in that it is founded on injustice. The people reject both the regime and the unjust system.

The Namibian people, said Mathias Kanana Hishoono, CC Secretary for Organization, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), understand very well that the struggle going on in Namibia is not a struggle for the removal of apartheid, but that we are fighting for genuine independence and social liberation.

We want to see a far-reaching transformation of Namibian society, entailing, among many other things, a comprehensive agrarian land reform to redress the present unequal and unjust land tenure and land use. In our political program we have stipulated that in a liberated Namibia SWAPO will strive to build a non-exploitative and classless society. SWAPO is confident of final victory not only because of the determination of our people, but also because of the continued solidarity of the forces of democracy, peace and social progress the world over with our struggle.

Our revolution, said Norma Guevara, member of the Military-Political United Revolutionary Leadership of El Salvador, is facing not only internal enemies. It has to withstand the furious onslaughts of the reactionary bourgeoisie of the whole of Central America, who see the victory of the Salvadoran people as the beginning of their defeat. There is a threat of direct intervention by the USA or the troops of the puppet regimes in Venezuela, Guatemala and Honduras. We are well aware that such an intervention would threaten not only our revolution but also the revolution in Nicaragua and the spreading revolutionary process in Guatemala. Foreign intervention would inevitably lead to Central America's conversion into a united front of armed struggle against imperialism. We are following the example of Vietnam, but experience has shown us that nothing is dearer than freedom, for

the attainment of which every sacrifice is justified. We know we have the strength for this.

Some months ago we began implementing a coordinated plan of military action. Features of an internal order (limited territory, a well-armed adversary who is getting foreign assistance, and a relatively high population density) determine the forms of our armed struggle. Possibly, this will be the contribution of the Salvadorans to the experience of the liberation struggles of peoples. Our insurgent military movement of thousands of well-trained fighters has a high morale. This is further evidence that the forms of struggle are determined by its aims and by the actual conditions in which it is conducted.

The revolution in El Salvador has the backing of town and countryside, of the working class, the intelligentsia, the clergy, a large segment of the military, and democrats and social democrats. In our country the revolutionary and democratic forces, who have their own close-knit vanguard, act in a united front in the struggle to implement the common program, resorting to armed struggle as the decisive means of winning power. The fact that democratic forces participate in the revolutionary movement strengthens the movement's international positions: this is seen in the support for our struggle by a number of governments enjoying influence in the region.

The armed actions of the masses are widely supported by different sections of the population. This struggle is waged in a variety of forms. The united revolutionary leadership of El Salvador provides for a close link between uprising, military actions and a general strike, thereby seeking to foster the practical implementation of all forms of struggle. We have a fairly large and determined fighting force, and this allows judging the direction which developments will follow. Our revolution is prepared to offer imperialism long resistance. We see the socialist community and the liberation movement as our allies and friends, count on the solidarity of all peoples, and express our gratitude for it. With a people like ours and in the situation prevailing in El Salvador and on the international scene we believe that our revolution is bound to triumph.

In Guinea-Bissau, said José Eduardo Barbosa, National Council member, African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, the long struggle for national liberation evolved into a protracted people's war against Portuguese colonialism. That war showed us that imperialist countries in concert use every means to help oppressive colonialist regimes. Relying mainly on their own strength, our people withstood all of the enemy's maneuvers, isolated him diplomatically, and won new political and military victories thanks to the support of the socialist countries and all other forces of progress in the world.

The October Socialist Revolution — the first major defeat suffered by imperialism — was a big lesson for us. Also it was on account of that revolution that the homeland of Lenin and other socialist countries extended all-sided assistance to

us, assistance which fostered the effective development of our movement. Our party has always been able to distinguish friend from foe and in practice saw the interaction between the national liberation movement, the socialist countries, and the international working-class movement — the three most dynamic forces of our epoch acting against imperialism and all forms of domination and exploitation. Our analysis of the experience of countries that have won independence, particularly in the African context, allow us to speak, as was said by Amilcar Cabral, of positive and negative experience, of experience of true and false independence. Our party consistently advocates non-capitalist development, which requires an unrelenting struggle against exploitation of man by man, for the establishment of social justice in the world.

Imperialism has created a world situation that sustains continuous anxiety; the peoples, particularly those that are fighting for independence or for the preservation of their revolutionary gains, live under the constant threat of war.

The gulf is widening between the industrialized capitalist countries that have amassed enormous wealth, and the poor countries. Indeed, in international exchange, inequality is becoming more glaring with each passing year. That is what impels more countries to join the movement for equitable international economic relations. This equality is imperative if the conditions are to be created for lasting peace in the world, this being a prerequisite of the development of all peoples. Scientific and technological achievements should not benefit a minority and doom the majority to the most appalling and disgusting poverty.

A little over two decades ago, said Abel Sanchez, secretary of *Estudios*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Uruguay, only three great trailblazers of revolution towered like high cliffs and bright lighthouses in the sea of people of African colonialism. These were Patrice Lumumba, Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah. Today we know the names of new outstanding leaders of the African revolutionary movement — its brilliant theorist, the legendary Amilcar Cabral, Agostino Neto, Samora Machel and many other great revolutionaries. The memory of outstanding theorists, statesmen and revolutionaries of Africa will never fade in the minds of the peoples.

This memory is especially dear to us, Uruguayan Communists. At an international solidarity rally of fighters of Africa and Uruguay in Angola, convened on the initiative of Agostino Neto shortly before his death, the African revolutionaries pledged their support for us. Comrades from Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Guinea and other African countries declared their warm solidarity with the struggles of our people.

It is clear to us, Maltese communists, operating

under conditions of popular national democratic struggle, that it is not enough to proclaim ourselves as the privileged keepers of the correct proletarian political line, said Mario Vella, Executive Committee member and CC Secretary, Communist Party of Malta. The artificial and, in our conditions, sterile separation of "class" and "people" would lead only to the isolation of the Communist Party. The only fruitful line is one that struggles for the fusion of class demands and popular demands and struggles to present working-class or socialist solutions to national problems as the best possible solution for the people as a whole.

The end of the 1970s has increased and brought the internal contradictions in the Labor Party into bolder relief and made the vulnerability of our economy and the incompatibility of dependent capitalist development with the declared anti-imperialism of the Labor government itself more evident. (It was — and this is important — the Labor government which severed relations with NATO and closed the British base in 1979). The weakest factor of the Labor Party is the new bourgeoisie — although its attempt to industrialize is in itself a progressive characteristic, it has been unable to emancipate itself radically from its roots in merchant capital, which is often an obstacle to the development of manufacturing capital and it is not able to exist independently of neo-colonialist capital (either as its personnel or as its sub-contracting "junior" partner). In other words, the bourgeois component of the progressive bloc is not able to develop into a national democratic bourgeoisie, and the working class will have to do what the bourgeoisie has begun but could not bring to conclusion.

We feel that an organization not restricted by the obvious limitations imposed by the heterogeneous class nature of the Labor Party should exist to elaborate an autonomous political line of the working class.

One subject that we feel is crucial to the political analysis of societies like Malta, is the phenomenon of "clientelism." This phenomenon, so important in the Mediterranean region and — we understand — in Latin America and other areas, is a specific form of mediation between political power and the people, that functions as an obstacle to the formation of mass political parties. Clientelism based on the power of local notables, who control the distribution of jobs and favors, such as housing, etc., has roughly the same effect as tribalism in Africa. It is interesting that those variations of populism that are anti-imperialist but not anti-capitalist have in many cases not eliminated local patrons and their clienteles, but have increased the scope of operation of these patrons. This phenomenon is an important factor in the relationship between "class" and "people" and, we feel, requires exchanges of views by those parties that meet it in their everyday political practice.

The environmental movement and the communists

Our Journal has held an international scientific symposium "The Environmental Movement and the Communists." It was attended by Marxist academics, the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, FRG, Japan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, the Soviet Union and the United States, and also by some members of the WMR Editorial Council.

Below we publish the opening speech at the symposium by Editor-in-Chief of WMR Konstantin Zaradov. The survey of the discussion at the symposium will be published shortly.

THE POLITICAL, CLASS APPROACH

Konstantin Zaradov

Editor-in-Chief, World Marxist Review

This is not the first international meeting on the global problems of our day arranged by the Journal. In early 1972, communists from 36 countries met for a scientific symposium in Prague to discuss a broad range of problems stemming from the diverse relations between the ecology and politics.* Since then ecological problems have been discussed by prominent scientists and political leaders on the pages of this Journal.

The subject of the present symposium — "The Environmental Movement and the Communists" — is highly meaningful and politically important. Why? Because it does not merely consider the attitude to the environment as such, but the movement for its protection, which is not the same thing. Another point is equally important. The sponsors of the symposium would like to examine this problem in the light of the experience of the struggle carried on by the communist and workers' parties for leadership of this movement and its use in the struggle for democracy in the capitalist society, against imperialism and for socialism.

This topic differs in content from the other global problems in that it is exceptionally complicated.

First of all because it requires a systematic approach, which springs from the need to consider many factors: pollution of the environment (atmosphere, hydrosphere and soils), the production of foodstuffs, the consumption of non-renewable natural resources and, finally, the stability of global and regional ecosystems and the regime for the reproduction of man, their central element, their "master."

Second, the environmental movement involves

millions of people and diverse social strata. It is a highly contradictory conglomerate bringing together dozens of different and frequently incompatible socio-political attitudes and demands. This movement arises spontaneously; it is amorphous and has no single ideological platform.

Third, the environmental movement, being, as a rule, a vehicle of humanistic ideas at root, tends to breed some illusions, which arise when the origination of ecological problems is not connected with the socio-political characteristics of present-day types of societies, but boils down to discourses about a "common habitat," "one and the same boat," "human interests," etc. Such ideas are broadly present in various bourgeois and reformist socio-philosophical doctrines and concrete prognostications seeking to depict the future of our planet.

What is especially dangerous is that the attitude to the environmental movement on the part of the working people — the working class and the peasantry — is not always straightforward. Some trade unions have also taken a negative attitude to the movement, and this now and again develops into a sharp confrontation when the issue is: employment or environment. In practice, this is so whenever an enterprise is closed for ecological reasons or priority goes to investments for the improvement of nature at the expense of working conditions. Hence the elements of sectarian attitude to participants in the environmental movement and refusal to seek ways of accepting it as a mass ally.

There is also another extreme in the assessment of the environmental movement. Because it has emerged as a great even if unorganized force, it is frequently regarded as a harbinger and factor of some "horror riot" caused by the looming ecological crisis. Some assert that this is a new type of "revolution" in which the problems of the transformation of property and power are pushed into the background to give way to a resolution of the antagonism between man and nature. The rescue of nature is presented as the definitive motive in the coming socio-economic organization and a new way of life. Some of the most radical elements regard the consequences of such a "revolution" as implying the need to "give up civilization" and "return to nature," while the more moderate ones believe that it means a halt to scientific and technological progress and economic growth, stabilization of the population under the existing social system, in short, conservation of the present state of nature and of society (so-called zero growth).

It continues to be a fact that for the time being the environmental movement is at a social crossroads. In many capitalist countries it remains autono-

*See, *Ecology and Politics. (Problems in Environmental Protection). International Marxist Discussions*. Prague, 1972.

mous refusing to give preference to the program of any party either in "ecological action" or in social and economic policy.

Sooner or later, the practical struggle for protection of the environment inevitably poses before its participants the following question: from whom and from what must nature be protected? The experience gained by people with different world views, political-party sympathies, etc., urges them to opt for a social stand.

What does this entail?

First of all, a recognition of the fact that environmental protection measures, including the most urgent ones, are inseparable from the preservation of world peace. Indeed, the urge to protect nature would simply be absurd and even blasphemous if it did not spring from faith in the life of mankind.

One must also see the tremendous damage already being done to the natural environment by the unprecedented growth of the militarization of the economy in the capitalist countries, the monstrous squandering of resources going into unproductive, military expenditures, while environmental protection programs remain unrealized. The struggle to avert a further degradation of the natural environment and to preserve and improve the ecological conditions for human life once again exposes the insanity of the arms race, of the military preparations being carried on by imperialism, and provides new and weighty arguments in favor of peace and cooperation among nations.

That is why the role of the environmental movement is determined above all by its anti-war tenor, by its contribution to the efforts to avert a third world war with all its disastrous consequences.

Furthermore, the effort to stop the destruction of the environment and to restore it, is an important and global socio-political problem. It cannot be fully solved in the atmosphere of egoism and anarchy which capitalism generates. It requires an extensive system of state and social measures, ultimately envisaging transition to an economy organized on socialist lines and conjunction of its advantages with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

Finally, political practice daily confirms that there is no "neutral ecology." The problems in the protection of the environment are organically interwoven into the fabric of related social, economic, scientific, technical, psychological, moral, domestic and foreign-policy problems. That is why actions for the protection of the environment are important not only from the standpoint of their role and place in the solution of ecological problems as such, but also as a political movement taking a fighting stand for the solution of a wide range of problems produced by present-day capitalist society. With the passage of time, the political aspect tends to become increasingly important.

Certainly, our class adversaries cannot ignore all of this either. State-monopoly capitalism has created a system of environmental protection legislation and management of the environment and has taken the road of ecological regulation. Nearly all

the bourgeois parties claim to "represent the ecological interests of the population." Ecological problems have become a most acute issue in the inter-party struggle in electoral campaigns, and have been carried into the parliaments. The social democrats are highly active in organizing ecological protests.

In these conditions, primary importance is attached to what the communists can do to make the environmental movement run within the overall course of the general democratic struggle and social progress, so as to prevent its great potentialities from being wasted and to see that the bourgeois and reformist parties do not integrate it within the capitalist system.

Without anticipating the discussion, I should like to make a few remarks about some of the problems which the environmental movement poses before communists.

The evolution of the environmental movement shows that sizable strata of the population in the capitalist countries come to see the need for social changes precisely through ecology. Have the communists made an adequate study of this fact, and have they drawn the necessary conclusion? We find, for instance, that the parties' formulation of ecological demands with an eye to the interests of various strata of the population in many capitalist countries has not, as we should have liked, led to a growth in the ranks of the supporters of our parties in the anti-imperialist struggle. Is this not due to the fact that the readiness of the masses to act against the governments and the monopolies on environmental issues frequently runs ahead of actions by the organized working class movement and democratic organizations, a fact on which diverse ultra-leftists and anarchists speculate? Now and again ultra-leftists try to channel the "green" protest into terroristic acts against individual capitalists and businessmen, so diverting the indignation of participants in the environmental movement from the ruling class as a whole, which is chiefly to blame for the destruction of ecological systems.

The views adopted by the environmental movement are far from being a mere mix of spontaneous protests by the masses against various destructive effects of the capitalist economy on nature. A study of these views shows that a great deal was introduced into them in a fairly elaborated form, but it was taken from the petty-bourgeois liberal or left-radical ideology, and not from science. Some could say, of course, that this ideology largely reflects the social position of the mass basis of the movement, in which the middle strata are broadly represented. That is, of course, so. But is it, after all, fatally inevitable that the movement should be dominated by such an ideology? Would not the introduction of the scientific consciousness on the ecology problem help the masses advance from the rejection of the nature-destroying results of capitalist economic activity to a negation of capitalism as a system that is hostile to nature and to man himself?

The need to explain the role of science in present-day conditions is equally acute. Here is one

example. The scope of the protest against the construction of atomic-power stations in some capitalist countries was highly unexpected for the public at large, especially since the accent in the arguments behind the protest was on the scientifically unacceptable conclusion that it is impossible, as a matter of principle, to create an ecologically safe technology in the generation of nuclear power. Now and again the movement against the "nuclear threat" which is allegedly posed by the atomic-power stations, diverted attentions from another and real danger arising from the nuclear arms race and the risk of thermonuclear war which has been growing as a result of the aggressive foreign-policy of imperialism and its attempts to act from a "position of strength." Besides, this protest was encouraged by the oil monopolies, which feared competition from the companies investing capital into the development of new types of energy. Incidentally, this protest was to some extent reminiscent of the early forms of working class actions against capitalist exploitation: in Britain the Luddites believed the evil was rooted in machines and destroyed them. Still, there is a grain of truth in the mass protests against the construction of atomic-power stations in some capitalist countries. The working people and public opinion in these countries are aware, from experience, that in its drive for profit and short-term advantages capitalism is capable of ignoring the need to take adequate measures to ensure the safe operation of atomic-power plants, measures which are being stringently and consistently taken in the socialist countries.

Nevertheless, the flatly negative attitude to scientific and technological progress, which is widespread in and outside the environmental movement, is a considerable obstacle for an understanding of the real source of the ecological evil. This explains the importance of research into the correlation between the scientific and technological revolution and ecology, and extensive explanation of this question, certainly taking into account the different technological approaches. Some, notably, "technocratic" ones, need to be sharply criticized and exposed for their imperialist and anti-popular substance, while others should, on the contrary, be perhaps supported. But in every case the "technocratic" approach (and, incidentally, the "theories" of "zero growth" and a "return to nature") should be countered by Marxism with its different class approach, which opens up real potentialities for the solution of these problems without detriment to human life.

A question which will evidently be considered at the symposium relates to the fact that the environmental movement is in a sense estranged from the working class struggle. Of course, everyone has heard of workers' action on environmental issues and cooperation with the ecological movement. But what is the objective basis for such cooperation? This question has still to be elaborated and calls for special study. Indeed, the environmental movement is based, above all, on territorial and not on production connections. And there is good reason

for that. Its participants are brought together by interests against which capitalist industrial production is constantly ranged as an external hostile force. Here, the ecological protest stems from the antagonism between capitalist production and the interests of the population which lie outside the production sphere. This antagonism also involves the worker, but in the same capacity as the other strata of the population.

However, ecological protests are also engendered within the working class by another type of antagonism which is built into the very process of capitalist production. The working people taking part in it want to see their labor performed "under conditions most favorable to, and worthy of, their human nature."* First among these conditions is the production environment.

Consequently, an analysis of the condition of the working class must of necessity include ecological problems. That is precisely the basis on which its role in the ecological movement under capitalism can be determined.

In the light of this, it is altogether wrong to take the view that the worsening of the natural environment under capitalism is as inexorable and inevitable as the exploitation of wage-labor by capital. On the one hand, such an approach leads to a postponement of cardinal measures in the use of nature until "after the revolution." On the other, it dooms the struggle to save nature and to avert an ecological crisis to adaptation to the "potentialities" of capitalism, to an effort to find the limits allegedly laid down by the system and to reduction of the environmental movement to the realization of "minor" and minimal pragmatic projects. But it would be wrong to try, in advance, without the class struggle, to establish the extent to which the demands for the protection of nature can be realized under capitalism. This is established in practice, depending on the scope and militancy of mass action. It is well known, for instance, that in the past decade the public in the capitalist countries has done a great deal in the protection of nature, and there is no reason to assume that some kind of limits are already visible here. One must also take into account the potentialities of present-day capitalism for maneuvering and making concessions in the use of nature. Here, the analogy with man's exploitation by man is incorrect. Refusal to make maximum demands for the protection of nature on the plea that everything cannot be achieved under capitalism would mean a switch to the "ecological regulation" policy being pursued by the parties of big capital.

Two other questions: ecological inequality, and the economics-ecology dialectic.

Ecological demands cannot be confined to the global approach, to the general interests of mankind and of all the nations and states, although such an approach to ecological problems is, of course, well justified. Even on the worldwide scale one will find striking inequalities. The industrialized capitalist

*Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1959, p. 800.

countries are the centers in which the biosphere is being destroyed, a biosphere which knows no state boundaries. From there, ecologically dirty lines of production are being exported to the developing countries. In the process, their need for industrial development is being brazenly exploited.

An inequality has arisen and is being deepened in the so-called ecological consumption within the national framework as well. Nature is becoming a prestige requirement, which the wealthy strata can afford. In capitalist industrial cities, the worst, including the ecologically worst, neighborhoods are inhabited by working people. Environmental pollution has an effect in the first place on the workers, on their working and living conditions. All of this makes it necessary to formulate the program for ecological improvements with an eye to the interests of the laboring sections of the population.

One feature of the ideological stand of the environmental movement is the priority which it gives to ecology over economics. Marxists do not contrast economics and ecology. They regard the attitude to nature as an important feature of the mode of production, and include man's natural habitat in the concept of "material conditions of the life of society," to which Marxism is known to attach crucial importance in determining the potentialities of social progress.

At the same time, Marxist-Leninists emphasize the priority of politics in the solution of economic problems. We feel that the same approach is right with respect to ecological problems. Their growing importance in the present-day struggle does not in

any way obscure the vital economic interests of the working people. On the contrary, the emancipation of labor from oppression by capital — such is the crucial prerequisite for the creation of harmonious relations between man and nature based on a scientific cognition of the laws of social development. *Prerequisite* is the key word. It takes time and considerable effort to translate it into truly harmonious conditions after the victory of socialist revolution. Socialism eliminates the antagonism between society and nature which is inherent in capitalism, but there remains the contradiction which induces society to engage in balanced management of the environment and to appropriate — with the growth of the economy, cities and industrial centers — ever larger funds for its preservation, reproduction and improvement. The peoples of the socialist countries, their governments, and their Marxist-Leninist parties are constantly engaged in dealing with these matters.

Those are the questions to which we would like to draw the attention of the participants in the symposium. What has been said falls far short of all the problems connected with this topic. Our purpose was to attract the attention of participants in the discussion to questions which have been less than fully elaborated, but which, we feel, are of tremendous importance for the communists in their efforts to unite all the progressive forces against the danger of war, for a democratic way out of the crisis, for the establishment of a united front in the struggle against imperialism, and for a happy future for all mankind.



In defense of détente

THE WORLD IN THE EARLY 1980s

Continuing our series on major political, economic and social problems at the turn of the 1980s,¹ we offer the reader a survey contributed by the Vienna International Peace Institute. Its author is Professor *Gerhard Kade*, Vice-President of the Institute, member of the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation (FRG).

War and peace are now issues claiming the attention of world opinion more than ever before. Aggressive imperialist circles have stepped up their attacks on détente and peaceful coexistence. They would like to nullify the positive results achieved in international relations over the past decade and to

revise the fundamental changes that have taken place in Europe and the world.

What is the evidence? Peaceful coexistence, whose conception, promotion and materialization were linked to the rise, development and consolidation of socialism prevailed in the 1970s, thanks to the new balance of world forces (not least to the approximate military parity between the Soviet Union and the USA). Equality, sovereignty, the right of nations to self-determination, renunciation of the use or threat of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, cooperation, and scrupulous adherence to commitments were asserted increasingly as principles underlying

international relations. "Balancing on the brink of war" gave way to détente, which was supported by the masses and helped to make Europe and the rest of the world more secure.

The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was undoubtedly a historic milestone in this process. The signatories to its Final Act solemnly pledged "to exert efforts to make détente both a continuing and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope."² This provided the conditions for complementing political détente with military détente and creating a climate of mutual trust in Europe.

However, these conditions could not become reality automatically. Experience suggests that a reappraisal of past policy, necessitated by new realities, never follows a straight line, nor is it easy. Spokesmen of the ruling circles of Western Europe, Canada and the USA who favored détente for various reasons had to overcome serious resistance from other groups, which had considerable political leverage. It is very useful to recall in this connection that ever since the second half of the 1970s we have been in the presence of a most contradictory phenomenon, namely, the fact that détente has been making headway while the arms race keeps escalating.

In 1975, when the Helsinki Final Act was signed, NATO made plans for the deployment of new missiles in its member-countries. In 1977 a decision was passed on an annual 3 per cent increase in the military budgets of the NATO members. In May 1978 the NATO Council, pressured by the USA, announced an arms build-up program for the period up to the end of the century. Shortly after SALT II was signed in Vienna, President Carter announced an annual 4.5 per cent increase in U.S. military spending (with account of inflation). In the autumn of 1979 the NATO Council decided to deploy new U.S. medium-range and Cruise missiles in Europe. Lastly, in 1980, Carter deferred the ratification of SALT II indefinitely, advanced a doctrine advocating a U.S. presence in every part of the globe, and approved guidelines for the "procedure" of waging a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

What is going on is that the anti-détente forces are uniting organizationally. In the USA clubs and organizations are being formed to "pit public opinion against the government" so as to block détente and accomplish an about-face in favor of confrontation. With "rolling back communism" as their maxim, spokesmen of the munitions industry, the bureaucracy, retired generals, high-ranking secret service officials and others are uniting in the Committee on the Present Danger, the Coalition for Peace from Positions of Strength, and other bellicose anti-socialist organizations.

These organizations strike mainly at SALT II in order to undermine détente in general; they reject every disarmament initiative and insist on more armaments, the early introduction of MX missiles, the manufacture of a new strategic bomber, and the speedy deployment of the Trident I and Trident II systems.

Advocates of confrontation describe détente as a "betrayal of national interests" and deplore the fact that the West has ended the cold war prematurely, unrealistically and at great loss. Some demand "the jettisoning of the very concept of détente."

As a result, the close of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s saw a dangerous deterioration of international relations and the world situation as a whole, and an undisguised swing of the leading forces of NATO, primarily the USA, to a policy of confrontation.

Their analysis of the development trends and strategic concepts of the past decade has led the capitalist politicians who from the beginning saw détente as a continuation of the cold war by different means to the conclusion that détente has had negative effects for them. This, in their view, has been confirmed by the following:

- Détente has not helped either to check the progress of the socialist community or to divide it; attempts to exploit difficulties that arise as the socialist system grows and perfects itself and to carry the so-called dissident movement and human rights campaign to the extreme of threatening a destabilization of socialism have fallen through.

- In spite of the high growth rate of the military potential of the USA and NATO, the Soviet Union has maintained military parity with them and ensured its partial formalization in treaties. Imperialism's attempts to use armed force as a means of achieving its aims have been defeated.

- Détente, especially the normalization of relations between socialist and capitalist countries, has reduced the influence of anti-communist ideas.

- A deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and its interlocking with cyclical economic crisis phenomena have bred new problems. The deterioration of the economic situation of capitalist countries and its social consequences have affected their internal stability: the energy crisis is worsening, inflation continues to beat all records, and unemployment is on the rise.

- Imperialism has been unable to establish a neo-colonialist world economic order under cover of détente and thereby safeguard its domination and protect its interests in developing countries.

This is why the policy of confrontation adopted by the U.S. administration at the threshold of the 1980s should be seen as an attempt to forcibly stop and reverse a development trend unfavorable to the capitalist system. "What we see," wrote the weekly *Vorwärts*, "is a desperate attempt by the USA to regain its traditional dominant position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and its allies, a position it has lost."³ This is a hopeless policy. However, imperialism entertains the dangerous illusion that it can take the offensive in the world political arena by revising its strategy. Carter said as much by declaring that the United States could talk with the Warsaw Pact on the basis of strength.⁴ In December 1979 Washington put forward a government program insisting on a "new edition of the policy of strength" and formulating the main demands of opponents of détente,⁵ who make a series of adventurist claims to

the recovery of the "traditional U.S. superiority" over the Soviet Union.

We must note at this point that even when Washington made official statements about its allegiance to détente and peaceful coexistence it took a series of steps to alter the balance of world forces in its own favor, such as

- the deliberate use of material and technological potentialities for stepping up the arms race and making the neutron bomb, MX and Cruise missiles, and other qualitatively new weapons;

- preparations, begun in 1976, for the formation of a Rapid Deployment Force; the U.S. refuses to confine itself any longer to using "deputy sheriffs," that is, various surrogates and allies, in regions where it has a stake, but is out to operate as a "world policeman" with ample powers; the fall of the shah's regime in Iran played a decisive part in the promotion of this plan;

- exploiting the policy of China's present-day leaders; the United States wants to ensure that U.S.-Chinese and U.S.-Soviet relations are invariably better than Soviet-Chinese relations; at the same time, it promotes its relations with China in such a way as to guarantee that China sides with it in the event of a change toward rigid confrontation with the Soviet Union;

- continuous attempts to separate the non-aligned movement from the socialist countries or split the movement.⁶

The unrealistic notions that have prevailed in the imperialist camp harbor dangerous consequences for mankind. Lurking behind plans to attain military superiority and create, if possible, an invulnerable nuclear first-strike capacity, is the speculative hope of resuming the policy of strength. To expect that the Soviet Union would be unable to meet this challenge and that a further arms race would prove disastrous to it means underestimating the Soviet economic, scientific and technological potential and entirely ignoring the lessons of the past.

The Soviet Union has never been the initiator of developing new weapons systems. Any unbiased person is bound to realize that Soviet moves in this field have always been a response to steps taken by the other side. Let us be objective: it is not socialism but imperialism that is to blame for the fact that scientific and technological achievements which could increase mankind's creative potential many times over are increasingly used for military, that is, destructive purposes. Misuse of these achievements endangers all life on earth. The arms race poses the threat of a nuclear world war that would not only kill millions but cause unimaginable suffering to future generations.

It is hard to believe bourgeois politicians when they say they neither desire nor are planning a nuclear catastrophe, and declare that the military build-up is merely a security measure. That old dictum, "If you want peace, prepare for war," is no longer valid in the nuclear age. Every day of continued arms race adds to the war menace. There is a growing danger that a miscalculation, abuse, technical breakdown or accident may trigger uncon-

trollable events. One has only to recall the computer "troubles" in the U.S. long-range detection system. Nor should one forget that the main data fed into these computers include the myth of a "Soviet military threat."

The arms race and material preparations for a world war run counter to political détente and nullify its results. Leaders of the socialist countries and the world peace movement have repeatedly emphasized that political détente and the intensive stockpiling of ever more destructive weapons are as incompatible as fire and water. They cannot follow parallel lines for long. Furthermore, imperialist war preparations, while unable to reverse the wheel of social progress, raise serious obstacles to the peoples' aspiration for freedom, democracy and social justice.

These preparations are designed, among other things, to undermine the positions of the socialist countries, blackmail them, force them to cut appropriations for economic and social needs, and make them "arm to death," as opponents of détente put it;

- to extend to national liberation movements the policy of threats and neo-colonialist interference to the point of being ready to intervene by force of arms at any moment;

- to imperil the social gains of the working people of capitalist countries while reinforcing the military and police machinery of suppression.

An inevitable result of the imperialist arms race is a sharp reduction of the possibilities for solving mankind's global problems, such as energy, raw materials, food on a long-term basis, environmental protection, the complete elimination of disease, and many more.

Lastly, it is evident that the stockpiling of weapons has given rise to tremendous economic difficulties throughout the world. The World Parliament of Peoples for Peace (Sofia, September 1980) pointed out that since the Second World War military spending has soared to the astronomical sum of about six million trillion dollars and that gigantic production and material resources have been recklessly wasted.

The onset of the 1980s is marked not only by increased international tensions but by a strong upturn in the activity of the opponents of war. The fact that the arms race has assumed global dimensions leads peace fighters to the conclusion that in this decade the struggle against the stockpiling of arms must likewise assume a global character. No one really concerned about the growing threat of war has a right to stand aloof. And it would evidently be proper to say that the working class, which creates three-fourths of the world's social product, including arms, with its own hands, holds first place among the opponents of nuclear destruction. It is the working class, in particular, its trade unions, that can take the initiative to unite the efforts of all who are against the arms race and the war danger and champion détente and peace.

Uniting heterogeneous anti-war social forces is and will in all probability remain the paramount

task of the world peace movement in the 1980s. However, the militarists have substantial potentialities and this should be borne in mind. They misuse the media to manipulate public opinion, try to convince people that the arms race is "inevitable," spread the myth of a "Soviet military threat" and of Soviet "violations" of international agreements banning the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and so on. Hence, it would be naive to imagine that the anti-war sentiments of the masses can automatically produce a change of policy on the part of this or that government. These sentiments can bear fruit only if they translate into massive anti-war actions and take the form of militant parliamentary and extraparliamentary struggles for the solution of the key problems of preserving and carrying forward détente and thereby preventing imperialism from diverting mankind from the right road, to the road of peace, into the jungle of tension and destruction.

Prominent among these problems is the set of issues relating to disarmament, above all strategic arms limitation. SALT II could, if ratified, encourage further agreements on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear arms tests and the prevention of nuclear proliferation. Another problem ripe for solution is that of stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons, gradually reducing their stockpiles, and drafting an international convention to safeguard the security of non-nuclear states. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries repeatedly advanced these initiatives and these were backed in the UN. However, the USA, its Western allies and China have so far prevented the relevant negotiations. The situation obviously calls for extensive mass action to impose talks on the opponents of disarmament and carry the talks to a successful conclusion.

A particularly urgent objective in the 1980s is to prevent the inclusion of new means of warfare in the arsenals of various countries. In the past, peace supporters made the U.S. administration renounce the manufacture of the neutron bomb. Anti-war forces could help draft and sign a comprehensive agreement banning the development of new weapons of mass destruction as well as agreements on particular weapons of this nature, such as chemical, and on the destruction of their stockpiles.

The situation in the world's flashpoints is clearly a problem on which public action will center in the next few years. Real peace in the Middle East, Cyprus, the Persian Gulf or Southeast Asia cannot be achieved either by force, or by separate deals. It is only an overall political settlement through talks between the parties concerned, with regard for their needs and legitimate rights, that can provide a just settlement of conflicts and help restructure international economic relations on equitable principles.

The peoples of Europe must play an important part in upholding the ideals of détente, disarmament and peaceful coexistence. Their hard-won experience prompts them to regard both cold and hot war as an anachronism.

Recent developments have revealed more clearly than ever that the interests of Washington and the peoples of Western Europe are not identical. Many West European governments are dissatisfied and disappointed with the marked deterioration of U.S.-Soviet relations. Quite a few European leaders now realize how badly they had underestimated the seriousness of the Soviet reaction to NATO plans for the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe. Besides, Europeans are aware that the contemplated extension of the NATO sphere of operation beyond the continent is directed not only against the interests of the socialist and developing countries but against their own interests.

Die Zeit has carried an article that is noteworthy from this point of view. The author, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, is an eminent scientist. He considers that the main reason for the reserve shown by some West European governments to the USA's attempts to deploy new medium-range missiles in Western Europe is fear that "these weapons would endanger rather than defend them."⁷ Concern about this is mounting. The leading NATO power has not only started a gamble with its European allies but is jeopardizing the vital interests of the peoples of the whole continent. Phrases such as the "European war theater," "regional war," or "limited war with tactical nuclear weapons" are used by the U.S. military with the diabolical aim of continuing to increase the West European stockpile of arms of mass destruction.

In view of the Pentagon's strategic games on a sand table which work out the tactics for withdrawing troops from Europe in the case of a nuclear conflict, the West European governments' alarm over the real danger threatening the continent is only too justified. This should bring it home to every European that Western Europe must not be allowed to be turned into a launching pad for nuclear weapons targeted on the Soviet Union, into a "deputy sheriff" of U.S. imperialism helping it implement its global strategy on a "division of labor" basis.

In the early 1980s mankind is faced with problems of historic magnitude. The ultimate objective of imperialist reaction in attempting to revise some elements of détente and its entire conception is to bring the world back to a cold war. There is no concealing this for all the talk about a desire for peace and security, that allegedly makes it necessary to modify the conception of détente by replacing some of its provisions. Détente is indivisible and there are no reasonable alternatives to it. What makes it indivisible is primarily the fact that this process — for it is a process and not a situation — develops only when all its components operate together and synchronously. This idea runs through the Helsinki Final Act.

Those who look for an alternative to détente are looking for an alternative to peace. They propose, for example, "diplomatic coolness and restraint, a consistent policy of deterrence, a policy of economic sanctions, a policy of big alliances, and all the other classical, tried and tested routine de-

vices of Metternich, Bismarck, John Foster Dulles or Konrad Adenauer."⁸ But anyone who suggests this would do well to understand that these devices cannot reverse social progress, as developments in the 1950s and 1960s showed. They poison the atmosphere of international relations, destabilize peace and lead to conflict.

The indivisibility of détente also implies that the positive experience gained by the peoples of Europe in the 1970s should be drawn upon by other continents. This would make it possible to remove tensions on those continents, head off the rise of new ones, guarantee non-interference in the internal affairs of states, and prevent the building of military bases to "contain" social progress. In short, the "policy of strength" would meet serious resistance.

Can this be done? Will the closing decades of this century witness a resurgence of the cold war atmosphere or the triumph of the policy mapped out at Helsinki, the policy of peaceful, goodneighborly relations? We have said that it would be an unforgivable mistake to underrate the danger presented by the activity of those who want the arms race to overwhelm détente. But it would be just as wrong to underrate the forces which are equal to maintaining détente as the main trend of world politics and to complementing it with military détente and disarmament.

These forces are, first of all, the socialist countries, which in the 1980s have adopted the Warsaw Declaration proposing new comprehensive measures for disarmament and the promotion of mutual trust. They are pursuing a responsible policy, showing initiative, and taking account of every peace-oriented aspect in the posture of other countries.

Meaningful and consistent action by the socialist community has repeatedly blocked imperialism's bellicose plans. The economic, scientific, technological and defense potential of socialism has grown. Socialism's policy of peaceful coexistence is now supported not only by the working-class and by the national liberation and peace movements but also by numerous non-governmental organizations, churches and political parties and currents of the petty bourgeoisie and middle strata. The more sober-minded spokesmen of the ruling circles of the capitalist system, for their part, declare for further détente, disarmament and constructive cooperation.

It follows that there are powerful forces which can prevent imperialism from settling the dispute with the new social system by force. This dispute must not be settled in the battlefield but in the battle of ideas, through competition in the economic, cultural and moral spheres, by guaranteeing people a better life, a higher degree of freedom and greater opportunities to prove themselves. This prospect is apparently much more encouraging than the prospect of becoming a war theater (and a common grave) should a nuclear conflict break out — a prospect being imposed on Western Europe and other regions of the globe from overseas.

1. WMR. October 1980.

2. *Information Bulletin*, 15/1975, p. 4.

3. *Vorwärts*, May 8, 1980.

4. *ICA-Bulletin*, December 13, 1979.

5. World reaction was overjoyed by the change. Professor Hans-Peter Schwarz, Chairman of the Scientific Board of the Federal Institute for Eastern and International Studies (Cologne), made the following comment: "There is only one explanation for this American comeback, long overdue. The USA is fully set on reverting to its classical containment strategy supported by a worldwide system of bases and alliances, convincing military power and a firm resolve to proceed to confrontation if necessary. For friends of the USA this is a reason to take heart again." This comment, it must be remembered, is the credo of influential political forces in the Federal Republic of Germany.

6. The late 1970s have clearly shown how much harm was done by the foreign policy so insistently pursued by the Carter administration, how short-sighted, unreliable and irresponsible it was. Even the last months in power were used by the former president and his associates to step up anti-Soviet hysteria and fan warlike sentiments. Regrettably, what President Ronald Reagan said on foreign policy issues in his inauguration speech promises little change. He did say that peace met the deepest aspirations of the American people, but then added that the USA intended to maintain strength sufficient for attaining superiority, in other words, to pursue the selfsame policy "from position of strength" that is fraught with so many dangers.

7. *Die Zeit*, November 16, 1979.

8. *Konservativ Heute*, Bonn — Bad Godesberg, 1979. No. 5, pp. 266-267.

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DEVELOPED SOCIALISM: CONCERN FOR THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE

In preparing for the 26th congress, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has substantively analyzed the paramount features of the current stage of Soviet society's development and the laws governing the functioning of the economy of mature socialism. This underlies the fundamental program — Basic Guidelines of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period up to 1990 — which has received nationwide endorsement and approval in the course of a broad, committed discussion.

"The coming decade," says the CPSU Central Committee's draft to the 26th Congress, "is a further important stage in building the material and technical basis of communism, developing social relations, and molding the new citizen. In that period the task will be to make the fullest possible use of the potentialities and advantages of mature socialist society and significantly increase its material and spiritual wealth and its production, scientific, and technological capacity."¹

A striking, accurate characterization of this stage of the nation's life was given at the CPSU Central Committee's plenary meeting in October 1980. Having the general questions of the USSR's planned development in the 11th five-year period in mind, Leonid Brezhnev said: "I would begin the discussion of these questions not with the problem of metal or transport, or even fuel and energy — for all their enormous importance — but with problems on whose solution the conditions of the life of Soviet people most directly depend. I would say that this is the very same party approach which lays emphasis on concern for the people's welfare. Indeed, from the strictly economic viewpoint as well, it would be surer to proceed from the ultimate goal to what must ensure the attainment of that goal."²

A scientific analysis of the laws governing the development of socialism's economic system irrefutably demonstrates that the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the people's growing requirements, the comprehensive and stable growth of their welfare is the objective aim of the socialist economy, its key immanent feature, and the motivation of its uninterrupted progress and qualitative improvement.

Albeit with a different degree of intensity, the organic link between the growth of the living standard and economic development, expressed by the fundamental economic law of socialism, manifests itself at all stages of socialist construction and in all socialist countries. Rapidly and on an unprec-

edented scale, the new system has ensured a steady rise of the people's living standard, radically putting an end to exploitation, unemployment, hunger and poverty, creating the conditions for the individual's harmonious development, and fashioning and constantly improving the socialist way of life.³

When we assess these processes we should, at the same time, take into account at least two major circumstances. The first is that the imperative of the objective laws characterizing the socialist principles underlying the economy is always realized under concrete historical conditions, in a system of definite social, economic and foreign-policy limits, whose influence on general development is inconstant. The second — and this is what distinguishes socialism fundamentally from all preceding socio-economic systems — is that the socialist economy is a methodically managed and consciously optimized social complex, and for that reason the realization of the requirements of objective laws in the practice of planned management depends to a large extent on the level of social knowledge and the ability to utilize this knowledge in social actions. Of course, insufficient knowledge, miscalculations in planning and management, and incompatibility of the existing economic mechanism with prevailing objective conditions and the tasks of developing social production may substantially restrict the potentialities for ensuring a steady growth of the population's living standard.

Naturally, in a mature socialist society the aggregate operation of objective and subjective factors of socio-economic progress creates the requisite and adequate conditions for implementing the principles of a socialist economy ever more comprehensively in practice, including a consistent orientation on improving the people's welfare. The fact of this process can by no means be disputed with the argument that as it unfolds the socialist countries encounter various, sometimes formidable, difficulties. Experience shows that these are surmountable difficulties, provided the general, strategic line of socio-economic development is correct. It was in this context that Leonid Brezhnev noted at the 24th congress of the CPSU: the course toward a significant rise of the people's welfare "will determine not only our work in the coming five years but also the general orientation of the nation's economic development for the long term. In charting this course, the party's main point of departure is that the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements is the highest aim of production under socialism."⁴

This course is clearly defined in the CPSU Central Committee's draft *Basic Guidelines of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period up to 1990* for the 26th congress: "In the 1980s the Communist Party will consistently abide by its economic strategy, whose highest aim is to ensure the steady rise of the people's living standard and cultural level."⁵ More, this is designated in the *Basic Guidelines* as the central task of the 11th five-year period.⁶

The objective need and possibility for radically harnessing the economy to the interests of the people, to ensuring a rise of the people's living standard in a mature socialist society spring from the preceding development of the socialist system of economic management. The Soviet Union was the first and only country that began building the new society under conditions of capitalist encirclement. Naturally, this restricted the possibility for channelling the desired quantity of material, labor and natural resources for purposes directly linked to the welfare of the population. Production capacities had to be used for resolving the principal task of ensuring the triumph of socialism, i.e., building the material and technical basis of the new society, a powerful production and defense capability as quickly as possible. The fulfillment of this task, whose historic significance can only be questioned by unprincipled, two-timing adversaries of socialism, required a cardinal restructuring of the distribution of resources, an increase of the proportion of production accumulation in the national income, and priority growth rates for the manufacture of the means of production, chiefly for heavy industry. This objectively accentuated the precedence of quantitative over qualitative indicators, the volume of output over the efficient use of resources, although these problems were likewise always kept within the focus of the planned management of the economy. Such was the price that had to be paid in order to give the nation a powerful economic potential within the shortest possible period.

The new conditions that took shape during the building of a mature socialist society in the USSR allowed the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU to chart the strategy for moving to qualitatively higher and more intensive economic development. Its basic characteristics are:

- increasingly directing economic growth to meet the requirements of objective laws, chiefly the basic economic law of socialism;
- orienting socio-economic development and scientific and technological progress primarily on improving the living standards of all groups of the population, on key social problems;
- enhancing the significance of social criteria in the distribution of production resources and in the planning of the rates and proportions of the socialist economy's development;
- ensuring stable, sufficiently high growth rates of the national income mainly by an increasingly efficient utilization of material, labor and natural

resources, i.e., by bringing the intensive factors of extended production into play.

- achieving a stable balance in the development of the economy, of its individual sectors, branches, and regions;

- making rational use of natural resources, attaining the optimal balance in the production-environment system, and creating the best possible ecological conditions for human life.

The existence of a system of planning and management, of an economic mechanism conforming to the specifics of the economy of mature socialism, is an indispensable condition for a successive transition to the higher type of socialist extended reproduction. Of course, it would be naive to expect to create such an economic mechanism overnight, without contradictions; errors, quests and compromises. It is still to be scientifically elaborated. However, the theoretical and practical experience that has been accumulated gives grounds for counting on success in this area.

The gradual transition to intensive economic growth, steadfastly oriented on ensuring a steady rise of the people's living standard, is not a tactic but the strategy of the Soviet Union's socio-economic development, not a subjective wish but an objective imperative. It is determined mainly by the fact that:

- there has been a significant diminution of extensive sources of economic growth, of the potentialities for maintaining stable and sufficiently high growth rates of the national income by bringing additional material, labor and natural resources into material production; hence the accent on making the most efficient use of existing production capacities and not of expanding them further at a rapid rate;

- the accumulated production, economic, scientific and technological potential is making it increasingly possible to use the indicators of the rise of the people's living standard as the point of departure for planning the rates and proportions of the socialist economy's development;

- there has been a steep growth and qualitative change in the people's requirements, and the task of creating an effective system of material incentives has become complex.

In addition, there is the more or less key circumstance that the growth of the people's welfare is not only the objective aim of economic development under socialism but also a major means of enhancing the efficiency and balance of socialist extended reproduction. This is precisely how, on the basis of an analysis of the internal workings of the socio-economic processes in the country, this problem was formulated at the 24th congress of the CPSU.

The steady rise of the people's welfare facilitates the creation of more flexible systems of material incentives, enhances the efficacy of production accumulation, and makes for a more efficient use of material, labor and natural resources. The outlays on the development of non-productive spheres, notably health, education and culture, considerably enhance the efficiency of the workforce, making it

more adjustable to the conditions and requirements of the epoch of the scientific and technological revolution. Thus, current consumption, non-productive investment, is by no means a "deduction" from economic development and does not inhibit the growth rates of the national income (although this sort of planning and economic thinking is, regrettably, still to be encountered). On the contrary, it is a powerful production factor helping to speed up and balance economic development. It may be said that this is an indication that the increasing turn of the economy of mature socialism toward promoting the all-sided growth of the people's welfare is irreversible.

In a developed socialist society one of the central tasks in improving the economic mechanism is to orient all planning and managerial units on the attainment of maximum end results. From the macroeconomic point of view this means striving to achieve the highest possible growth rates of the standard of living, to build up the largest possible integral (aggregate) fund for the satisfaction of the people's requirements.

It is sometimes said (most frequently on account of incomprehensible or inertia of economic thinking) that this is a "consumer" approach to planning the rates and proportions of the socialist economy's development. On the basis of a misconceived interpretation of the Marxist thesis of the primacy of production it is argued that the attainment of maximum end results on the economic level is the same as ensuring the highest possible growth rates of the physical volume of the national income. In addition to consumption and non-productive investments, the latter includes the production accumulation fund that is the source of extended reproduction. For that reason the growth rate of the national income may, of course, be raised to the maximum by increasing the share of such accumulation in it. But this would spell out "production for the sake of production," which is alien to the nature of socialist society and has been criticized time and again in documents of the CPSU and the communist and workers' parties of other countries. Actually, the strategy of socialist economic development is not to maximize but to optimize the growth rates of the national income, and the main criterion is whether the integral fund for the satisfaction of the people's requirements has reached its maximum volume (at each stage of development).

Although it is oriented on raising the people's living standard to the highest possible level, socialism does not, as the apologists of capitalism allege, turn into a "consumer society" with its cult of things, the possession of which is elevated to the rank of a social ideal. (To follow this road would indeed signify renunciation of socialism's historic mission). In the sphere of the people's welfare the true strategy of socialism is based on the Marxist-Leninist insistence on creating and steadfastly consolidating material and spiritual conditions ensuring the all-sided, harmonious development of all citizens, the education of conscious fighters for the implementation of the ideals of social justice.

This strategy presupposes a striving to satisfy people's so-called rational requirements to the fullest extent.

Of course, the concept "rational" or "reasonable" requirements is extremely subtle from the socio-economic, moral and philosophical points of view. Its content cannot be simply postulated and imposed by society on its members by planning and administration. It covers the complex pattern of requirements of different groups of the population, reflecting their socio-economic, ethical, ethnic, historical and other guidelines and values. Moreover, it is linked to the process of the constant change and complication (Lenin spoke of the law of increasing requirements, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 106) of existing values. Formed in one way or another and in one or another shape they have a value in themselves and await satisfaction.

However, this does not mean that the formation of requirements should be left to itself. In this area socialism does not preach "tail-endism" on the sole grounds that a reverse policy would allegedly signify restricting individual choice and the freedom of the individual. It constantly looks for specific socialist ways and means of improving the people's welfare and providing socio-economic incentives for the formation mainly of requirements whose satisfaction would contribute to the development of persons as social individuals. Based on objective knowledge, the idea of meaningfully forming requirements has nothing in common with the grotesque pattern of setting "norms" and limits attributed to socialism by ill-informed or biased critics.

On the contrary, such regulation — if it is, of course, implemented by methods conforming to the task and has the all-sided growth of well-being as its aim — broadens and deepens the potentials of the individual, makes him richer and more harmoniously developed, reinforces human dignity, and contributes to the attainment of the ideals of social equality and justice. This is not a forced but a voluntary action. Neither is it a tactic of brutally imposing unsuitable patterns of consumption on the individual. It creates wide opportunities and leaves the final choice to the individual.

Naturally, the concept of the socialist way of life has not been completely elaborated. But already today it serves as a productive base for the gigantic work currently proceeding in the USSR to draw up rational consumer budgets (characterizing the population's consumption of paid material goods and services) and also systems of social norms for the development of education, culture, health care, housing construction, working conditions and so forth. Taken together, these indicators are an important instrument for charting a strategy of long-term socio-economic development.

Another qualitatively new stage in improving the people's welfare will be reached when all the social strata go over to rational consumption. This will mean the creation of essential material conditions for consolidating the socialist way of life and the harmonious development of the individual.

For Soviet society a pressing question is that of speeding the growth rates of the national income because in recent years they have somewhat slowed down (although they are still higher than in industrialized capitalist countries). Turning a blind eye to the actual processes taking place in the Soviet economy, the enemies of socialism have already begun hastily cooking up theories to the effect that a fall in development rates is natural for the socialist economy. Actually, this is a transient phenomenon and the explanation for it is that the relative limitation of extensive factors of economic growth has not yet been properly compensated by an enhancement of the role of intensive factors, by a more efficient utilization of production capacities.

The further improvement of the system of distributive relations in socialist society also plays an important role. Under socialism there are two basic principles by which incomes and material goods are distributed: the first (and chief) is according to work, and the second is based on the social consumption funds. Although they organically complement each other, these principles differ substantially in content and functions. Economic requirements are satisfied on the basis of earned income received in accordance with the contribution to production: the consecutiveness and volume of this process are determined by the individual himself in accordance with his preferences and income. Social funds are used for the upkeep of people incapable of work and also for the satisfaction of requirements (in education, health, rest and leisure, and so forth) seen by society as priorities; these requirements do not depend on the individual choice of the consumer or on income differentiation based on distribution according to work.

The most difficult theoretical and practical task is to divide the aggregate income into a remuneration fund and social consumption funds, to establish the optimal correlation in their growth rates. Hitherto, at all stages of the socio-economic development of the USSR, as of other socialist countries, the social consumption funds grew faster than wages. This was not a tribute to a theoretical concept but a necessary condition for resolving acute social problems. Policy in this field must now take some new factors into account.

The main thing is to develop an effective system of material incentives with the purpose of boosting labor productivity and production efficiency. This means that in determining the long-term dynamics of the social consumption funds the cart should not be put before the horse. Where this is done the cause is the mistaken view that the social consumption funds are the prototype of communist distribution according to needs. In some cases it is motivated by the still more widespread but not less mistaken view that these funds compensate for the "shortcomings" in distribution according to work and ease the earned income differentiation. Despite the underlying good intentions, strivings of this kind can seriously prejudice the growth rates and efficiency of social production, thereby restricting

the potential for the growth of the aggregate income and, consequently, of the social consumption funds themselves.

The new mechanism of the Soviet economy, which will begin to function at its full capacity in the new, 11th five-year period, provides for a series of important measures to improve the system of material incentives and ensure a close link between an individual's earned income and his contribution to the attainment of end economic results. These include the introduction of a long-term wage norm per ruble of net output, the assertion of the team as the basic form of organizing and remunerating labor, the granting to production units of the right to raise remuneration for skilled and highly productive labor. It is also important to put an end to extensive tendencies in the economy, which often generate an artificially high demand for labor as compensation for inadequate productivity.

As regards the formation and distribution of social consumption funds, the basic tasks set by the party are to accentuate the special-purpose character of the use of these funds and the role played by them in satisfying the steadily growing social-priority requirements, and significantly improving the quality of services. All this will provide a strong prop for the subsequent realization of the economic functions of income and for the establishment of a wage differentiation reflecting the actual contribution of individuals to making socialist production more efficient.

Finally, in documents of the CPSU and the fraternal parties of other socialist countries it is noted that the purchasing power of the population is not fully covered by the supply of the corresponding consumer goods and services. To some extent, this, naturally, deforms the growth of the people's welfare, obstructs the creation of effective systems of material incentives and the consistent realization of the principle of remuneration according to work, and gives rise to some other negative consequences. What are the ways of resolving this difficult problem?

This receives priority attention in the Soviet Union. The basic thing, of course, is to accelerate the growth rate of the output of consumer goods and paid services, to improve their quality, and extend their range. However, a significant role is played here by policy in income distribution and retail prices. We have already dealt with income distribution. As regards retail prices, as was noted during the nationwide discussion of the targets of the new five-year period, they must take into account, to a larger extent than before, the constantly changing conditions of supply and demand, the dynamics of the socially necessary outlays on the manufacture of goods, and actively form the pattern of consumption. In other words, in the sphere of retail prices there cannot be purely finance-consumer actions — the "cutting off" of part of the population from the consumption of scarce commodities and services. Retail prices are an instrument helping to create the economic conditions for stimulating the production of socially-necessary, high-quality output and,

within certain limits, to regulate current production and the pattern of investments.

Socialism has achieved impressive successes in raising the living standard of entire peoples. This is an incontrovertible fact and serves as important evidence of the advantages of the socialist socio-economic system. However, life constantly raises new difficult problems. Mature socialism objectively demands and creates opportunities for a qualitatively higher stage in promoting the welfare of the people, satisfying their growing requirements, and putting into effect social, material and cultural measures to ensure the all-sided, harmonious development of the individual. These tasks are distinctly formulated in the documents adopted by the CPSU on the eve of its 26th congress. There is no doubt whatever that they will be successfully car-

ried out by the Soviet people under the leadership of its tested vanguard, the Party of Lenin.

1. *Pravda*, December 2, 1980.

2. *Pravda*, October 22, 1980.

3. The results of these historic accomplishments are seen, in particular, in the growth of the national income and of the per capita real incomes. In 1978, compared with 1960 (=100) the national income index was 366 in Bulgaria, 270 in Hungary, 225 in the GDR, 491 in Romania, 305 in the USSR; and so on; the per capita real incomes index in these countries was respectively 236, 217, 214, 276, 217, and so on (*Yearbook of Statistics of the Member Nations of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance*, Moscow, 1979, pp. 19-25, in Russian).

4. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1972, p. 238 (in Russian).

5. *Pravda*, December 2, 1980.

6. *Ibid.*

Social democracy, Dominican style

Narciso Isa Conde

General Secretary, Dominican Communist Party

National reformist parties in some Latin American countries have declared their adoption of the social-democratic doctrine. It has also been accepted by organizations which emerged in the region a short time ago, and which represent a broad spectrum of movements, ranging from populist to socialist. Although they use the slogans of the West European social democrats (notably those on the issue of war and peace, disarmament, civil liberties), both groups remain an original phenomenon, distinct from traditional social democracy, because they have to operate in different circumstances and have a different social basis. Below is an analysis of the experience of one such party in government.

The longer the Dominican Revolutionary Party¹ remains in power, the more obvious it becomes that it has failed to justify the hopes pinned on it (and it is these hopes that brought it victory in the elections, in the first place) and to honor most of its own promises. The clear urge on the part of the cabinet, headed by Antonio Guzman, to curb democratic rights (which were extended at the initial stage of the DRP's rule), the dependent character of its foreign policy, and the deepening of the economic and social crisis — all of this has cost the ruling party the confidence of the people.

Social conflicts are being exacerbated, and the working people's protest is growing. Ever more workers, peasants, marginalists,² and members of the middle strata have been joining in the struggle for the satisfaction of their vital needs.

The DRP promised that its government would ensure freedom of association, freedom of speech,

demonstrations, movement and choice of domicile, and the right to work without discrimination for ideological or political motives, all of which are written into the 1963 constitution.³

In practice, things turned out to be different. The Guzman administration has prevented the Dominican Communist Party and other progressive organizations from arranging mass social activities. The police have detained, without any grounds, leaders of our party and other left-wing and democratic associations. The authorities have been deporting Haitian emigrés⁴ and imprisoning peasants who have ceased to believe the promises and have got down to taking over the lands of the latifundists. Strikes by urban transport drivers and the workers of the Falconbridge, Metaldom and Codal companies, and action by working people in Tamboril, Hatillo and Cotui districts were brutally put down. Meanwhile, the government has tolerated the illegal firing of workers and employees.

There is every indication that the DRP leaders, who have close ties with U.S. imperialism, are highly satisfied with the "limited democracy."

The present administration's economic policy is ruinous for the country. And yet, the economic outlook over the past few years has been favorable. The growing world prices of the basic Dominican exports (sugar, gold, ferronickel), the growing tax revenues, and the large foreign loans were not used to improve the life of the working people or to overcome the economic difficulties.

In 1979, inflation came to 26 per cent, with a tendency to increase in the subsequent period. In 1979, the Gross Domestic Product increased by only

2.3 per cent, while the 1980 indicator is estimated to be no more than 3 or 4 per cent.⁵

Over the past two years, the balance of trade deficit has increased to \$550 million. According to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the deficit on current account⁶ has reached \$1 billion. In fiscal 1979, the country lost nearly \$100 million of its gold and currency reserves (in 1978, \$80.5 million). The 1980 data show a further worsening of the monetary and financial state of the country.

The total foreign debt (together with the credit agreements concluded by the present government) has come to over \$1.5 billion. In 1979-1980, of every \$100 export earnings, \$40 went into the payment of interest or principal. Let us recall that the DRP undertook to cut the proportion down to 8 to 100.

The growing balance of payments deficit, the large external debt, and the agreements concluded with the IMF result in growing external pressure.

Under pressure from rank-and-file members, among whom there is a pronounced anti-imperialist mood, the DRP leadership wrote into its electoral program a plank on "control and regulation" of foreign investments as an immediate task. The program said that foreign investors would "not be allowed into telephone and telegraph communications, radio, television, industries and enterprises of strategic importance for the national economy, the manufacture of military equipment and the communal services." It also promised to review all the agreements concluded by the state with foreign companies "on the use of national resources, above all deposits of ore, oil and other minerals."

But once in power, the DRP began to conduct an open-door policy, lifting all restrictions on operations by foreign capital and allowing the transfer of vast profits abroad. The Guzman administration is taking its cue from the U.S. corporations. Thus, when negotiating a new contract with Alcoa, it succumbed to pressure from its representatives, and signed, on disadvantageous terms, an agreement with Vascoleones on the working of gold mines in Yujo. Even when the foreign companies which obtained a concession for oil extraction were in breach of their obligations, the authorities showed their total indifference. They have no intention of reviewing the contracts on the use of national resources (for instance, with Falconbridge).

It is true that the government bought up the stock of the transnational Rosario Resource and Simplot, which were engaged in gold-mining in Pueblo Viejo. This measure appeared to cut across the whole line of conciliation, for it could provide a precedent for the establishment of state control over the mining industry. But the point is that the stock was bought on terms which were highly burdensome for the country. The initial investment of these two companies came to \$6 million. But within six years they repatriated \$53.3 million worth of profits, and obtained \$7 million from the floating of shares. The Dominican state paid these companies \$70 million.

And here is the pattern of budget appropriations. Over a period of 23 months, the Guzman

administration spent a total of nearly \$1.8 billion pesos,⁷ but no more than \$235 million went into the production sphere. Meanwhile, a large number of persons involved in the administration of the state have made fortunes at the expense of the Treasury (from high salaries, large bonuses, commission fees, etc.).

The DRP's electoral program spoke of "a transformation of the country's agrarian structure, elimination of the latifundia and minifundia, and abolition of lease contracts and share-cropping." The social democrats also promised to distribute 5,000 allotments a year (3,000 under the previous administration). But within the DRP's two years, only 4,300 peasants have received land. The authorities have been increasingly attacking peasants who, with the support of the Communist Party, are engaged in the struggle for their right to land, to work and to decent living conditions. Although the government did give assurances that agricultural production would get primary attention, the plans for the development of this sector are not being fulfilled.

Nor has the activity of the social-democrat administration produced any positive changes in employment or in the distribution of incomes. Unemployment has even increased, to 24 per cent. The wealthiest part of the population — 6 per cent — appropriates 43 per cent of the national income. The deprived sections — 50 per cent — take 13 per cent. In view of the steady growth of consumer prices, the working people's purchasing power has markedly declined.

The authorities have done nothing at all to develop education and have not prevented the privatization of the education system, a fact which has had a substantial effect on family budgets, because tuition fees in private schools are being constantly increased. Nothing has been done to prevent imperialist infiltration of the sphere of culture, or to protect its national character, as the government's program promised. The Minister of Education prefers to use repression, and many teachers have already lost their jobs.

The DRP started out by putting through some democratic changes in the army, but these were soon whittled down, because reappointments in the officer corps were rigidly controlled by the U.S. military advisers and the Pentagon. It is now obvious that the Dominican Armed Forces are in the grip of foreign tutelage.

Today the army has been moved into "reserve positions" from which it should act in the event of a direct threat to the existing social system. It is being induced to take an "apolitical" stand, although malicious anti-communism, toned down in the early months of the DRP's rule, is being revived in the barracks. The "apolitical" slogan is used by the command to prevent officers and men from identifying themselves with the people's aspirations.

For all its promises to maintain contacts with all countries, the government has done nothing to de-

velop relations with the socialist community or the progressive states of Asia and Africa.

While DRP General Secretary José Francisco Pena Gomez and other leaders deliver brilliant speeches spiced with anti-imperialist catchwords at various international forums, the Guzman government has been pursuing a policy of completely subordinating the country's foreign policy to Washington. Because of the stand taken by the government, the Dominican Republic did not take part in the Moscow Olympic Games, and found itself among the seven countries that opposed the UN resolution on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. At one time, the social-democrat administration did not dare to break off relations with the Somoza dictatorship. It gave red-carpet treatment in Santo Domingo to the Foreign Minister of El Salvador's criminal junta. The regime has continued to abide by the secret treaties with the dictator Duvalier, and has persecuted Haitian emigrés and brutally treated the farm-hands arriving from Haiti to take in the sugar-cane crop.

The authorities have resigned themselves to interference in the country's internal affairs by international financial outfits under the influence of U.S. capital, and have also accepted so-called military-economic aid from the United States, which tends to shore up the political and military positions of imperialism in the Dominican Republic.

In speaking of the foreign-policy attitudes of the DRP as a party, one cannot but note that they are not identical with the line pursued by the government. Witness the activity of Pena Gomez as secretary of the Socialist International's Latin America Bureau. In our region, the Socialist International cooperates not only with the social-democratic movements, but also supports organizations which set themselves truly revolutionary goals. This will be seen from the campaign of solidarity with the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the Co-ordination Organ of the Revolutionary Mass Organizations and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, with the Front of Democratic and Popular Unity in Bolivia and other progressive associations.

Participation in these campaigns has naturally created authority for Pena Gomez abroad. And this cannot but tell upon his prestige at home. After all, most Dominicans sympathize with the fighters of the peoples' liberation. But the fact that the foreign-policy activity of the DRP's General Secretary has positive aspects does not absolve him from responsibility for the acts of the government formed by his party, a government which, in close alliance with the local oligarchy and U.S. imperialism, seeks to maintain a system of dependent capitalism in our country.

The Dominican Republic lies in a region of the continent which is in a state of revolutionary ferment. It is being swept by the vivifying winds of a fresh upswing in the liberation struggle in Central America and the Caribbean, an upswing marked by the victories of the Grenadan and Nicaraguan

peoples, and the deepening of the revolutionary process in El Salvador.

The bitter experience of the 12 years under the Reformist Party,⁸ and the disenchantment with the social-democratic experiment that has sharpened the socio-economic crisis have bred mistrust of political projects, which, the masses have come to realize, serve the interests of imperialism and local capital. That is why the communists' calls carry ever greater conviction. The people begin to regard our party as a real political alternative.

The facts show that the prerequisites are maturing for a take-over of power — in the foreseeable future — by truly revolutionary forces. The Communist Party is aware of the responsibility which the historical moment imposes on it: the rise of the class struggle, the assertion of revolutionary consciousness among the masses and the people's growing interest in socialism.

No one in the Dominican Republic has considered the problem of the unity of the progressive forces as seriously as the communists: on this score, we have formulated clear-cut programmatic propositions. The DCP has always taken a stand for the cohesion of the anti-imperialist movement, and this is clear even to those who are hostile to the communists. We demonstrated our ability to cooperate with other left-wing organizations during the April 1965 uprising,⁹ and also in the subsequent period. Unity, but with a profound class content, was our invariable principle in the past, and it remains such today.

In considering the problem of unity, account must necessarily be taken of the national specifics. This means the composition of the participants in a possible alliance, the political character of the organizations whose leaders favor concerted action, and the authenticity of their revolutionary propensities. In this respect our situation differs from that which has taken shape in other Latin American countries.

Many of those in the Dominican Republic who claim to be on the left belong to Maoist groups and pursue a policy of alliance with the bourgeoisie, which is dependent on foreign imperialism. They slander the Soviet Union, the Cuban revolution and the whole socialist community. It goes without saying that we cannot join them. We believe that the defense of socialism is a matter of fundamental importance, which does not allow any cooperation with the anti-socialist forces.

The Dominican Liberation Party (DLP),¹⁰ headed by the former President Juan Bosch, is also classed as a left-wing party. He himself says that he is a Marxist but not a Leninist, while his party, he adds, does not adhere either to Marxism or to Leninism. The communists have been carrying on an ideological struggle against Bosch. He would like us to stop it, for the purposes of reaching a tactical unity. But the question of an alliance with the DLP can be considered only if it clarifies, at long last, its goals and political positions.

We maintain that it is impossible to have any rapprochement on the leadership level in the pres-

ent situation. Unity has to be forged from below, in day-to-day struggle, in the cohesion of the workers, peasants, students and democratic intellectuals. Real cooperation must involve the mass base of political and public organizations.

A general election is to be held in 1982. In preparing for it, we seek to unite the exploited masses. That is one of the party's chief tasks. The electoral campaign requires our special attention, because through it runs the axis of political life.

In the years of semi-legal activity and in the short period of legal existence, the DCP has made a tangible contribution to the shaping of the nation's anti-imperialist consciousness, the political enlightenment of the masses, and the discussion of various economic and social problems. It initiated action by working people in town and country against every form of oppression. That is why many people in our country (even those who are remote from the communists) understand that the Communist Party must have greater opportunities for carrying on the electoral struggle and for obtaining access to the legislative bodies.

Pursuing a line of using every form of revolutionary struggle (depending on the concrete circumstances), the DCP Central Committee has decided to resort to parliamentary methods once again. We shall fulfil the requirements of the law and the Central Electoral Commission, although that is not easy, for, among other things, one must present a list of 117,000 supporters.¹¹

A hard and unequal struggle lies ahead in the elections. The propaganda media and the material resources at the disposal of our rivals are many times greater than those of the DCP. But whatever the conditions of the electoral campaign, we must take part in this battle for influence on the masses. It is of great importance because it helps to win for the Communist Party new contingents of working people, and to secure support for its program of social transformations.

The outcome of the struggle (in parliamentary and other forms) will depend on how deeply the communists' ideas penetrate into the midst of the people. It is up to the people to decide, but for this they must have faith in their own strength. It is essential that the ideals of social renewal should reach even the barracks. If the DCP has the support of the masses, the bulk of the population, if subsequently we make skilful use of this support in order to win power (for which winning the election or strengthening our influence is certainly not enough) no one and nothing will be able to stop our advance toward victory.

1. The DRP, a self-proclaimed social-democratic party, won the 1978 general election. For details, see WMR, December 1978. — Ed.

2. That part of the population which has no clear-cut class identity, no means of subsistence and has dropped out of the social fabric. — Ed.

3. It contained some progressive provisions and was adopted during the upswing in the democratic movement under the bourgeois-reformist government headed by Juan Bosch, then the leader of the DRP. — Ed.

4. Thousands of Haitians annually cross the Dominican border to escape the hunger and poverty to which they have been reduced at home, and persecution by the regime of Duvalier Jr. — Ed.

5. An indicator that could be regarded as satisfactory for an economically developed country with a slow population growth. The situation is different in countries with a high rate of population growth, like the Dominican Republic. Reckoned per head, GDP growth turns out to be insignificant or even negative. — Ed.

6. Includes, apart from the trade balance, the balance of services, and unilateral transfers. Together with the capital and international payments balances, the balance on current account makes up the balance of payments (IMF method). — Ed.

7. According to the official exchange rate, 1 peso=\$1. — Ed.

8. See WMR, May 1977. — Ed.

9. An uprising against the reactionary triumvirate installed by a military coup in 1965. The leaders of the uprising, in which the communists took an active part, formed a government headed by Colonel Francisco Caamano, who declared his loyalty to the 1963 constitution. In September 1965, the constitutionalist government was overthrown by the counter-revolutionary section of the army and the U.S. Marines. — Ed.

10. Split off from the DRP in 1973. — Ed.

11. Before the 1978 election, the Communists collected 127,000 signatures, against the required quota of 111,000. — Ed.

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A step toward unity

Antonio Castro

CC Political Commission member,
Guatemalan Party of Labor

Guillermo Toriello

Representative of a bloc of
four revolutionary organizations, Guatemala

POLITICAL DIALOGUE

The left-wing forces of Guatemala have been carrying on a hard struggle with numerous sacrifices against the military dictatorship. A *WMR* correspondent met with A. Castro and G. Toriello,* representatives of the main revolutionary organizations of the country, and asked them to answer a number of questions arising from this struggle. Their answers show what unites and what divides the left-wing forces, and what are the prospects for such unity. A. Castro and G. Toriello declared that their conversation was important for both sides, "as a step toward unity." Below is an abridged transcript of this dialogue.

How do your parties characterize the present regime in Guatemala? Has it undergone any changes in the recent period?

G. Toriello. In our opinion, this is a neo-fascist anti-national regime imposed and supported by U.S. imperialism, a regime practising genocide. Over 5,000 people have been killed only in the past two and a half years. From January to October 1980, hundreds of peasants, workers, intellectuals, among them 52 members of the staff of San Carlos University, 14 journalists and 5 priests, were killed on the orders of the government or with its knowledge. The list of the victims is endless. Their mere enumeration shows that the Guatemalan regime is anti-humanistic and criminal. The dictatorship has not changed. The only thing that has changed in the country is the strength of the people's resistance to the reactionary policy. Broad masses of people have responded with revolutionary force to the violence of the ruling classes.

A. Castro. Our assessments largely coincide. The Guatemalan Party of Labor also believes that the dictatorship is a fascist or, as some say, a neo-fascist

one. But it has become such precisely over the past few years. The communists feel that the existing regime and the forces supporting it have undergone considerable changes. Those who inspired and organized the 1954 coup, which started the lawlessness and terrorism, that is, the big landowners, have now been pushed into the background. The monopoly bourgeoisie, closely connected with U.S. big capital, which controls the main branches of production in Guatemala, has taken shape in the country and has extended its influence. It is the new and rising strata of the bourgeoisie that serve as the present government's social and economic basis. The traditional landowner party, the National Liberation Movement, is virtually not represented in the government. The Cabinet has been formed mainly of supporters of the Institutional Democratic Party, which expresses the interests of the ruling military camarilla, and the so-called Revolutionary Party, the mainstay of the big monopoly bourgeoisie (both agrarian and industrial). For its part, the top army echelon has its own economic basis and exercises control over the export of agricultural produce.

G. Toriello. The stand of the parties I represent on the whole coincides with comrade Castro's assessment, but with one addition: in Guatemala, the oligarchic power has been militarized, and the government has managed to rally the forces which have a stake in maintaining the existing system of power.

What is your view of the nature of the Guatemalan revolution?

A. Castro. The communists think that the Guatemalan revolution must go through two stages: first, the agrarian, anti-imperialist, popular stage, and second, the stage paving the way to socialism. They are necessarily conditioned by the acute social contradictions, without a resolution of which it is impossible to overcome the crisis that has gripped the country. And because the chronic stagnation of agriculture, the growing dependence on imperialism, and the subordination to foreign interests are the key problems facing the nation, it is natural that the people in general and their forward-looking circles in particular are interested in radical transformations.

Concerning the ways of advancing to power, the fourth congress of our party in December 1969, summing up the experience of struggle in the

*Antonio Castro is a leader of the Guatemalan communists. Guillermo Toriello is a prominent political and public leader and foreign minister in the democratic government of Jacobo Arbenz, which was overthrown in 1954 with the support of U.S. troops. At the international scientific conference in Berlin in October 1980, where the interview took place, he represented a bloc known in Guatemala and abroad as Cuatripartita, which includes the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, the Revolutionary Organization of the Armed People, the Rebel Armed Forces, and the Governing Nucleus of the Guatemalan Party of Labor.

1960s, drew the conclusion that in Guatemala's conditions the revolution can triumph only in an armed way, involving the use of force, or, as we say, through a people's revolutionary war. Such is the main line which the GPL has been conducting, correcting it in accordance with the changing situation at home and abroad.

We do not contrast the way of revolution and the forms of struggle, for we believe that the way may be the same, but the forms within it diverse: military and non-military, peaceful and violent, legal and illegal. The very development of the revolutionary process will show which forms are most suitable at this or that concrete moment. We feel that it is not right to give preference in advance to any of these and to reduce the content of the revolutionary war to military operations (although their importance at the closing stages is incontestable). Nevertheless, we emphasize: it is armed struggle that will determine the victory. And, however, only if it is transformed into an armed movement of the masses, which, for its part, will be made possible as the result of an extreme sharpening of the political situation, and not in consequence of acts (however bold and heroic) by individual groups, which are frequently out of touch with the people. The main thing is to rouse all the malcontents and to inflict a defeat (both political and military) on the ruling classes and the army standing on guard for their interests.

G. Toriello. We regard the Guatemalan revolution as the consequence and a logical result of our people's long struggle that has gone on for more than 25 years. In this period, the left-wing military-political organizations have gained considerable experience and have made a self-critical analysis of the methods used in the past. Of course, any anti-dictatorship action — whether peaceful or non-peaceful — helps to develop the revolutionary process. But in contrast to the GPL we believe that in virtue of the objective and subjective circumstances that have taken shape in Guatemala, legal opportunities are totally closed. That is why over the past five years military operations have assumed such proportions and development.

That is why, without rejecting any form of struggle in principle, our bloc believes that the armed struggle is the most promising of them. There is a consensus on this among all the revolutionary and democratic parties and groups. It is another matter whether they have all joined in the people's war. But we continue to be certain that in the nearest future they will merge with the common tide of revolutionary action. We are also sure that the people will not secure liberation without defeating the reactionary army, the mainstay of the ruling circles.

A. Castro. I seem to have taken a somewhat different approach to the question than comrade Toriello. A detailed analysis of the present situation will, of course, make it possible to draw the conclusion that the terrorism and repression, which were intensified with the installation of President Lucas

Garcia,* forced the popular movement to retreat, so narrowing down the legal opportunities. That is why clandestine methods of struggle have come to the fore. We understand this very well. However, the sharp worsening of the living conditions of the population and the brutal trampling of the elementary democratic freedoms tend to generate growing discontent among the masses, and this, for its part, opens up fresh prospects. The task of the revolutionary organizations is to channel the discontent along the necessary course, to help the people satisfy their vital needs, to intensify their urge for unity and to enhance their morale. We believe that far from hampering the conduct of the people's revolutionary war, the use of legal, semi-clandestine and clandestine forms in the struggle for the working people's economic and social demands in fact helps to advance it. These forms are so interwoven with each other that it is often hard to draw a distinction between them. Today, armed resistance has a growing role to play in the life of the country. But its development is determined not only by military operations but by the whole political and organizational struggle of the masses. That is why the dictatorship has been stepping up its terrorism and repression.

G. Toriello. One important task is to raise the level of mass political activity. It is not just a class struggle but, one could say, a class war that is now flaring up in Guatemala and that the governing circles are trying to put down by every possible means. Evidence of this is the policy of genocide, which I have already mentioned. All the revolutionary organizations must go into the underground so as to prevent the government from decapitating the democratic forces, from annihilating their leaders, all those who come into an open clash with the regime. We believe that the switch to a clandestine position would help many organizations to survive and enable them subsequently to join in the armed movement.

A. Castro. In a sense, comrade Toriello is right. In the obtaining situation the masses are forced to use forms of struggle that help them to withstand the reactionary offensive. A great many heavy blows have been dealt at us. I do not mean only the GPL and other revolutionary organizations, but the popular movement as a whole. Nevertheless, we believe that it is necessary to combine legal, semi-clandestine and clandestine forms of action. That does not in any way contradict the basic idea that organized action by the masses resulting in a satisfaction of their vital demands must become the key element in mobilizing the people for a revolutionary war. In other words, the content and line of the struggle are one thing, but the forms of its development, which depend on the concrete balance of class and political forces, are another. It cannot be asserted, I think, that all the legal ways are closed. We do not take a fatalistic view of this or that form of struggle. There is a need to use and develop any opportunity, however insignificant, for open

*March 1978. — Ed.

action, because experience shows that even the most modest action by the working people at once acquires a political and anti-dictatorship tenor.

How do you assess the situation in Central America? Does it favor the revolutionary process in Guatemala?

G. Toriello. This is a very important question. Terrified by the defeat in Nicaragua and also by the developments in El Salvador, the Central American oligarchy and imperialism are trying to stem the Guatemalan revolution by every possible means. The plans they are working on do not rule out the possibility of reformist action either. Many assume that the resignation of Vice-President Willagran Kramer of Guatemala is connected precisely with such plans. It cannot be ruled out that some circles at home and abroad could push the Christian Democrats and other centrist groups into a coup, in which Willagran Kramer would play the leading role. The strategy of Washington and its Central American henchmen is aimed to prevent the loss of such an economically and strategically important country as Guatemala.

A. Castro. In the present conditions, Guatemala has become the mainstay of the counter-revolutionary forces in Central America. It is a fact that some of Somoza's men who got away from their country and are hiding out in Guatemala, have been using its territory as a base for subversive operations against the Sandinista authorities. It is also important that despite the deep-seated contradictions between the various groups of the ruling classes, they have rallied round President Lucas Garcia. In these conditions, the attempts on the part of some reformist circles to stage a coup are hardly feasible. They have no reliable socio-political basis.

Just now, one thing is clear: the ruling circles prefer repression to reform.

G. Toriello. Having been deprived of such an instrument as the Central American Defense Council, as a result of our peoples' struggle, U.S. imperialism was faced with the need of choosing its instruments in Guatemala: either a reformist-type coup, or continued support of Lucas Garcia. Following the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua, the United States opted for the latter. It has been feverishly fortifying the Guatemalan, Honduran and Salvadoran armies with the aim of sending them against Nicaragua and, if the need should arise, also against El Salvador. The Guatemalan militarists have already received sizable aid, even if not directly from the United States but via Israel. But the circles in Washington which seek to use in our country the same methods as they have been using in El Salvador (repression combined with reform) can well miscalculate: after all, they would have to clash with the army, which in Guatemala exercises direct power and is supported by all the strata of the ruling classes: for them, the army is the bulwark and their only salvation.

A. Castro. The developments in Central America have taught us a great deal. They testify to a deep

crisis of the system of imperialist domination in the sub-region. It is here that the weakest link of the chain of imperialist oppression on the continent now lies. The mounting popular movement confronts the revolutionary forces with the problem of unity and the choice of ways and forms of struggle. In this context, the experience of Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador is of tremendous importance. We know that the unity of the revolutionary forces is the key factor which ensured the victory and consolidation of the Cuban revolution. In Nicaragua, the overthrow of Somoza was made possible through concerted action by a majority of the left-wing and progressive organizations and the establishment of a broad front on that basis. A similar process is under way in El Salvador. The lessons of Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador say that there must be no exceptions to unity. An attempt to keep out any revolutionary organization from joint action harms the common cause. In Guatemala as well there are conditions for the cohesion of the left-wing forces, although certain difficulties need to be overcome to attain it.

In this connection I should like to note the growing role of the subjective factor in the liberation struggle. The Cuban, Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutionaries have demonstrated most convincingly that resolute action can accelerate the organization and mobilization of the masses and promote the growth of their combat spirit. All of us, the communists in the first place, will have to learn this lesson very well.

There is now a grave danger of intervention in El Salvador: either by the puppet armies of Guatemala and Honduras, or directly by U.S. troops. What is highly important is that all the progressive and peace-loving forces should enhance their solidarity with the people of El Salvador in the struggle to avert it.

G. Toriello. I should like to express a few more considerations. First, I want to support comrade Castro's call for solidarity with the Salvadoran people. It is the duty of progressive world opinion to do everything to prevent a U.S. armed invasion of our region which would produce "another Vietnam." Second, I want to consider once again the problem of unity. In one of my books, I called Central America the Achilles heel of imperialism. The first arrow was shot at it by Nicaragua. The revolution in that country could come about only because the left-wing forces realized the need for unity. The Nicaraguan experience is being successfully used in El Salvador, where the progressive organizations took only a short time to reach mutual understanding and are now convincingly demonstrating the people's combat strength. Today this problem also confronts us, Guatemalans. In face of the frontal offensive by reaction it would be treason to allow a division of our forces. That is why, on behalf of our bloc, I declare: we are prepared to do everything to achieve the closest unity of the organizations opposing the dictatorship.

Independence of trade unions: From whom?

YOUR LETTERS ANSWERED

To the Editors:

Nigeria's economic development has led to the emergence in our country of a fairly numerous working class. The trade union movement also has solid traditions. But among those who are involved in trade union organizations there have been many debates, especially under the military regime, about their structure and character. These debates have not subsided. Some say, for instance, that the trade unions, which are non-party associations of the working people, should be independent of all political influences, of any "external forces." Could you give a brief analysis of this problem under capitalism, the system to which my country belongs by socio-economic structure.

Ikpe Etokudo
Lagos, Nigeria

Dear Comrade Etokudo,

The editors of *World Marxist Review* passed your letter on to me with the request that I answer your question. I shall be glad to do so, with Canada, my own country, as the example. Let me say right away that the problem should not be taken out of the social context in which the trade unions have to exercise their functions, which consist in standing up for the working people's rights and interests.

Let us consider the relations between the trade unions and the state. The nature of the state, its social-class substance, and the whole tenor of its policy must obviously have an influence on the character of these relations and leave its imprint on them.

In Canada, the government actively supports the monopolies against the working class and defends the interests of big business and the whole system of capitalist exploitation. This is naturally also reflected on the status of the trade unions. The bourgeois state seeks to channel their activity into class collaboration and to integrate them within the system of state-monopoly capitalism. With that end in view, the authorities try hard to weaken the trade unions and to preserve and use for their own benefit the historically-rooted fragmentation of the trade union movement.

The old ties between the working class movement of the United States and Canada led to the emergence, back in the late 19th century, of so-called international trade unions which exist to this day and of which working people from both countries are members. We also have independent national organizations not connected with U.S. unions. The country's leading trade union center is the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), to which over 70 per cent of the trade unions in the country are

affiliated. This includes a sizable part of the international unions operating in Canada, and about half of the national trade unions and some local unions. In addition, there is in French Canada, the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), and independent teachers' federations and unions of civil servants.

This patchwork structure of the trade union movement complicates the struggle against monopoly capital and defense of the working people's interests. The trade unions find it hard to coordinate efforts on a national scale, to act in concert and to fight for better living conditions all over the country. What is more, there tends to be "competition" for membership between the various trade unions.

Making use of the fragmentation of the trade union movement, the government seeks in every way to hamper the activity of the unions, and to prevent them from fulfilling their tasks. National and provincial laws have been enacted which have markedly circumscribed the freedom of action and rights of the trade unions. Thus, under various pretexts, some workers and employees are not allowed to strike. Trade union leaders who break this ban are persecuted and imprisoned, while the trade unions are subjected to fines. Picketing is restricted. Strike-breakers are given police protection under the hypocritical pretext of protecting the "right to work," a right that is denied to the unemployed.

The authorities demand of the trade unions something like a "super-democracy." In elections to parliament or municipal councils, bourgeois candidates who win less than one-half or even 15-20 per cent of the poll may be elected and can claim to be the "people's representatives," but in the production sphere, "democracy" has a totally different aspect. In order to win official recognition as a "legitimate bargaining unit" a trade union must prove that it has an absolute majority of the workers at the enterprise, and that at a time when workers joining the trade union are subjected to diverse harassment and are threatened with the loss of their job.

During the period of wage and price controls, trade unions which won a pay increase from the employers higher than the government-established ceiling, had their wages automatically reduced. Meanwhile, the government department which was supposed to "control" prices never kept them down.

The government invariably approves the acts of the transnational corporations, even when they close down plants and shift production to other areas of the country or other countries — in the drive to maximize profits — leaving entire communities destitute.

The Canadian authorities actively support the drive by monopoly capital against the working class, to say nothing about measures that have a negative effect on the condition of the working people like the cuts in appropriation for education, public health and social security, while the military budget is inflated.

Consequently, the bourgeois state, which is ranged against the working class, uses all the means at its disposal to restrict the rights of trade unions and to reduce their independence to the utmost, so as to make them dependent on their employers and on monopoly capital.

This dependence is also imposed on the trade unions in the capitalist society through other channels. The financial-industrial oligarchy seeks to bribe some of the labor leaders and to induce them to engage in class collaboration. In Canada, this trend is most pronounced in the international trade unions, which are based in the United States. Their leaders as a rule pursue a policy of class conciliation, back Washington's imperialist line and seek to impose a similar line on their Canadian branches. The trade union bureaucrats want to dull the minds of the masses, and support and cultivate the prejudices being spread by bourgeois propaganda. They deny the class substance of the trade unions, the need for the working people's unity in the fight against the common enemy — the monopolies — and incite workers and trade unions against each other.

The trade unions' dependence on bourgeois or reformist parties also leads to the subordination of the interests of the working class to those of capital. In Canada, for instance, many international and national unions are affiliated to the New Democratic Party (NDP), a social-democratic party, and the CLC supports the NDP in elections. But what do the workers get out of it? The NDP's right-wing leaders seek to confine the working class struggle and demand that the trade unions pursue a "moderate" line, and accept the government's policy of freezing wages, despite the ceaseless growth of inflation and the cost of living.

All these forms of dependence, which the capitalist state, the monopolies and their henchmen use to fetter the trade unions, are regarded by the bourgeois ideologists and propagandists as being quite natural and, of course, are never attacked by them. But as soon as the trade unions begin to display some independence and start consistently and firmly to campaign for the working people's right and interests, reactionary propaganda at once fires off its stereotype accusations: these unions have fallen under "communist influence," their independence is jeopardized, etc.

The slogans of trade union "autonomy" and "independence" are frequently used by bourgeois propaganda to widen the split in the working class and trade union movement, to range groups of working people against each other, and to implant among them narrow-minded, corporatist views and attitudes. In this way, the bourgeoisie seeks to prevent the workers from realizing their common class

interests, the need for joint action and broad proletarian solidarity.

The trade unions are, of course, organizations which above all defend the interests of workers in this or that line or branch of production. That is the difference between them and political parties, which represent the interests of whole social strata and classes. The trade unions are closest to the working people's everyday life and current concerns and have the duty to reckon with the specific working and living conditions of individual categories of workers and employees, and their specific needs and requirements.

But these specific needs should not be rated above the interests of the other contingents of the working people. On the contrary, only joint struggle for common class goals can create the prerequisites for satisfying the aspirations of all the working sections of the population. That is why divisions and fragmentation in the trade union movement and its separation into isolated and competing trends, frequently behind a screen of calls for "independence," merely play into the hands of the enemies of the working people. The struggle for trade union unity on a class basis is a most important condition for the attainment of genuine independence and autonomy, true independence of the forces opposing the working people and seeking to deprive them of their potentialities for effectively standing up for their vital rights.

The very idea that trade unions are class organizations, that they are responsible to broad sections of the working people, and that their leaders are responsible to the rank-and-file membership is unacceptable for the advocates of the bourgeoisie. No wonder, problems of inner-trade-union democracy in our country have become so important. The right wing of the CLC would like to curtail the present rank-and-file control over its actions by bringing in the bloc system of voting.* This move has been defeated at the last two conventions of the CLC. Delegates to the CLC conventions, national and provincial, are elected directly from local unions and each delegate has only one vote, which ensures a large measure of rank-and-file control over national policies.

Despite the resistance from the right wing of the trade unions and the NDP leadership, the working people have been standing up for their class interests with ever greater resolve. The strike movement is spreading across the country. The workers have scored successes by acting together. An example: the heroic nine-month strike by 12,000 miners and smelter men who fought the giant transnational INCO corporation. In recent years, Canada has been close to the top of the strike league in the capitalist world in terms of scope and intensity of the struggle.

*Under this system, each delegate has a different number of votes, depending on the size of his union. In Canada, this system would help the CLC leadership to manipulate votes in its interest. — Ed.

The Communist Party of Canada believes that the trade unions, of which some 36 per cent of the non-agricultural workforce are members, have a primary role to play in fighting the monopolies and against the exploitation of the masses. The party stands for the unity of the trade union movement, and for broader inner-union democracy, and emphasizes the need to have our trade unions win complete independence from the centers located in the United States.

The communists of Canada work actively in the trade union ranks and help to protect the working people's rights and secure consistent implementation of a class policy which springs from the immediate and long-term interests of the working class. Working to unite all the progressive forces, the Communist Party believes that the trade unions, together with other people's organizations, should be component parts of a democratic alliance which needs to be set up for the struggle against reaction and monopoly capital.

The following conclusion can, I think, be drawn from what I have said: while the trade unions are not political parties, they cannot be independent of all "political influences" and "external forces." The whole point is: what kind of influence and what kind of forces? In the capitalist countries, the question is formulated as follows: Do the trade unions defend the class interests of their members, the interests of the working people, or do they agree to collaborate with capital and abandon the struggle against the exploiters?

When calling for such conciliation, reformist leaders and bourgeois propaganda frequently claim that strikes and other action by the workers do harm to the "public interest" and worsen the economic situation and the living conditions of the working people themselves. But they deliberately distort the true nature of the relations of production in capitalist society, where the means and instruments of production do not belong to the whole people, as they do under socialism, but to a group of property owners exploiting the labor of large masses of people. This is of fundamental importance in

assessing the socio-political substance of the strike struggle of the working class.

Under the capitalist system, the goal of production is not the well-being of the whole people, not a better life for the "common man," but the extraction of maximum profits by the capitalists, and the enrichment and extension of privileges by a handful of exploiters. That is why strikes do not hit the interests of all members of society, but only of the members of the ruling class, their parasitic incomes. These strikes are aimed to ease the heavy burden of exploitation, and to prevent the owners of capital from squeezing more out of wage-labor so as to obtain as much surplus value as possible.

When demanding higher wages, shorter working hours, better labor protection, etc., the workers at the various capitalist enterprises do not harm other groups of working people, and do not rate their interests over and above those of others, but on the contrary, pave the way for important common socio-economic gains, for the assertion of the rights which neither groups of capitalists, nor the bourgeois state (in contrast to the socialist state) have made available to the working people anywhere of their own free will. The trade unions taking such a line have the primary part to play in the struggle for these rights.

Of course, the forms and methods used by the trade unions in my country, Canada, may differ from those used in other countries, and this is quite natural. But the substance is always the same. Defense of the common class interests of the working people is possible only if the trade unions are independent of the capitalists, of those who exploit the working class, extract profits and super-profits from its labor. Our Canadian experience shows that any other form of "independence" is illusory and futile.

I hope, comrade Etokudo, that I have been able to provide a part of the answer to your questions, which, I think, will be of interest to the working people of many countries.

Bruce Magnuson
CEC member, CP of Canada
Toronto

Book review

TRUTH ABOUT FASCISM'S CRIMES

Maximo Pacheco, *Lonquen*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Aconcagua, 1980, 260 pp.

The book before me came from Santiago de Chile via one of the innumerable channels that Chileans, forced by the Pinochet dictatorship to live in exile, use to maintain contact with their country. It had been already printed in the Chilean capital when the fascist authorities banned its circulation.

Avoiding any comment, *Lonquen's* author Maximo Pacheco, a lawyer, confines himself to the highlights of a court examination of a report submitted to the President of the Supreme Court in

December 1978. In that report Enrique Alvear, Assistant Bishop of Santiago, Cristian Precht, a vicar, Alejandro Gonzalez, a lawyer, and Maximo Pacheco said that a secret cemetery had been found in the abandoned Lonquen mines near the Chilean capital.

It is not hard to see why Pinochet's hatchetmen banned the publication of the material brought to the notice of the court. The book, named after the site of the crime lifts the curtain on the fate of some of the 2,500 political prisoners in Chile. To this day the list of "missing" persons includes the Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile Victor Diaz, members of the CPC Central Committee

Mario Zamorano, Uldarico Donaire, Fernando Ortiz, Jorge Munoz, and José Weibel, leaders of the Socialist Party Exequiel Ponce, Carlos Lorca, Ricardo Lagos, and Ariel Mansilla, leaders of the Left Revolutionary Movement Bautista Van Schowen and Edgardo Enriquez, and many leading personalities of the trade union, peasants' and students' movements, militants of the Popular Unity parties, and non-party patriots.

A commission, of which Pacheco was a member, undertook to investigate the information provided by a private person about a secret burial ground at Lonquen. At the indicated site they found two old tower-shaped furnaces in a piece of vacant ground. "At first glance it seemed that the furnaces had been abandoned long ago and all the signs were that they had been used to process ore" (p. 7). But soon after they started digging, the group discovered human remains. In the preface the author writes: "With the aid of a paper torch we saw a pile of bones and a corpse covered with a dark cloth. The body had evidently not fitted into the furnace whose lower part was narrow" (pp. 7-8). After that the commission decided it had done what there was to be done and brought the case before the law.

The trial established the identity of the victims. It was found that all of them had been listed as "missing." The suit filed by their relatives against the police and all others involved in the atrocities stated: "It cannot be ascertained that this is a solitary case of the disappearance of prisoners caused by the direct executors of this crime. We are dealing with a deliberate and carefully planned criminal act... The large number of victims (totalling 15 persons) and the fact that all were arrested in one operation, coinciding in time and place, and then killed by those responsible for their arrest, and dumped in one and the same place... are evidence that this was a premeditated act performed with the knowledge of higher authorities than those who had killed the arrested persons, though it does not diminish the responsibility of the latter" (pp. 205-206).

The culpability of the police as the direct perpetrators of the crime was proved conclusively at the court hearings. However, the civil court was found "incompetent" and the case was turned over to a military tribunal. The latter likewise confirmed the culpability of Captain Lautaro Castro and his seven subordinates. But the military judge, Brigadier-General Enrique Morel, ordered the release of the criminals, invoking a law passed by the Pinochet regime under which an "amnesty is granted to all persons who were direct executors, accomplices, or accessories of crimes perpetrated during the state of siege from September 11, 1973, to March 10, 1978" (p. 282).

No doubt, the last word is yet to be said on this matter. As Luis Corvalan put it, "one must not forget the fascist crimes and draw the line. What we want is not revenge, but justice. The main perpetrators of the crime should be called to account. The Chilean people demand their punishment and they will be punished."*

"The murder of our relatives goes far beyond a personal tragedy... because for its gravity this is one of the most brutal crimes ever committed by anybody. It must be emphatically condemned by the entire civilized world. It is a gross insult to the collective conscience of the Chilean people, which may be redeemed only if the crime is fully exposed and punishment is meted out to all who were involved in it, irrespective of their posts" (p. 212).

Lonquen cannot be erased from the minds of the people. Pinochet will not be able to do this either by banning the sale of Pacheco's book, releasing the criminals, harboring the inspirers of the crime, or blowing up the burial furnaces in order to prevent people from seeing the place of the crime and showing their anger. Lonquen will always be a reminder of a tragedy. This is the message of Pacheco's book.

Fernando Romero,
Chilean publicist

*Pleno de agosto de 1977 del CC del PCCh, Ediciones Colo-Colo, 1978, pp. 10-11.

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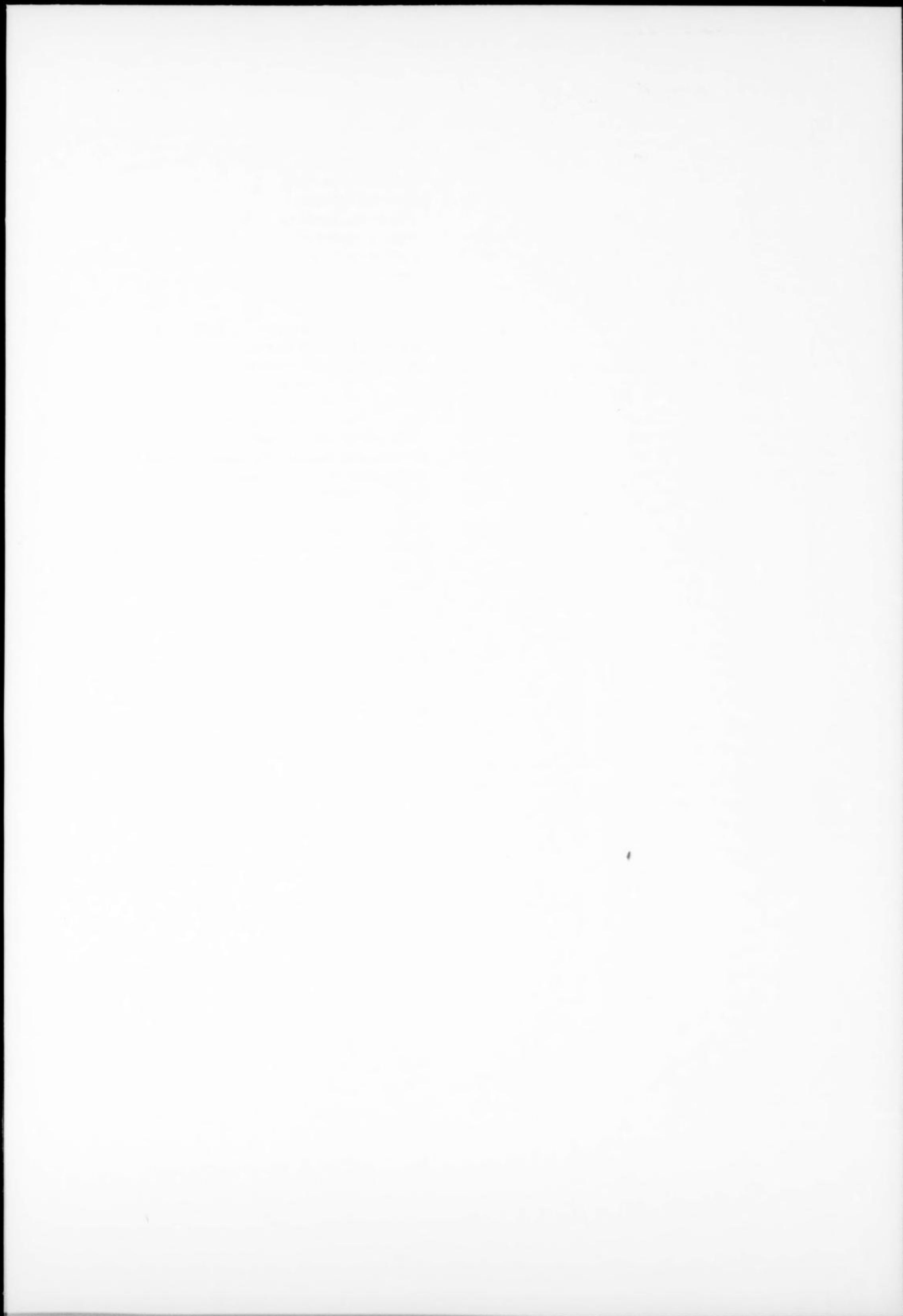
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