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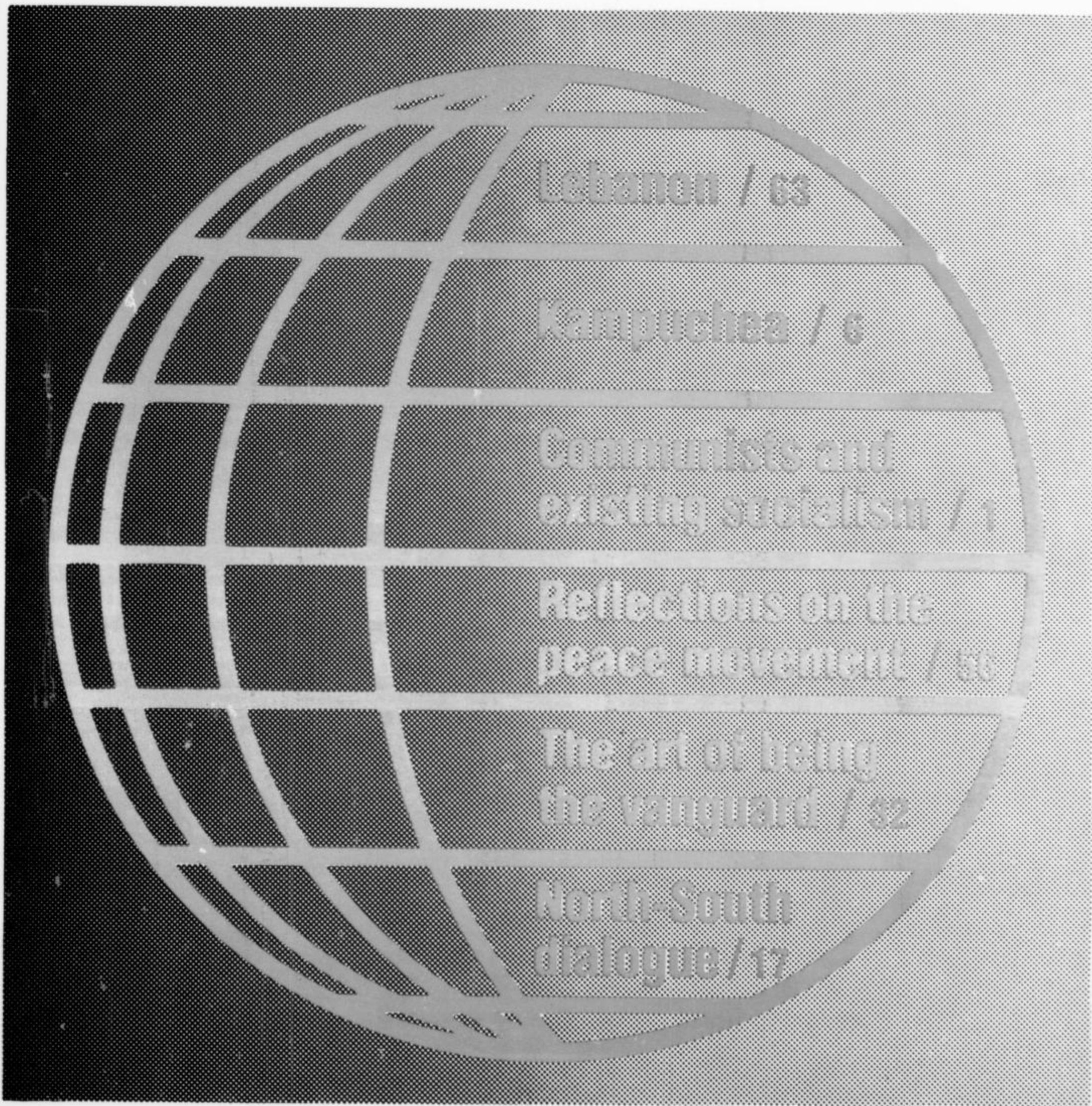
Problems of

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

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Existing socialism and the communists' responsibility

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Social and political processes in the world have become much more complicated than they were in the past. This is due not only to the rapid development of the productive forces, science, technology and the mass media. Of crucial importance is the sharpening of the class struggle, its growing internationalization, and the involvement of new social forces, frequently even of entire peoples.

The tide of events turns out to be so stunning for many people that, when faced with them, they are confused. Bourgeois ideologists try to increase the confusion and use it.

That is why one of the basic tasks of the vanguard of the revolutionary working class movement is opportunely to determine the trends in present-day development and to explain their meaning and purport to broad masses of people. Here it is important, we believe, to start from the methodological advice given by Lenin, who condemned the approach "of the reformist, the petty bourgeois who cannot see the wood for the trees, who cannot, through the tinsel of constitutional legality, see the fierce class struggle, who forgets in the backwoods of some diminutive state the great historical problems of the present day" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 307).

In our epoch, the class struggle in the international arena is sharpening and its outcome will determine humankind's future. The key role belongs to the socialist world, to the international working class and to the forces of national liberation.

We are well aware that the international communist movement of our day sprang from the struggle against imperialism and its world war. The collapse of the Second International made imperative a revival of the international working class movement resting on the ideological and political foundation laid by Karl Marx.

A broader view will show, consequently, that the need for a revival of revolutionary parties sprang from the need to break with the opportunistic views which had then spread in the international working-class movement as a result of its infiltration by bourgeois ideology.

Lenin said that every more or less new question, every more or less unforeseen turn of events, inevitably gave rise to one variety of revisionism or another (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 38).

That was also when the gap between word and deed, the invariable manifestation of opportunism, was most sharply brought out. There was no doubt about the correctness of some of the Second International's resolutions on the struggle against the imminent war. The unfortunate thing was that, at the hour of trial, its leaders in effect abandoned these decisions. They also took a similar stand when it came to socialism as the future goal.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution was a truly epochal event, not only for Russia, but also for the whole international working class movement. It was scored under the leadership of a party which repudiated the inherently opportunistic propensity to "swim with the tide." The Bolsheviks boldly struck out as trail-blazers. In tackling the problems of their country and revolution, they were consistently guided by the principles of Marxism and applied these creatively.

The international implications of this approach became largely obvious a year later in the light of the lessons of the revolutionary events in Germany. The social democratic leaders' opportunism proved to be one of the main causes behind the defeat inflicted on the insurgent working masses, a defeat which had fatal consequences for the German working class. The test of the two ways — the revolutionary and the opportunistic — by historical practice helps our movement to draw the lessons whose justice cannot be invalidated by the passage of time.

From the outset, the communist parties were naturally faced with the key task of fighting the imperialist policy which led to war, the most repugnant manifestation of imperialism as a social system. Here again the communist movement has a store of knowledge and fundamental experience whose importance is also evident in our day, when the defense of peace comes to the fore.

In his notes on the tasks of the Soviet delegation at the Hague Conference in 1922, Lenin pointed to the need to resist imperialism's ideological preparation for war: "The greatest difficulty lies in overcoming the prejudice that this is a simple, clear and comparatively easy question" (Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 447). The theoretical recognition that war is criminal, Lenin stressed, is altogether insufficient. It is of primary importance to expose in the utmost detail "all the sophistries that are being advanced at the present time in justification of war. These sophistries are, perhaps, the principal means by which the bourgeois press rallies the masses in support of war" (Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 448). An understanding and solution of this task has become the main element in the communists' tireless struggle against war. It also continues to be central to their activity today.

A new epoch in the struggle for peace opened with the October Revolution, whose first act was the Decree on Peace, a call on the peoples and governments to put an end to predatory imperialist wars. Socialism entered the international arena as a real peaceable political force. But in order to make use of the potentialities which arose as a result of this radical historical turn, the communists had to solve new problems in the ideological struggle relating to the question of war and peace and to carry on constant and vigorous work among the masses.

Meanwhile, the imperialist circles' ideological preparation for war was now directed above all at undermining socialism as a peace factor. Once again, resort was had to sophistries, this time anti-communist and anti-Soviet sophistries.

At that time, the balance of forces was still such that the war could not averted. In addition, the working class in many countries failed to attain the unity required by the current tasks of fighting the danger of war and fascism. The creation of an anti-war, anti-fascist front was frustrated above all by the anti-communist and anti-Soviet prejudices of the reformist wing of the working class movement. The sectarian errors of its revolutionary wing also had a negative part to play. The resultant lessons can hardly be neglected by the working class movement as a whole.

Back in the 1930s, the communists already determined the way leading to the unity of the working class and joint action by all the anti-fascist fronts. They strove above all to convince the social democratic parties and the trade unions that action against war and fascism was in their true interests.

Our adversaries frequently speak of the errors

made by the communist parties in that period. Of course, the communists also make mistakes. However, we do not have on our conscience the "mistake" of abandoning the struggle against imperialism and war, and for peace and socialism. The communists' premise is that solidarity in this struggle is imperative especially in difficult situations. That is the difference between the consistent and principled class policy which takes account of the objective and subjective factors, and the opportunist lack of principle, an approach we still have to face in Denmark as well.

The actions against fascism and war mounted by the communists in the 1930s were not futile. Evidence of this was the militant optimism of the movement which emerged in many countries for the establishment of a popular front, and the internationalist solidarity with the Spanish Republic's struggle against internal and external reaction. The communist movement was invested with a mighty potential by socialist construction in the Soviet Union, which was an inspiration to the fighters for social progress and multiplied their forces.

As soon as the war ended, the adversaries of socialism began to dispute the socialist Soviet Union's crucial contribution to the great victory. But many who had fought for this victory in other countries were aware of the fact that the USSR's contribution was predetermined not only by its military might but above all by the Soviet people's unity — unprecedented in history — in beating back the aggressor. Many working class leaders saw the roots of this unity in the fact that the masses of people had stood up in defense of their socialist country. In the summer of 1945, social democratic political leaders in Denmark, for instance, publicly admitted that they had failed, in due time, to discern "all the good and the sound" that had been born of socialism. (Let us note that that was the period of the Soviet society's greatest ordeal.)

In this way, the reality itself refuted the deeply rooted anti-communist and anti-Soviet prejudices. There was a growing urge to use the conditions created by the rout of fascism to build new societies. People's democratic revolutions won out in a number of countries.

Further changes in the post-war conditions were slow to occur in Western Europe because they were being blocked by imperialism — that is obvious — and not because the inspiration of socialism waned. Let us recall the large-scale and malicious anti-communist campaign deliberately started by imperialism. As early as the end of the 1940s, it assumed the proportions of a cold war, which became yet another attempt

to fan anti-Soviet hysteria, an atmosphere in which the imperialist forces expected to reverse the tide of history. They failed to do this only because, under the impact of the processes generated by the October Revolution and amplified by the victory over fascism, the world was no longer the same place that it had been on the eve of both world wars.

The nazi plans to establish world domination, and the similar plans of those circles of U.S. imperialism which had put their stake on the U.S. A-bomb monopoly proved to be a fiasco. It was socialism, with its growing might, that helped to bring about a new situation in the world in which over the subsequent period the peoples of many countries were able in bitter class battles to take ways of development other than capitalist. It was the change in the balance of social-class forces throughout the world in favor of socialism, democracy and national liberation that shaped the conditions for the successful resistance to the forces of war.

In the new situation, which called for new solutions and relevant experience, it was, of course, not right to abandon the experience of the anti-war action of the pre-war period. Even greater importance attached to the above-mentioned task, which had been set by Lenin in his life-time: to "expose all the sophistries that are being advanced at the present time in justification of war." In the struggle for peace, exposure of the sophistries of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism still has a tremendous role to play. After all, that is what the imperialist circles operate with today in their efforts to justify their war preparations.

Now and again, our ideological adversaries attempt to explain the communist parties' resolute stand against such sophistries by claiming that they are "anti-national": they allegedly set some "alien interest" over and above their country's interest. The elimination of anti-communist prejudices, which Thomas Mann once called the "main stupidity of our day," is an important factor in releasing and activating the potential forces of peace which are latent in the masses.

The unifying power of the socialist countries' initiatives for peaceful coexistence between states with different socio-economic systems did much in scrapping the plans for starting another war, and in the switch to international détente. The shift to détente and peace was preceded by patient and painstaking ideological effort which helped to win for peaceful coexistence the broadest public and political circles. Here, the communists made an invaluable contribution.

One should not forget that the opportunist

trend in the working class movement far from opposing the cold war, in fact, turned out to be not on the side on which the forces standing up for peace were fighting. That was when, following in the wake of socialist Spaak, one of the most bellicose leaders in NATO's history, the "cold war" propagandists claimed that peaceful coexistence was the "communists' most malicious invention."

The post-war international political situation differed radically from that which had determined the pre-war developments. The forces of peace succeeded in dispelling the spirit of the cold war. There was also a change of attitude among social democrats to the idea of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. What is more, the idea of peaceful coexistence was so imbedded in the public mind throughout the world that even influential circles of the imperialist powers had gradually to accept détente. That was a substantial shift, although the reactionary forces of imperialism did not cease trying to subvert the cause of world peace.

Some seem to forget that it was the communists who helped to score the victory over the cold war in the 1950s-1970s period, a victory which is of crucial importance for the future of civilization. That is an inescapable fact. One need merely recall the CPSU's invaluable contribution to the elaboration of Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence in the post-war situation.

The communists' strategy of the struggle against imperialism and war, and for peaceful coexistence was not worked out by some "international communist center." There has been no such center in the post-war period, and none exists today. This policy was formulated independently by the communists of each country. At the international meetings of communist parties in the 1950s and 1960s, a consistent stand in the spirit of constructive cooperation was taken for the strategy of struggle for peace, against imperialism and against various distortions of the principles of our movement. The documents in defense of peace adopted jointly by the communists provide visual testimony to their sense of historical responsibility.

As the fraternal parties predicted, the easing of the confrontation between states in the world arena, détente went to benefit the peoples of all countries. That process was further reinforced after the people of Vietnam, relying on international solidarity, above all on fraternal support from the socialist community countries, forced U.S. imperialism to stop its predatory war on Vietnamese soil.

Détente created the conditions for the universal recognition of the post-war borders in Europe and this, for its part, paved the way for the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Helsinki Final Act, signed in 1975, consolidated the foundations for creating a system of peaceful coexistence on our continent.

Nor can anyone refute the fact that the turn in international processes in the 1970s resulted from the triumph of the ideas for which such a tireless struggle was waged by the Soviet Union, the other socialist states, and the international communist movement. This success showed that the attractive power of existing socialism is exerting a growing influence on international politics as a whole.

The process of détente is, of course, not a smooth path by any means. Serious obstacles keep arising along it again and again. But does the fault lie with socialism or the international communist movement? Not at all. CPSU congresses in the 1970s worked out a Peace Program, which fully and wholly meets the vital interests of all the peoples and states. At their conference in Berlin in 1976, the European communist and workers' parties discussed ways to invigorate the political struggle to ensure the further development of détente on the basis of the Helsinki accords. The 26th congress of the CPSU charted the Soviet Union's line in defense of détente in the 1980s.

Efforts to undermine détente are being made from a totally different direction. When the protracted crisis of the world capitalist system deepened in the late 1970s, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers strove harder to prevent the masses from understanding that it was rooted in the defects of the capitalist system itself. Shortsighted and unrealistic-minded representatives of monopoly circles have even tried to explain away the difficulties of capitalism by blaming them on détente with this primitive line of reasoning: if peace is clearly beneficial to socialism, the way to keep capitalism on its feet is to undermine détente. But the fact is that everyone needs peace. In this nuclear age there is no alternative for humankind's continued existence. Such an anti-détente "conception" has provided the pretext for the swing in the policy of U.S. imperialism, which has posed the threat of war.

This turn of events serves as a reminder that there is a need to take a constant and more active stand for peace, without any vacillation and with a high sense of vigilance. The stiff counter-offensive by imperialism against détente and social progress does, of course, create difficulties for the international working

class. The international situation is further exacerbated by the bourgeois ideologists' and propagandists' attempts to capitalize on any obstacles arising in the way of socialism and popular liberation movements.

Experience shows that for a counter-revolution it is important not only that our enemies should want it, but also that we should make mistakes. But no amount of mistakes for which a working class party is to blame can justify a readiness to make way for the counter-revolution or an urge to restrain the revolutionary forces of the world from displaying international solidarity.

U.S. imperialism's line of confrontation with world socialism and its whipping up of the arms race have further sharpened the ideological struggle. With all the means at their disposal, the reactionary forces seek to implant in people's minds, notions that would make them give up the defense of peace. One of these is the continued attempt to influence the working class movement so as to stimulate within it the anti-communist and anti-Soviet mentality.

In the present conditions, it is hard for imperialism to expect the working class and other progressive circles to accept the arms race and militarization of every sphere of life. That is why bourgeois propaganda seeks, at least, to implant in the public mind the notion that the capitalist system is "not worse" than existing socialism, its antithesis. In its efforts to offset the mounting protests against the aggressive policy of imperialism, bourgeois propaganda daily recites the tattered lie about some "threat from the East," which allegedly induces the West to build up its military forces.

In periods when the crisis atmosphere thickens, and the emergent dangers spread fear among the people, this kind of propaganda has some potentialities for exerting an influence. It plays upon the fact that out of fear some people try to turn their backs on the actually existing problems and to avoid taking a definite stand on them. That is a phenomenon we now find in Denmark.

It is exemplified by the notorious "superpowers theory," which suggests that the contradictions in the modern world are allegedly determined not by the contest between labor and capital, not by the clash between the forces of war and the forces of peace, but by a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, which are allegedly equally to blame for the tensions that have arisen. This and similar other conceptions are used in the attempts to equate the CPSU's Peace Program, which reflects the aspirations of the masses, with the Reagan administration's war plans,

which express the most reactionary imperialist interests. They are used to divide the peace forces and to reduce the resistance to the policy of war, and to justify the rejection of support of the socialist countries' peace proposals.

The attempts to implant in the working class movement the "superpowers theory," with its denial of fundamental economic, socio-political and class distinctions between imperialism and socialism, and so also of the distinctions in the approach on the part of the two social systems to the questions of war and peace have considerable ideological implications. These attempts are aimed to contrast the working class movement in the capitalist countries and the socialist world, and they are being made just when one of the key tasks of the true champions of the working people's interests is to strengthen the cohesion of the working class and all the other forces acting for peace.

Those who take the non-class view do not stop at times at minimizing the importance of existing socialism in safeguarding peace, in defiance of the historically patent truth that a nuclear holocaust can be averted only by joint efforts — together with the socialist community.

The indispensable role of existing socialism and of the Soviet Union in ensuring peace is an objective fact of present-day world development, which is determined by the pattern of class, state and social forces in the international arena. The Soviet Union's commitment not to use nuclear weapons first provided fresh confirmation of the peace-making mission of socialism. This is an exceptionally important, historic decision designed to ward off the nuclear threat and it helps to stimulate action by broad masses of people for an improvement of international relations, for disarmament, and for excluding the very possibility of nuclear annihilation from the life of humankind.

The ideological struggle for cooperation among all the peace forces is not sealed off from the discussions in the working class movement of the ways of transition to socialism, but the divergent views and attitudes to the cardinal issues of social revolution that are found in the working class movement are no insuperable bar to joint action in defense of peace by the working-class parties, whether communist, socialist or social democratic.

So long as the threat of war has not been warded off, the communists cannot afford to fold up their ideological work in the midst of the masses to explain their fundamental

stand on the class struggle or to postpone the ideological struggle for their world view and policy of revolutionary transformations. The peace forces' potential is weakened by any efforts to bring into disrepute communist views and policies, as also the historical gains of socialism.

That is why one should not ignore the assertions that existing socialism has not indicated the way to "true" socialism, and that there is a need for "a fresh start." Such "advice" is not being given for the first time, but regardless of the subjective intentions, it has ultimately disoriented the working people in the class struggle. In the contemporary ideological and political context, this "advice" also carries other implications, because it implies an altogether unrealistic notion that it is possible to advance toward peace without a consideration — or even in defiance — of the crucial role of real socialism in resisting imperialist military policies.

There is general recognition in the communist movement that each party determines the way to socialism and the ways and means of its participation in the struggle for peace independently, in the light of the concrete situation in the country and its international position. It is, of course, natural to reckon here with the content of the transition from capitalism to socialism as a uniformity of social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism. Such an approach implies an understanding of the need for internationalist solidarity of the communist forces in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

However, what has been said does not suggest that there is some kind of "general model" of socialism and a period of transition to it. The very opposite is asserted in the communist parties' documents. Thus, the program adopted by the Communist Party of Denmark in 1976 emphasizes: "We do not recognize any 'model' of socialism. But there exist general uniformities for the construction of a socialist society which have been elaborated and formulated in Marxist-Leninist theory."*

In the present period of a sharpening international situation, it is important to be quite clear on the goals pursued by imperialism in its ideological pressure. Only then does the struggle for peace and social progress become active, realistic and consistent. This implies the need constantly to renew the forms and methods of explanatory work and to carry it

*Kommunisternes program, Kobenhavn, 1976, p. 63.

ever more broadly in the anti-war and other social and political movements and in the midst of the masses.

Exposure of the sophistries used to justify the preparation of war by imperialism, and also resolute rebuffs to ideological concessions, to militaristic pressure do not hamper the development of broad action by the peace-loving public. On the contrary, the new mass strata being involved in them seek a deep understanding of who is opposed to them, and who is their ally. To promote such

an understanding is an especially responsible mission of the communists, who are aware of the inspiring power of socialism, and of its sources.

The present situation in the world, as I said at the outset, is highly complicated, and many people are still unable to comprehend it. It is all the more necessary to analyze the main trends in present-day development. In this context, what has been said above is regarded by the Danish communists as being especially important.

Three years of rehabilitation and construction

Heng Samrin

General Secretary, CC,
People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea,
Chairman, State Council of Kampuchea

World Marxist Review has asked Heng Samrin, CC General Secretary of the PRPK, Chairman of the State Council of Kampuchea, to tell about the situation in his country and the activity of the party. Following are his answers to the journal's questions.

Q. How do you and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea estimate the present situation in your country? How would you describe its peculiarities after what your country has gone through? What is the trend of development?

A. The Kampuchean people could have lived in a climate of peace, independence and freedom ever since their victory on April 17, 1975. However, power in the country just then was in the hands of usurpers, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary — Khieu Samphan clique of traitors to the nation, who had become puppets serving the interests and doctrines of the Peking hegemonists. Grossly distorting and profaning Marxism-Leninism, they waged a war of aggression against Vietnam, set out to provoke armed clashes on the Kampuchean-Laotian border and launched an unprecedented campaign of genocide in the country which resulted in the death of more than three million Kampucheans. Nobody could feel safe from physical destruction, for people were treated like cattle and sacrificed to the inhuman Maoist policy of exterminating the Khmer. Our nation was going through a dark period in which it was faced with a real threat of being wiped out.

On January 7, 1979, the Kampuchean people swept away the Pol Pot tyranny with the disinterested aid of the People's Army of fraternal Vietnam, restored Kampuchea to real freedom and paved the way for a national renaissance. A new, victorious era was ushered in, an era that has gone down in the golden book of our history.

The chief result of development in the military political sphere to date is that the government of our People's Republic controls the entire territory of the country and guarantees the population life in security.

To be sure, the Peking expansionists and hegemonists, who maintain their collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary forces, persist in actions against people's Kampuchea. They have helped and go on helping Pol Pot's beaten bands, stage armed provocations on the Thai-Kampuchean border and smuggle their agents into our country to carry on counter-revolutionary activities and sabotage and to destabilize the situation. The ideological war is continuing; our enemies would like it to undermine the unity of our people and their solidarity with Vietnam and other fraternal socialist countries. The situation today is characterized by sustained reactionary attempts to form a coalition against the Kampuchean revolution. Remnants of Pol Pot's defeated troops and other counter-revolutionary forces continue their incursions from bases in Thailand with the backing of Peking, which

supplies them with arms and food. However, our Revolutionary Armed Forces are standing on guard of the country's interests and are going from strength to strength. They are determined to defend the gains of the revolution and are carrying on operations together with the fraternal Vietnamese Army to eliminate the remnants of the beaten Pol Pot bands.

Peking's propaganda does not scruple to grossly misrepresent the facts so as to hoodwink and intimidate our people and mislead public opinion in other countries. It holds forth about alleged "brilliant" successes of Pol Pot's forces whereas their complete defeat is becoming more and more evident. The Kampuchean people feel nothing but hatred for the Pol Pot rabble and are resolved to clear them all out of the ancient land of Kampuchea for good.

The year 1981 was a year of big victories for the revolution that removed the military threat to the new system. As regards the construction of the new system and the renaissance of the country, it was a year of notable events that served to stabilize and normalize life and strengthen the moral and political unity of all sectors of Khmer society. A general election resulted in the formation of a National Assembly, the country's supreme authority, and local people's revolutionary committees. The National Assembly drafted and adopted the most democratic and progressive constitution in national history. It elected a State Council and appointed a Council of Ministers, the only genuine and lawful bodies representing the people. The fourth party congress was a great success. It defined the strategy of the advance of our revolution to socialism. The third congress of the United Front for National Construction and Defense* demonstrated the growing unity of social forces behind the party and the government.

We are now busy consolidating state power at all levels, from the capital to rural communities, and implementing the party program for building a new life and defending revolutionary gains. This policy enjoys widespread and increasingly strong popular support.

It is a fact that the people have become real masters in their country. They show growing devotion to the ideas of real socialism, determination to continue on the chosen path and energy in building a new life.

Q. Could you describe that in greater detail? The journal *World Marxist Review* appears in many countries where the public is far from being adequately informed on life in today's

Kampuchea. How is economic rehabilitation going on? We understand agriculture is still a very important field. What about industry, a direct target of the Pol Pot regime's anti-urbanistic mania? What progress has been made in economic rehabilitation? What difficulties and problems are there?

A. The disaster experienced by our people led to such frightful ravages that people from other countries find it hard to imagine where we had to begin. It was a country without towns, without money in circulation, without personal property, without normal family ties. A country became a prison camp, with one-time schools, hospitals, theaters and temples turned into pigsties, storehouses and places of massive torture and murder. The intellectuals suffered enormous losses. Engineers, teachers, doctors, other specialists and members of the professions were destroyed almost totally. Kampuchea was dotted with graves and new evidence of crimes is brought to light even at this late hour. After such dislocation, rehabilitation had understandably to begin all over again.

Anyone who visits Kampuchea today can see for himself the changes that have come about in three and a half years since the traitors' clique was overthrown. It is fair to say that these changes are most noteworthy in the case of a people subjected to genocide and a country whose social institutions were razed to the ground. We owe them to the devoted effort of our working people led by the party and to the sincere and prompt assistance of Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and a number of international humanitarian organizations.

In 1979, immediately after liberation, we began by rehabilitating our economy, for we had to meet at least the people's most pressing requirements. Factories, workshops and other enterprises went into operation one after another, markets reopened, trade revived, money was put into circulation. As early as a year after, the economy showed the early signs of substantial advances which removed the shadow of famine.

As far as agriculture is concerned, we took steps in 1980 to recultivate abandoned arable lands and doubled the sown area, increasing it to 1.4 million hectares. Favorable weather conditions made it possible to harvest 1.5 million tons of rice, or three times as much as in the previous year. In 1981 agriculture encountered difficulties due to drought and floods. However, timely measures adopted by the party CC and the Council of Ministers plus the devoted effort of production mutual assistance groups

*Called the United Front of National Salvation in January 1979. — Ed.

and the people as a whole staved off major losses. We planted 1.35 million hectares to rice, or nearly as much as a year earlier, nor did the crop fall far below the previous year's. Besides, the area under other crops was expanded to nearly 25,000 hectares.

However, the sown area is not yet large enough to fully meet the country's food requirements. We have resumed cultivation on slightly more than half the pre-war area. This is why we plan as from this year to bring another million hectares of fields under the plough, intensively develop stock-breeding and fishing and increase rubber production, which is important for our export trade. Last year the area of rubber plantations increased from 5,000 to 8,700 hectares and yielded 5,800 tons of rubber. Food and rubber are decisive factors for our economic development.

A good deal of attention has been given from the first to industry and the handicrafts for which Kampuchea was famed in the past. We have put 60 factories into operation and set up an appreciable number of small enterprises meeting the everyday needs of the population. The state plans to gradually rebuild and resume production in enterprises of the key industries and advance trade, finance, banking, the mail service, communications and transport.

We still have to rely in substantial measure on friendly, humanist assistance from abroad. This makes us attach great importance to intensifying production and practise economy — the only way to ensure in the next few years that our vital requirements are met from our own resources. Our hard-working people are perfectly equal to accomplishing this task.

Q. There is appalling documentary evidence of the enormous losses inflicted on culture, education and the health services by the Pol Pot clique. What progress has been made toward rehabilitating these spheres?

A. I repeat that rehabilitation started from scratch. We had to look up, one by one, educational workers who had survived. Crash courses were organized for training teachers. Schools rose from the ruins. You will have an idea of the scale of the effort if I say that already in the 1980-81 school year over a million children went to school and that today we have a million and a half schoolchildren. Our teaching staff totals 43,000. The secondary education system is functioning at full capacity, that is, comprises schools of all three categories.* We

*Under the current system, schools of the first category conduct classes from the first to the fourth grade, those of the second, from the fifth to the seventh grade and those of the third, from the eighth to the tenth grade — Ed.

launched a literacy campaign involving over 400,000 people. On the whole, education has assumed proportions unprecedented in Kampuchea. We have also opened higher schools, including a Khmer-Soviet Friendship Technical Institute as well as medical and pharmacological departments in the university. There are vocational schools training skilled workers. Lastly, the state has sent about 600 young people to fraternal socialist countries to study in universities and other schools of higher learning. In turn, these countries send specialists to Kampuchea who help us greatly.

If you came to Kampuchea today you could again watch musical, dance and song companies performing and attend other cultural and sports events, such as were out of the question under the Pol Pot regime. We have a school for future actors, artists, sculptors and engravers. Special mention should be made of mobile projection units which travel all over the country, drawing large audiences in town and countryside alike. I wish to note that pagodas are open again and no one prevents believers from worshipping. Mass festivals are back in Kampuchea. They are perhaps the most vivid indication of the renaissance of our national culture.

Rehabilitation of the health services began from first aid stations. Functioning in Phnom Penh today are major medical centers and we have hospitals in all provinces and districts. Many villages have surgical aid posts. Extensive sanitary and hygienic education and prophylaxis are being carried on among the population. Last year medical establishments received over 10 million patients. Public health is improving visibly. Kampuchians are regaining their energy and joy of living.

Our people spare no effort to improve their living standards. This adds to the strength of the revolution, accomplished under the leadership of the United Front for National Construction and Defense and heartens the people and helps educate them in a spirit of patriotism and devotion to the cause of building the new society.

Q. What is the role of the People's Revolutionary Party in national renaissance? How is it organized? What are the major problems of inner-party work in today's conditions?

A. I would like to stress, first of all, that our party, standing firm on Marxist-Leninist positions, plays a leading role in society and expresses the interests of the working class and other working people. We are guided by Marxism-Leninism, the internationalist doctrine showing the working people of all nations the road to freedom.

Last year, as I have said, our party held its fourth congress which decided on today's foreign and home policy and specified the priority objectives of the country in advancing gradually to socialism and defending the achievements of the revolution. The party and the government specify lines of activity, mobilize the working people to follow them and supervise the execution of decisions. Much attention is given to building the party, reinforcing its ranks and forming more groups of sympathizers. A matter of tremendous significance is interaction with various other organizations, which helps us strengthen our bonds with the masses.

The problem of competent personnel is one of the most important in our conditions. The fact is that nearly all cadre members of the party who had considerable experience and enjoyed prestige, having taken part in the difficult fight against the French and U.S. colonizers, were killed during the massacres carried out by the Pol Pot regime. This explains why the problem of personnel became a priority as soon as the country liberated itself. How the entire party line will be materialized depends on the solution of this problem at this stage.

The surviving cadre members have to do a huge amount of work. Remembering this and proceeding from the decisions of the fourth party congress, we have made it a key task to reinforce the party cadre as well as government personnel by bringing in active workers, peasants and other working people, young men and women, students and patriotic intellectuals. Women have a large share in this — a fact of fundamental significance in our country. Numerous new people swell the ranks of executives.

This confronts us with another big task, that of educating and schooling them. We make a point of improving their political knowledge, inculcating habits of leadership in them and raising the standard of their vocational training. The most widespread form of study is short or long-term classes offering instruction in special fields as well as general knowledge. Trips to fraternal socialist countries play, now as before, a big role in providing our people with experience. Attaching immense importance to organizing work among the people, the party makes high demands of executives while at the same time helping and encouraging them in their exacting work.

We have been building up people's rule ever since 1980. The efficiency of government bodies rose particularly after the elections for the National Assembly and local people's revolutionary committees. The results achieved in

personnel training over the past period, which was not very long but then very tense, are considerable in our view. They express themselves in a more efficient implementation of the party policy, improving government and fostering the activity of public organizations at all levels. In this way, without neglecting the military sphere, the party is stepping up its effort in the socio-economic sphere, charting development paths and carrying out plans for national construction and a higher standard of living.

We class the reinforcement of our cadre among factors important for building a new life, such as the creative labor of the people, who hate the country's Pol Potist past, and as the assistance of Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, of all the forces of peace and justice. This helps us defend our independence, consolidate the people's sovereignty and continue the revolutionary cause of January 7, 1979.

Our people have already scored gains which we have reason to be proud of and which our plans and aspirations and our devotion to the cause of building socialism serve to further.

Q. Emissaries of the clique overthrown by the people and representing nobody still presume to speak "on behalf of Kampuchea" at international forums. In this context, would you comment on the more important aspects of the foreign policy of your party and the legitimate government of people's Kampuchea?

A. The Kampuchean revolution is part of the Indochinese and world revolution. This also finds expression in the fact that a key component of our foreign policy is effort to promote relations and cooperation with fraternal socialist countries and strengthen socialism's positions in Indochina.

We regard solidarity with Vietnam and Laos as a strategic line guaranteeing the very existence of people's Kampuchea. History itself joins our countries together in struggle against common enemies, for the independence and freedom of either people. Kampuchea and Vietnam have joined forces three times to help each other and have succeeded on all three occasions. Relations between our fraternal countries are based on real internationalism, true friendship and purity of intent. They can serve as an example of relations of a new type between states. The Kampuchean people are determined to cherish their solidarity and friendship with Vietnam as the apple of their eye. As long as palm-trees grow on our soil, friendship between Kampuchea and Vietnam will be as unshakable as the summit of Mount Oral.

We also treasure our friendship with Laos. The peoples of our two countries drink water from one and the same river, the Mekong, and share joy and sorrow like brothers. We are united by victories leading in a common, socialist direction.

The solid alliance uniting Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos is, as we see it, a decisive guarantee of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. We consider this alliance a highly important factor in our foreign policy strategy, which is to last long and serves as an assurance of the final defeat of the Peking hegemonists making common cause with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries opposed to people's Kampuchea and other fraternal countries in Indochina.

The people of Kampuchea long for peace. We seek normal, good-neighbor relations with Thailand and other Southeast Asian states and advocate a solution of the problem existing in relations between the two groups of countries, those of Indochina and ASEAN, by peaceful means, by negotiation, and on an equal footing. This is the spirit of the proposals put forward by the three republics of Indochina at the Vientiane meeting of Foreign Ministers last February and intended to bring about peace, stability and cooperation in our region. They show again that the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs are the only constructive basis for relations between countries with different social systems and meet the fundamental interests of their peoples. We intend to pursue this policy consistently and unflinchingly.

The support and fraternal assistance given us by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are vastly important for the success of social and economic changes in Kampuchea. Our deep appreciation of this support was emphasized during the recent official visit to Moscow by Hun Sen, Political Bureau member of the CC PRPK, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister of Kampuchea. During the visit the two countries signed a bilateral cultural and scientific cooperation program for 1982 and 1983. Our people admire the achievements of the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries of the socialist community and their perseverance in building the new society and maintaining peace throughout the planet.

People everywhere regard peace as the greatest benefit. We join the whole of progressive international opinion in fully supporting the Peace Program of the 26th CPSU congress as well as the subsequent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union prompted by a sincere desire to eliminate the war menace, promote international security and curb the arms race. If realized, this program would help ease tensions in various parts of the globe, including Southeast Asia.

A particular threat to peace in our region is posed by the monstrous alliance between the Peking great-power expansionists and the forces of international reaction headed by the U.S. imperialists. Their bellicose claims and hegemonist appetites are contrary to reason, international legal standards and the political realities of today. This makes it the duty of all who treasure peace and international security to be most vigilant, strengthen the bonds of solidarity and step up actions to prevent armed conflicts. If the forces of peace and good-will meet these conditions we are certain they will always prevail.

In supporting the non-aligned movement, Kampuchea identifies itself with all countries fighting for peace, national independence and social progress. It approves of the idea of establishing a new and equitable international economic order. Kampucheans respond in a deeply internationalist spirit to the legitimate struggle of the working people of capitalist countries against class exploitation and to the movement of national liberation forces against colonialism, racism, apartheid, imperialism and the Peking leaders' hegemonism.

As a result of steadfast implementation of a foreign policy for peace and cooperation, the international standing and relations of our country go on improving. More than 30 countries and organizations have formally established relations with people's Kampuchea and are developing them. We consider this a big achievement and a further indication of the depth and correctness of the policy line embodied at this stage in the decisions of the fourth congress of our party.

The congress called on the people to carry high the banners of national independence and international solidarity. These banners encourage our party, all our working people, in their every action, help defeat enemies and inspire us in the struggle for a happy, truly socialist future.

The people's confidence in the party

Karoly Nemeth

Political Bureau member and CC Secretary,
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As the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and the political spokesman of all the working people, our party sees its duty in serving the people, the cause of socialism. Selfless service in the interests of the people, the 12th congress of the HSWP (March 1980) noted, is the condition that wins the devotion and support of the people.* In this context, unity between the party and the people and joint actions by them are a question of mutual confidence. The following is an attempt to show how this confidence is ensured in Hungary.

I

As we see it, it is of paramount importance to develop a correct approach to the question of confidence. Let me explain. A belief, once held by many communists, was that with the conquest of power by the working class, the party's aims automatically become the aims of all the working people. It was assumed that since the party was acting in the interests of the people the latter would in all cases have confidence in it and back its plans and initiatives. It took serious tests to dramatize at least two things. First, the truth Lenin spoke of when he generalized the experience of the communists of Russia, namely, that the masses do not argue about communism, that they think in specific terms, with the condition of their life as their starting point (*Coll. Works*. Vol. 33, p. 272). It is not enough to assume political power and advance a program consistent with the requirements and aspirations of the working people, a program attractive to the majority; people have to see for themselves that the party's plans are realistic and that the communists always act on what they say. The masses must feel and understand that socialism is built with the participation of and for the benefit of the entire people. It is only then that the party can seriously count on the confidence and support of the masses, because confidence, like the party's vanguard role, is not proclaimed but won in struggle to

implement a specific policy, to achieve the basic goals of socialism.

Confidence is not something that is won once and for all — and this is the second fundamental point we have learned from our own experience: it is maintained by steadfast, day-to-day work, sometimes under difficult situations, when far from all the decisions taken by the party are popular and when their positive end result cannot be seen clearly. Success is achieved by combining correct, scientific policy with candid and credible explanations of this policy.

It is very important to avoid wishful thinking, to see things in real terms. Experience has shown that the work of the communists is effective only if the communists flexibly respond to the changing conditions of the struggle to build the new society and constantly keep their own efforts in harmony with the level of consciousness of the masses, with the differentiations in that level, with what the masses understand at each given moment.

The HSWP and its Central Committee keep the people informed of the actual state of affairs, speak openly of problems and difficulties, and reckon with justified criticism. We are not frightened by the fact that in society there are people who do not agree entirely with the party's policy, underrate the achievements of our people, uncritically accept the allegations of imperialist propaganda, and try to sow doubts in other people's minds. Whatever it is like, reality must be taken into consideration in the party's work, and it would be a great mistake to overestimate the level of society's ideological development, the predomination of Marxist thought in it. As society's leading force, the party combats not individuals but misconceived views and ideas. It pursues an open policy and its principal method is persuasion. By explaining the HSWP's policies to the people, drawing them into joint thought, and inducing them to state their views and taking these views into account, the communists reinforce the foundation for united action. Experience explicitly indicates that the party's policies are supported wholeheartedly by those

*A Magyar Szocialista Munkaspárt XII kongresszusának jegyzőkönyve, 1980, March 24-27, Budapest, 1980, pp. 489-490.

whom we succeed by our day-to-day efforts in persuading that our cause is just.

The complexity of social, political, and economic processes, the need for understanding the essential inter-dependence between these processes, and the quest for answers to questions posed by life require responsible and forward-looking work and action by party organizations. Our experience confirms that a party can successfully fulfil its historic mission when all its organs and organizations, down to local branches, are active in shaping and implementing a policy expressing and serving the interests of the working class and the nation, and draw the largest possible number of people into this work.

There is no matter on which progress can be made without the active participation of all the party's grassroots links. To quote Janos Kadar, the level and success of party work is determined to a large extent by how work proceeds at the front line of execution — in primary organizations. In accordance with their terms of reference and responsibility, it is the job of primary organizations to ensure the party's leading role in the localities. The HSWP rules give these organizations the right to take part in deciding a wide spectrum of local matters within the framework of the party's policies and the resolutions of central organs. The vast majority of our grassroots organizations correctly use their potentialities, combining their independence with a sense of responsibility.

Thus, a realistic approach to the question of confidence, a scientific policy drawn up with account of the opinion of the masses, constant explanation and checks of the correctness of this policy, and energetic work by the communists of all levels are essential elements ensuring the confidence of the people in the party and, consequently, success in the fulfillment of its responsible mission.

II

Confidence in the party is fostered largely by the results of its economic policy. In stressing this, Lenin did not fortuitously call the economic development plan the party's second program (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 514). Indeed, the rise of the people's living standard, cultural development, the nation's defense capability, and further progress in the building of a developed socialist society depend decisively on how the economy performs.

It must be taken into consideration that the external conditions influencing the performance of the economy have lately changed for the worse for us, while the economy itself has entered the stage of intensive development

requiring considerable investments. In many ways we cannot act as we used to do, as though nothing around us has changed. The difficult situation, to which we have to adapt ourselves flexibly, makes it imperative for all party organizations to step up their activity, improve their work, and advance bold and productive initiatives.

Approved by the 12th congress of the HSWP, the economic policy now concretely embodied in medium-term and annual economic development plans is a program of action for all of the party's organizations. The actual economic situation, the changing conditions, and our potentialities are taken into consideration in these plans. In the current five-year period, for example, we have planned a more moderate economic growth rate than previously. Our aim is to consolidate the achieved economic results and living standard, and move forward with an eye to balancing the economy more effectively. Party organizations have done and are doing much to enable the people to assess the economic situation realistically, support our aspirations, and understand that even more modest results than before necessitate a bigger effort.

The economy's transition to intensive development is making many different, qualitatively new demands of economic management and, at the same time, of party work. We have to make better and more efficient use of resources. In all areas of economic activity, in the state and cooperative sectors, the task is to promote labor productivity and production efficiency, and also the competitiveness of our output in the international market. Taken together, technological progress, organization of work and production, economical expenditure of raw materials and energy, material and moral incentives for good work, and socialist labor emulation will help to attain this aim.

In assessing the activity of party organizations in the economic sphere we focus chiefly on their political work aimed at molding a correct attitude among the people to present-day problems. Successful intensification of the economy requires the working people to understand the new situation and display initiative and a proprietary approach in bringing potentialities to light. In many cases where potentialities are expertly tapped and drawn into the turnover, new investments are unnecessary. At the same time, party organizations have also to study the political impact of the party's economic measures, the influence of individual decisions on the condition of the people, and what political response is evoked by them. The relative signals from below make it possible to adjust policy or to take additional

steps to explain that this policy is correct and expedient.

The party's economic course is the guideline for all governmental bodies and economic organizations. Party leadership and control of the economy ensure the implementation of economic policy. However, we see the party's leading role in this sphere not as substitution for economic organs. If, without need, party organizations interfere in concrete production matters, this, our experience shows, creates hindrances instead of smoothing things: parallelism undercuts responsibility, fetters the initiative of management, and diverts the party from political work. It is important that the political leadership of party organizations should guide the work of management, trade unions, and the YCL in accordance with the latter's terms of reference and responsibility. However, we censure the simplified view that the party should concentrate on politics and leave the economy to the economic management. Party organizations cannot divest themselves of the duty to direct and control management at all levels of economic life, and they must intervene wherever the party's economic policy is flouted and economic interests are prejudiced. The point I am making is that party organizations should not undertake the work and responsibility of management, that they should use all the levers of political work to support the innovations introduced by the economic leadership and focus mainly on the human factor of production, on work with cadre, on training them, and on improving their skills.

A major circumstance is that party organizations have the right to make an independent assessment of whether the steps taken by the economic management in the localities are consonant with the party's economic policy and with society's interests. It is no easy task to ascertain and harmonize different attitudes. For the party organizations the main thing is always to know where dissimilar interests exist and the effect of their influence, and to find the means of bringing harmony that would give the masses, the work collectives, a bigger direct incentive to come forward with initiatives benefiting the whole of society.

To this end it is vital to promote inner-factory democracy and make its forums more effective. Our striving to extend and deepen democracy at production facilities is called forth by, among other things, the fact that in a more difficult situation there is a greater need for thinking together. However skilful and trained the leadership is at any level, it cannot manage without the powerful force inherent in cor-

rectly understood and applied socialist democracy. The more complex our economic construction becomes, the greater is the need for the constructive thought and initiatives of the masses. A profound understanding by the people of the problems and aims of economic development and their active participation in the solution of these problems and the attainment of these aims is of immense significance not only for economic progress but also for consolidating the people's confidence in the party's policy and, consequently, for society's socio-political stability.

III

Experience bears out Lenin's thesis that the process of socialist transformations can be successfully guided only by a party capable of ensuring the ideological, political, and organizational unity of its ranks and unity of action. It is an overriding duty to consolidate and safeguard this unity and promote it in accordance with the new tasks. The HSWP's basic political guideline is immutable, but the continuation of this course by no means spells out inertia or conservatism. On the contrary, it requires a heightened sense of the new, a continuous renewal of the approaches to and methods of resolving specific tasks, and flexible adjustment to the changing situation. The unity of the party's ranks is based on the immutability of the basic political line and the constant quest for the best way and means of putting it into effect under specific conditions. It is another matter that this unity in what is most important should not be absolutized, as though once achieved there would no longer be the problem of harmonizing outlooks. In tackling every new task there must be unity at all levels — from the Central Committee to local branches. This approach enhances the party's ability to direct and mobilize the people for the successful attainment of targets.

The safeguarding of unity within the party presupposes an unremitting struggle against misconceptions and distortions. Here it is enough to carry out ideological and political work and explanation, while there the need arises for organizational measures. The important thing is that all party organizations and every communist should staunchly uphold the party's policies. We know from our own experience that the shaping of a correct stand requires comparison of various views in discussions at party forums. At such discussions party members consider and debate the substance of fundamental political issues, and this is a law of our party life. Much importance is attached to constructive discussions in local

branches, where communists can broadly participate in policy-making, elaborating targets, and drawing up and carrying out decisions. It is our objective that each of them should have the opportunity to state his or her view freely and see a constructive response to his or her remarks and suggestions.

Only a discussion that helps to understand problems, adopt correct guidelines, and act in unity is in the interests of the party and the people. As we see it, party organizations should make exchanges of views a constructive factor fostering our advance, helping to find the best solutions to problems, and bringing realistic alternatives to light. At the same time, we censure fruitless, unprincipled disputes, for these can only demoralize the party. Freedom of discussion is combined with mandatory discipline, the strict observance of the organizational principles and norms of party life. A member of the HSWP has not only the right but also the duty to state his or her view, make suggestions, reservations, and possible objections at party forums. If this takes place outside such forums, it is an indication of shortcomings in party life and signifies a breach of the rules.

After a decision has been debated and passed by a majority vote, party discipline requires its mandatory fulfillment by every communist. We can make no exception for anybody in this immutable principle of the party's organizational unity. This must be re-emphasized because in a section of the international communist movement the view is sometimes aired that democratic centralism does not meet present-day requirements. Centralism's very right to exist is questioned on the claim that it has grown obsolete. We communists, however, do not know of any experience in favor of this stand.

The people, as we have already noted, judge a party not so much by what it says as by what it does. That is why unity of views regarding principles and aims is not enough. Action is the test of unity. Regrettably, there are cases when a consensus on major issues is not backed up by concrete action on the part of individual organizations and members of the party. In the HSWP there is, for example, wide agreement on distribution according to work, on differentiated remuneration for work, on more efficient utilization of working time, on tighter labor discipline, and on thrift. However, some primary organizations and individual communists do not always take an active part in resolving production problems of this kind. The task is, therefore, constantly to reinforce unity of action in the practical work of party organizations.

While making every effort to strengthen the

unity of the party ranks, stimulate the activity of communists, promote inner-party democracy, and identify and remove errors, the HSWP attaches great significance to criticism and self-criticism. We urge primary organizations to create an atmosphere in which criticism can be made openly without fear of negative consequences. However, we give nobody the right to use criticism as a cover for intrigues. The HSWP rules contain a provision protecting those who come forward with criticism, making a serious response to criticism mandatory. These efforts have yielded results, but they cannot as yet be regarded as entirely satisfactory. It is necessary to continue strengthening the communists' spirit of open intolerance of stumbling blocks and making criticism and self-criticism more tangible, concrete, and addressed to specific persons.

The party emphatically condemns indifference by communists to mistakes, does everything to remove cases of an unprincipled, "differentiated" approach to criticism, in other words, situations in which shortcomings are noted with cautious glances at those whom they concern. This conduct is unacceptable. A critical analysis of problems and mistakes, regardless of who or what organ is concerned, is not only a right but also a duty of a communist stemming from his or her responsibility to the people.

More than ever, the HSWP insists on its members openly stating their attitude to all of the party's affairs, and that this should be expressed not only in words but also in practical action. The overwhelming majority of them abide by party moral norms, fulfil their duties in exemplary fashion, correctly use their rights, serve society's interests selflessly, and are modest and disciplined. True, we get cases, although these are not frequent, of communists, including those in leadership positions, abusing their powers, dissipating our moral capital, and undermining the confidence of the masses. The party emphatically censures such cases and takes steps to prevent abuses of the people's confidence.

The party's unity and purity, and also discipline among its members are not only the internal affair of our organization but also a condition for maintaining links to the masses based on mutual confidence. People see the party as it is personified by individual communists. By the latter's behavior and actions people judge the entire party, and on this depends how attractive the party is to non-party people and whether their confidence in the party grows or slackens.

IV

Changes in political, social, and economic conditions and the strengthening of links with the masses presuppose the perfection of the style and methods of work, and the observance and development of Leninist norms of party life. More vigorous activity in this context helps to avoid the ever-present menace of bureaucratization, of manifestations of indifference to the people's problems, and of the repetition of mistakes.

The HSWP sees its duty to the people in opportunely resolving pressing problems in the interests of society. This style is consonant with communist ideas and the more the work of party organizations is consistent with it the more successfully will they be able to achieve their aims.

The question of improving and developing the methods of our work should never leave our agenda. After it had recently examined its own methods of work, the HSWP Central Committee instructed territorial party organs to analyze their practice as well. In the current year primary party organizations are scrutinizing and discussing how collective leadership and inner-party democracy function, and also the discipline, activity, and unity of action of the membership. We expect that a comprehensive analysis and the conclusions drawn from it will serve to free party work of elements of formalism, superfluous administrative tutelage, and fruitless meetings, which divert the attention of communists to the detriment of their political work, and place an unneeded burden on primary organizations. The HSWP Central Committee makes sure that leading party organs do not engage in petty tutelage and do not overload primary organizations with assignments. Here it is borne in mind that in most primary organizations there are no full-time cadre and that party work is conducted on a volunteer basis.

The highest forum of a primary organization is its meeting. This is an irreplaceable crucible of creative, joint thought and elaboration of methods of united action. Some years ago the HSWP Central Committee used the experience of fraternal parties to introduce a tested system of holding party election meetings at the end of a year. The preparations for these meetings include individual talks with every party member. An exchange of views on urgent matters of internal and external policy, the party's course, the work and life and problems of this or that communist gives an impetus to party life and enables the entire party to acquire new useful experience.

Things run much more smoothly in a party collective in which the interrelationships are correct. Such party organizations are able to determine the political effect of the party's measures in good time and pass the relevant trustworthy information to higher organs: this is especially important in the context of strengthening our links to the people. On the basis of the views and signals from the localities, the party leadership can accurately assess the situation, or any changes in it, quickly take into consideration and resolve urgent problems, and keep actual public opinion constantly in its field of vision. Since the experience of primary organizations is widely used in drawing up party decisions, the HSWP Central Committee makes sure that the information coming from below is consonant with reality and reflects the opinion of the people.

In speaking of the principles of leadership, we believe it is important to emphasize that a rule in the party is that an elected organ can be directed only by another elected organ. A function of the apparatus is to draw up decisions on instructions from an elected organ and help to implement these decisions. This is an important element of party democracy.

The HSWP strives to prevent a gap between the making of decisions and the implementation of these decisions. It is extremely important that in party work in the localities aims are achieved as planned by higher organs. Successes and setbacks cannot, however, be regarded one-sidedly — from top to bottom, and only primary organizations blamed for shortcomings. We are categorically against the view that matters at the "top" run smoothly, while mistakes arise "from below." This assessment is unjust and does not reflect reality, because weak fulfillment is often the result of shortcomings in the work of leading organs. For that reason it is evaluated according to the level of the work of primary organizations in the first place.

The HSWP's central organs — the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CC — regularly hear reports from regional and district party committees on their leadership and of assistance to primary organizations. They analyze the practice of these organizations at large factories, residential neighborhoods, educational establishments, and cultural institutions. In order to strengthen the links between the party leadership and the primary organizations the CC obliges members of central and regional elected organs to participate regularly in the work of the communists in the localities, their meetings in the first place.

We take into account the fact that the efficacy

of the efforts of a party organization depends to a large extent on how well informed it is. When communists know the situation in the party and the country they are able to give the people argued explanations of the direction and aims of party policy. An important role is played in the information system by the monthly journals *Titkari*, *taekoztata* (Information Bulletin for Secretaries) and *Partelet* (Party Life). The HSWP Central Committee's departments likewise help primary organizations with methodological directions and recommendations on ways of resolving pressing problems. Meetings of secretaries of primary organizations are held regularly (combined or by groups, depending on the situation and the character of the problems under discussion). The main purposes of these meetings are to explain the decisions of leading organs, work out a common approach, hear reports, exchange information and experience, and provide consultations.

In keeping with the decisions of the 12th HSWP congress, the work of all party committees and organizations is aimed at reinforcing and multiplying what we have achieved, maintaining socio-political stability in the country, enhancing the people's sense of responsibility for their socialist homeland, and reinforcing their internationalist thinking.

V

The people trust the party, which ensures the country with peaceful development, dependable allies, and a worthy place on the international scene. In its foreign policy, too, the HSWP strives to justify the confidence of the people.

Our efforts are directed toward preserving and consolidating peace, which is indispensable to the successful building of the new society. People's Hungary is working to this end together with its friends and allies — the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. By developing constructive steps to safeguard peace, coordinating their foreign policy actions, and acting together for the continuation and deepening of détente, the fraternal socialist states are acting in the interests not only of their own peoples but also of all progressive humankind. This policy is consolidating Hungary's position on the international scene and promoting its prestige in the world community of nations.

At the same time, we do not hide the stumbling blocks to peace from the people. They are kept thoroughly informed of the external conditions in which the party functions and of the causes for the aggravation of the international

situation. The policies and aggressive actions of the USA are the principal cause of tension. Extremist imperialist circles have openly set upon a course toward upsetting the existing military equilibrium in the world. These circles are escalating their arms build-up, poisoning the international atmosphere, slandering the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign nations, using political and economic sanctions against "objectionable" regimes, and inducing their allies to take similar action. We take the specifics of world development and also the problems in the international communist and working-class movement into account, and on that basis do our utmost to promote cooperation and coordinated actions by fraternal socialist countries, protect the common Marxist-Leninist teaching and proletarian internationalism, reinforce the unity of our movement, and disrupt imperialism's plans.

The HSWP strengthens the people's conviction that the unity and cohesion of the socialist community are an important guarantee that the difficulties on the international scene will be surmounted. It stresses that the more successfully we carry out the tasks of socialist construction in Hungary the better will we be able to fulfil our obligations in the international class struggle.

In struggle and work we are inspired by the consciousness that the idea of socialism, which was only a hope of humankind prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution, is being translated into reality in an ever larger number of countries. This year the Soviet people, who were the first to take the road of socialism, are marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR. We are likewise marking this glorious anniversary, recalling the path traversed by the Soviet people under the leadership of the party of Lenin. The experience of these six struggle-filled decades gives Hungarian communists strength, and the HSWP is using it to build a developed socialist society.

Our party and people are faced with the common task of successfully carrying out the decisions of the 12th HSWP congress. We do not deny that we have to work under conditions that have now grown more complex. However, it is a fact that we are building our future on a more solid foundation than ever before. The internal situation in Hungary is stable, the party is confidently implementing its leading role, and we have dependable allies. The decisions of the 12th HSWP congress have won the understanding and support of the people and they are being consistently carried out in all the important areas of social activity. We have not

only bigger tasks but also greater strength and more extensive experience. The main condition for achieving what has been planned and for surmounting difficulties is at hand: the

party is confident in the people, and the people are confident in the party. Day after day we shall consolidate and deepen this basis of social progress.

Behind the ups and downs of the "North-South dialogue"

POLITICAL SURVEY

In the sphere of international economic relations now runs one of the key lines in the intense contest between the forces of imperialism and the forces of social progress, democracy and national liberation. The domination of international capital rests on inequality and discrimination in world economic ties. The interests of the socialist world countries, those of the peoples of the newly liberated countries and the capitalist states themselves require a radical restructuring of international economic relations and an end to discrimination and the establishment of equality.

The course of this dramatic and global struggle has already been analyzed on the pages of *WMR*.¹ What has been published shows the communists' approach to the movement for a restructuring of international economic relations and to the slogan for a new international economic order (NIEO), and brings out the current aspects of the policy of imperialism and neocolonialism, including those in the context of the NIEO problem. The purpose of the present survey is to analyze some of the new aspects arising from the ups and downs of the "North-South dialogue", a term broadly used in international circles to indicate the intricate complex of economic inter-relations between two groups of states: the capitalist and the developing.

As on so many other occasions in the past, political changes, whether truly cardinal or tactical, are preceded by ideological changes. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the well-known Brandt Report² objectively played such a role in the attempts to "modify" imperialist policy in the regions of the former colonial periphery.

Both the expressly loud title of the document and its content were a reflection of the urge on the part of its authors to draw the attention of a definite section of international capital and public opinion in the West to the burning problems and the economic and social ills of the

developing countries. Why? Underneath the neutral style of presentation one will discern quite a definite class undercurrent. Alarmed by the recession and the crises rocking the capitalist economy ("they threaten the whole structure of our political, industrial and financial institutions", the report said³), the authors indicated the following way out: more active stimulation of socio-economic development on the periphery of the world capitalist economy at the expense — and for the benefit — of its centers (the idea of a "massive transfer of resources"). This was, in effect, a proposal to ensure the survival of the capitalist system, which would be given a rejuvenating impulse in the course of the externally accelerated growth of market and other economic activity in the former colonies.

Meanwhile, the struggle for a radical restructuring of international economic relations continued to gain in depth and breadth. How imperialism reacted to this, what happened to the central idea of the report, that of developing a "dialogue," was made clear by subsequent developments.

What happened to the ideas of the "Independent Commission"

The recipes proposed by the "Independent Commission" for establishing more balanced relations between the capitalist "North" and the "South" were in the nature of long-term and also to some extent here-and-now practical recommendations (the idea of a "North-South" summit meeting, etc.). The hope was that definite class forces, prepared to seek "new ways" for a dialogue, would be found both in the circles of international capital and in the developing countries. Let us recall that the first major essay in such a dialogue — the Paris conference on international economic cooperation (1975-1977) — did not yield any results and the dialogue ran into a dead end. However, it was no longer possible either then or since not to reckon with the movement for a restructuring of international economic relations. It continued to grow and gain in strength,

bringing new knots of contradictions into the participants' field of vision. At the UN General Assembly session in 1979, the developing countries, with the support of the socialist community, secured the adoption of a resolution on global negotiations within the UN framework on the key aspects of a restructuring of international economic relations.⁴ This idea, put forward by the Havana Conference of the non-aligned movement, was later actively pressed for at many international forums. A number of leading capitalist powers, for which the developing countries are especially important as marketing outlets and sources of raw materials, began to incline to the prospect of such negotiations. At the same time the general democratic and anti-imperialist tenor of notions concerning a NIEO became more pronounced and this could not but worry far-sighted leaders in the capitalist centers themselves.

It was under the influence of the ideologists of the social-reformist school that another attempt was made to formulate an "enlightened" program, taking care both of the interests of the capitalist and the developing countries, on the "principle of mutuality of interests," as it is called in the Brandt report. The authors strove not only to prove that the two sets of interests were compatible, but also effectively to invigorate the "North-South dialogue" by channeling it into a course more in line with the current state of neocolonialist understandings.

That was the origin of what could be called an ideological platform designed to show the prospect for "harmonizing" relations between these two groups of countries. Efforts to realize the idea were begun as early as the spring of 1981. Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria and President Lopez Portillo of Mexico came forward with the initiative of a major international function. The foreign ministers of 10 nations met in Vienna to get down to preparations for a summit meeting within the framework of the "North-South dialogue." The venue of the meeting was also set (several months later it opened at the Mexican resort of Cancun). The impression was being created that the labors of the Brandt Commission were beginning to yield fruit.

However, a stringent test still lay ahead for the theoretical conceptual constructs of the "Independent Commission." They were still to win the hearts of those who were to be called upon to loosen their purse-strings for a "massive transfer of resources," those on whom the future of the "dialogue" generally depended. After all, it is one thing to announce intentions and goals for the purpose of exerting a mainly moral and ideological influence on the

capitalist governments, and quite another to have such governments adopt concrete policies. As soon as the Reagan administration got hold of the instruments of government power in the United States, it took a frankly negative line with regard to the developing countries' demands on a NIEO program. Economic development in the periphery of the capitalist economy was regarded by the "Reaganites" in the light of the "magic of the market-place." Whereas Cyrus Vance, a prominent spokesman for the Democratic administration, was still claiming in the Carter period that the United States was fully resolved to maintain "rapid and comprehensive growth" in the developing countries, even by now and again adapting its own economy to it, the Reagan team would not even hear of any such promises.⁵

At the same time, the attitude in the imperialist camp to the plans for a "dialogue" was marked by a certain dualism. Whereas Washington sharply opposed any modification of the neocolonialist line, denouncing the postulates of the advocates of a "massive transfer of resources," and so on, with the installation of the Mitterand government, Paris was, by contrast, speaking quite in unison with the Brandt Commission about the need for "balanced" relations and more "solidarity" with the "third world." French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson asserted that "an economic revival requires a development of the countries of the South. This does not mean some hundreds of millions of dollars, but tens of billions that need to be sent where the need for them is especially acute, and where the effect of their use would most rapidly tell on purchasing power and, consequently, on the expansion of the market" (*italics supplied*. — Ed.).⁶

Indeed, the Reagan administration even found some advantage in such a stand by its partners who demonstrated an urge for solidarity with the "third world." This facilitated the possibility of maneuver. Washington strove, at least outwardly, to preserve the semblance of good intentions on continuing the dialogue. The communiqué issued by the imperialist powers' heads of government meeting in Ottawa in the summer of 1981 said, among other things, that they are prepared to take part in the preparations for a mutually acceptable process of global negotiations in circumstances creating the possibility for achieving fruitful progress.

However, this vague formula and its reservations in effect concealed a compromise that was advantageous to the United States in the first place. Reagan actually tied the hands of his

allies. Without rejecting global negotiations outright, he was not particularly anxious to conceal the USA's negative attitude to such negotiations, increasingly forcing the other capitalist partners to think about concessions to Washington instead of reckoning with the opinion of the developing countries. In return, the U.S. President proposed no more than his participation in the Cancun summit meeting of the leaders of capitalist and developing countries⁷ planned for the autumn.

Months after the summit meeting bourgeois commentators were asking what appeared to be a rhetorical question: did Cancun actually take place? Some even proposed that the meeting should be declared a non-event. An extremely sceptical view of the results of the conference prevails in broad public circles in many countries, the developing countries above all. Even Willy Brandt, one of the chief architects of the Cancun meeting, had nothing better to say than this: "I had expected more from the summit, but, of course, the outcome could have been worse."⁸

The tendency to give the Cancun results the lowest marks is natural. The conversations held there turned out to be not binding in any way on the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, and some commentators have even remarked sarcastically that the whole thing boiled down to Reagan getting to know the leaders of the developing countries. The futility of the meeting was most visually brought out by the actual preservation of the status quo in the position of the capitalist camp, which crucially depends on the will of Washington. While not openly opposing global negotiations on that occasion either, the Reagan administration continued to try to get the process to run not at the United Nations but within the ambit of specialized agencies — the IBRD, the IMF and others — where the dialogue could be easily given a turn suiting imperialism.

It is highly indicative that a guarantee for the independence of specialized agencies was once again stipulated as the key condition for global negotiations in the declaration issued by the recent Versailles conference of the seven leading capitalist powers, although it also contains some ostentatiously optimistic assessments of the prospects of the "dialogue" and other glib assurances designed to put heart into the developing countries. But their response to Versailles was different. Once again, the Algerian Information Agency reported, the leaders of the capitalist world turned a deaf ear to the developing countries' legitimate demands for a radical restructuring of international economic

relations on the basis of equality and justice.

There are also some symptoms of an "adjustment" of the stands of the imperialists, both on the level of approaches and on practical policy with respect to the developing countries. The President of the IBRD, the American A.W. Clausen criticized the accepted concept "North-South", until recently regarded a convenient handle, and proposed, in particular, a reclassification of these states by grouping them into four categories with an eye to their industrial development, possession of valuable resources, etc.⁹ Clausen's concept is meant to serve "applied" rather than scientific purposes and is inspired by the "Reaganites" who deny that there is any community of interests between the countries being exploited by international capital. But perhaps another thing is noteworthy: a similar view is now also being propounded by the Frenchman Edgard Pisani, a member of the Brandt Commission and now the head of the EEC Commission for Foreign Aid. He has also advocated a differentiated approach to the countries of Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (the ACP countries) associated with the EEC within the framework of the Lome Convention.¹⁰ Pisani believes that more aid should go to the smaller number of countries — let us recall that the Reagan administration has been actively pursuing this line for nearly two years. The similarity of these approaches reflects the common urge of the capitalist powers to conduct a policy designed to range groups of developing countries against each other, making use for the purpose of economic aid instruments and other methods of direct and indirect pressure.

Aid policy has been a reflection of the actual attitude to the developing countries both on the part of Washington itself and of its more liberal-minded partners. As soon as the Americans reduced their contribution to the International Development Association (IDA) for 1981-1983,¹¹ their example was followed by the European "donors." The IDA fund for this period is being reduced by more than a quarter.¹² IDA loan facilities are also being cut back by 37 per cent (from \$4.1 billion to \$2.6 billion).¹³ IMF Managing Director Jacques de Larosiere has refused to increase Special Drawing Rights facilities¹⁴ for the needs of the "third world."

At the beginning of this year, *The Times of India* assessed the new tilt in imperialist policy as follows: judging by the acts of the industrially developed countries (which radically diverge from their highly promising statements), the impression is being created after the Cancun meeting that it not only failed to create

the prerequisites for invigorating attempts to promote constructive cooperation between the developed and developing countries but that it, on the contrary, heralds a substantial reduction of aid to these countries . . . Concerted attempts are being made under U.S. leadership and with the secret support of Great Britain and West Germany to reduce sharply the volume of multilateral aid and to toughen up the terms on which it is made available.

Thus, the will of the capitalist treasuries turned out to be stronger than the enlightened urges of the advocates of a more flexible line with respect to the developing countries. It is not in the nature of capitalism to make hand-outs running to tens of billions of currency units (the Brandt report contains even larger amounts). Its self-seeking substance will be seen both from the actions of those who direct White House policy and those who, while voicing sympathy for the developing countries, turn the "dialogue" with them into a talking shop which is not binding on anyone.

But there are even more alarming symptoms which leave an imprint on the present state of the economic and other contacts between these two groups of states.

"Aid", an instrument of force

The sharp intensification of the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism has an influence on the international situation as a whole. Washington leaders now regard the developing countries as the arena of a global confrontation with socialism. The successes of the liberation movement in the political and economic battles are a source of worry not only to them. All over the capitalist world there is virtual panic over the rising action by these states in defense of their economic sovereignty, for the purpose of establishing effective control over their natural resources. Through its official spokesmen, the White House has tried to scare the peoples with the prospect of an "era of wars over resources," while itself demonstrating that these are more than just words.

From the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s, U.S. policy has increasingly tilted toward military-economic cooperation within regional frameworks. Alexander Haig, then Secretary of State, told the 36th session of the UN General Assembly that from the U.S. standpoint the most "promising" regions were Southeast Asia (naturally, without Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea!), Southern Africa, West Africa and the Caribbean. He specifically emphasized the importance of the business partnership with ASEAN, and close working relations and consultations on problems of

trade and capital investment with some groups of African countries.

Strictly speaking, the neocolonialist orientation toward regional cooperation is not all that new. For more than two decades, it has been carried on by the EEC under the Lome Conventions involving the use mainly of economic instruments. The West European imperialists seek to ensure guaranteed deliveries of valuable mineral raw materials and agricultural produce to capitalist Europe. Furthermore, they have made some concessions to the ACP countries by allowing some access for their goods to the EEC markets so as to develop business relations with them through compromise deals behind the back of the entire movement of the developing countries for a radical restructuring of international economic relations on a just basis.

The Reagan administration's concept of regional cooperation also has exploitive purposes. Its main distinctive feature is the unprecedented geopolitical accent and the short-term priority of military-strategic interests over all the others, including economic interests. Washington's attention is not at all focused on the Sahel region of Africa, where people have been suffering from monstrous droughts for decades, but on the South of the continent, and on Southeast Asia, that is, the regions of the most acute contest between the liberation forces and the forces of imperialism and reaction. That is where imperialism is terrified at the prospect of losing control over the richest resources and seeing its positions undermined. Ever more frequently military-political self-seeking tends to prevail over any plans for regional activity fostered by the United States.

In Southeast Asia, U.S. strategists have tried hard to block the establishment of good-neighbor relations between the states of Indochina and ASEAN, putting their stake not only on closely tying the local economies to the interests of U.S. business, above all of the multinational corporations, but also on converting ASEAN into a military-political support of imperialism. The idea is to set up something like a new military bloc on the basis of the Five.¹⁵

The line conducted by the "Reaganites" with respect to independent Africa is only just being shaped, but the tilt has clearly been made toward stepping up cooperation with the groups of countries oriented toward the capitalist world, like the West African Economic Community. But in the South of the continent, racist South Africa has been most resolutely chosen as a true ally. With it the closest ties are being maintained along the economic, military and

other lines. Washington hopes that with time neocolonialist regional strategy will pay: it expects to find regimes prepared to interact both with South Africa and with the United States.

The accents in U.S. regional strategy clearly stand out in Reagan's "Caribbean initiative." At the end of February 1982, he announced the allocation to some Caribbean countries of military and economic aid totalling nearly \$350 million. Commodities coming from countries in the area (not Cuba or Nicaragua, of course!) have been promised free access to U.S. markets over the next 12 years. It is true that an important reservation was put in: with the exception of textiles and garments. One third of the above amount is earmarked for the El Salvador fascists, whose hands are stained with the blood of their own people, and large amounts are to go to their "friends" in Honduras and Guatemala. Former Prime Minister of Jamaica, social democrat Michael Manley says: "To understand the real purpose and measure of the political cynicism of the Plan, one needs to measure some of those who are included against those who are to be left out."¹⁶ General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Jamaica Trevor Munroe said Washington's scheme was "crumbs-of-bread bribery," and added that "the program is directed at the disintegration of regional co-operation and pushes Caribbean governments into a position of fighting with each other rather than cooperating with each other."¹⁷

The blatantly militarist and counter-revolutionary tenor of the "Caribbean initiative" also leaps to the eye. The bulk of the funds is to be used to finance large-scale punitive operations against the popular forces and for acts of subversion against Nicaragua and Grenada. Dollar injections will also be used for the purchase of U.S. military hardware.

The line of the global power confrontation with the socialist world and the peoples taking the road of democracy and progress has had a profound effect on Washington's official policy of aid to the developing countries in the 1980s, there has been a clear change of its priorities. In the past, it was regarded mainly as a means of keeping these countries within the orbit of capitalism and was used to encourage the expansion of foreign monopoly business, but just now it is especially important for Washington to what extent it is capable of realizing its military-strategic schemes. From year to year, the list of those receiving the bulk of such funds has been shrinking, and the share of spending for military purposes has been growing at the expense of that for peaceful purposes.

A secret White House document made public recently shows that henceforth economic aid is

to be regarded above all from the angle of ensuring the "security" of the United States and implementing its strategic plans. Israel, Egypt, Pakistan and some other countries with reactionary regimes are to remain the major and most trusted clients. In capitalist Europe, this kind of short-sighted policy has evoked disapproval from an influential section of the ruling circles. In an interview with the journal *South*, Willy Brandt emphasized: "This looks more like a retreat into the past than as a preparation for the future . . . for more enlightened relations . . . I think that the concept of perceiving aid as an instrument of national policy is obsolete."

U.S. imperialism is now ever more frequently using the screen of economic aid for its far-reaching hegemonistic plans as it whips up the arms race in strategically important regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is a monstrous waste of useful resources which are so necessary for the national economies in conditions of underdevelopment. Total arms exports from the United States in 1982 are to total not \$15 billion, as Washington had claimed earlier, but \$25 billion, or even \$30 billion¹⁸ (France is the second largest arms exporter in the capitalist world). One can well imagine the kind of cataclysms with which the policy being pursued by Washington and its allies for the extensive arming of some developing countries is fraught. It could start a "chain reaction" as neighboring states also build up their arsenals being forced to take steps to safeguard their sovereignty and improve their national defense.

The policy of economic boycotts and "sanctions" is not a new one, but it has been an ever more widely used method of imperialist pressure on the developing countries. Being applied selectively, above all against countries taking an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist stand, it reflects a further extremely reactionary tilt within the framework of the neocolonialist line. The "sanctions" mounted against Iran developed into a kind of "economic aggression" in key areas: the freezing of Iranian deposits in U.S. banks, the termination of oil purchases, and trade embargo. The boycott was also supported by the other imperialists. After Carter's departure from the White House the bourgeois press admonished the administration that "Iran must be punished . . . and that is not something the Reagan administration can do effectively alone. This should be the new president's first test with his allies. He must get their cooperation in selectively limiting trade and diplomatic contacts as long as Ayatollah Khomeini lives."¹⁹ We find, therefore, that the "sanc-

tions" are threatened not against those who practice the lawlessness of apartheid and who have subjected Angola and Mozambique to acts of aggression, to say nothing of those who have now drenched Lebanon in blood. The urge is to "punish" all the unruly, the countries which refuse to accept alien dictates.

The imperialists' switch to collective methods of economic pressure is also clearly evident in the case of Argentina, yet another victim of the "sanctions" applied by the imperialists in the course of Great Britain's colonial war in the South Atlantic. Siding with the aggressor, the United States and the EEC declared a trade embargo on the country.

However, the events of the past few years show that the United States has, after all, failed to coerce its allies into giving full support to its actions. The West European states and Japan saw the great cost of Carter's and then of Reagan's brigandage from the standpoint of their own business interests. World economic ties take shape in the course of history, and they are not so easily broken up. Just now, some West European companies, for instance, seek to re-establish the economic contacts with Iran which had been disrupted in accordance with the will of Washington. A similar White House policy with respect to Libya is not succeeding. It is being resisted by U.S. businessmen themselves. To say nothing of the fact that Libya has been successfully arranging ties with other business partners.

The approaches being worked out by the communist and workers' parties to the problems of international economic relations regard the operation of the tendency toward the internationalization of the processes of economic life as pivotal. Force in international relations can undermine this tendency, but it cannot abolish it. In present-day conditions, there is a steady extension of the range of contacts between states along economic and other lines. Of special importance from the standpoint of the developing countries' interests is their arrangement of equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation with the socialist countries.

Reliance on cooperation with the socialist world helps not only to fight against the imperialist brigandage and the "sanctions" policy. The strengthening of contacts between the socialist and the developing countries helps the latter to develop in economic independence, a fact the capitalist powers have to reckon with in their repeated re-establishment of economic ties with the once-colonial countries. But in such cases, the re-establishment of

ties is effected on a fundamentally different, mutually advantageous basis.

The developing countries' experience in the struggle on the economic front also shows that the greater their cooperation with the socialist and anti-imperialist states, with their neighbors in the various regions, the more successful their use of inter-imperialist contradictions. The anti-neocolonialist, liberation tenor of such cooperation is an important condition for advance along the road of economic independence.

Finally, growing importance is attached to the ties along the "South-South" line, i.e., cooperation in the economic sphere between the developing countries themselves. Some major international meetings in the recent period have shown very well that the tendency toward a development of such relations is steadily making headway.

Potentialities of the "South-South" line

The conference of 44 developing countries held in Delhi at the beginning of this year was an important event. In the course of the Delhi consultations a common approach was hammered out on the key problems: how to take the "dialogue" with the capitalist powers out of its dead end, and how to activate cooperation between the developing countries.

Many participants in the meeting emphasized the importance of examining the two problems in close connection with each other. In the developing world there are ever fewer advocates of a narrowly isolationist interpretation of "South-South" contacts as some kind of alternative in the struggle for restructuring international economic relations. Such an approach is much too utopian in the context of the ongoing internationalization of economic life. It is noteworthy that the "collective reliance on one's own forces" concept, which is accepted by the non-aligned movement, in its anti-imperialist and democratic interpretation implies coordination of action by the developing countries themselves for the purpose of overcoming backwardness and strengthening economic independence without denying the importance of external assistance to these efforts.

The communists and other progressive forces recognize the positive principle of the line directed toward a development of economic ties between the developing countries. Such cooperation has a tendency to be enriched with ever new elements of anti-imperialist and democratic content. A conference of the "Group of 77" ministers in Caracas in May 1981 discussed the possibilities of further deepening

economic contacts along the "South-South" line. An understanding was reached on stepping up efforts to work out a common system of trade preferences, the establishment of state companies with the participation of several countries, the coordination of terms for the purchase of goods on the capitalist market by-passing middlemen, and so on. The Caracas forum succeeded in working out an "Action Program" aimed to deepen economic ties between the developing countries. The course of its fulfillment was an item on the agenda during the Delhi consultations. That is where new concrete ideas of cooperation also originated. India, for instance, proposed the establishment of a multilateral financial body on the basis of contributions by interested developing countries for stimulating economic cooperation. It was also decided to set up their science and technology center in Delhi.

Of course, considering the different socio-political orientation of the participants in such forums, it is not hard to notice that now and again some of them are "short" of readiness to take practical measures for arranging mutual economic ties. Among the objective factors hampering the development of this process is above all the fact that the local economies are tied to the markets of the capitalist centers. The friction and compromise decisions to some extent limit the potential for collective self-sufficiency.

But another thing is also beyond doubt. Behind the "collective reliance" line is the objective urge of the overwhelming majority of the developing countries to coordinate their potentialities so as to influence more effectively the evolution of world economic relations, and to clear them of the manifestations of oppression, inequality and discrimination which still prevail in their ties with the capitalist powers. The anti-imperialist states accept and understand the "dialogue" precisely in the context of such a struggle. However, within the NIEO movement there is yet another, reformist, or patently bourgeois pragmatic line: its advocates are rather more inclined to bargain for definite advantages exclusively for themselves, expecting their capitalist partners to make concessions, while the latter, for their part, display a readiness to make separate deals, so long as these help to split the movement for a restructuring of international economic relations. In practice this leads to concessions to imperialism.

The voices that carried the most weight at the Delhi meeting were the voices of those who insist on radical decisions within the framework of global negotiations at a truly representative international forum. The efforts by some

delegates to help smuggle through U.S. schemes failed. The final document adopted in Delhi emphasized: "The Group of 77 should remain firm and flexible — firm in its commitments to the basic objective of global negotiations as contained in Resolution 34/138 and flexible in its approach and strategy."²⁰ Although for the time being the "dialogue" between the developing and the capitalist countries looks like a marking of time, the former constantly display a readiness for a constructive conversation. At the same time, they sharply denounce the imperialist policy of "sanctions", as will be seen, in particular from the results of the non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting recently held in Havana.

The Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the global approach to the problems of restructuring international economic relations implies a consideration of the whole diversity of factors which influence the formation of the new system of world economic ties. Changing the existing economic order on a just basis means overcoming, on a truly global scale, all kinds of discrimination and the obstacles being erected by imperialism in the way of trade and economic contacts. Experience over the past several years has clearly shown that relapses into "economic warfare" and pressures to fold up cooperation are being ever more frequently practised by some capitalist governments with respect both to the socialist world and to the less developed world. Moreover, the arms twisting which the United States has used against its partners in order to undermine the West Europeans' most promising and advantageous lines of economic cooperation with the USSR testifies that discrimination and great-power neglect of the interests of other countries are not at all ruled out even in relations between the capitalist powers.

That is why the communists and other progressive circles stress the role of the principle of universality, which implies equality in external economic contacts for all the states. Today, that is the hallmark of the socialist community's ties with the developing countries. Progressive and democratic forces believe that they have the important task of working further to enlarge the sphere for the operation of just and democratic rules throughout the whole system of international relations.

*WMR Commission on the Problems of
National Liberation Movements
in Asian and African Countries*

1. "Restructuring International Economic Relations and the People's Anti-Imperialist Front," *WMR*, No. 5,

1979; Ludwig Muller and Fritz Rische, "EEC Neocolonialism in Action," No. 10, 1981; Y. Dadoo, "The Military-Political Trend in the Strategy of Neocolonialism," No. 5, 1981.

2. North-South. A Program for Survival. The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt. London, 1980.

3. Ibid., p. 239.

4. This Resolution No. 34/138 brings to the fore matters like energy, raw materials, trade, development and monetary and financial problems. The developing countries regard a constructive discussion of such key problems at a forum under UN auspices as a most important step in establishing a NIEO.

5. Department of State Bulletin, May 1979, p. 33.

6. *Le Monde*, September 25, 1981.

7. It was attended by capitalist states (United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, FRG, Canada, Austria, and Sweden), developing countries (India, Bangladesh,

Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Tanzania, Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Guyana) and also by Yugoslavia and China.

8. *The Economist*, November 28, 1981.

9. *The Guardian*, January 31, 1982.

10. *The Economist*, November 7, 1981, pp. 75-76.

11. A branch of the IBRD extending long-term loans on easy terms to the most needy developing countries.

12. *Le Monde*, March 14-15, 1982.

13. *Le Monde*, January 29, 1982.

14. SDRs are credit facilities entitling receipt of foreign exchange in foreign banks.

15. Imperialist methods aimed at attaining this goal are examined in "Build a Bastion of Peace," WMR, No. 6, 1982.

16. *New African*, May 1982, p. 44.

17. *Struggle*, April 2, 1982, p. 8.

18. *The Guardian Weekly*, June 6, 1982.

19. *International Herald Tribune*, January 23, 1981.

20. *Patriot*, February 25, 1982.



Georgi Dimitrov and the world of today

An international theoretical conference on the subject "The Life-Work of Georgi Dimitrov and the World of Today" was sponsored in Sofia by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. One of the main events marking the centenary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, outstanding personality of the international communist and working-class movement and a great son of the Bulgarian people, this conference was attended by 140 delegations representing communist, workers', revolutionary-democratic, socialist, and social-democratic parties, national liberation movements and international organizations.

It was opened by Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria. The report "Georgi Dimitrov and the World of Today" was delivered by Boris Ponomarev, Political Bureau alternate member and CC Secretary, CPSU. Altogether, there were over 150 speeches.

Georgi Dimitrov, the speakers said, was a revolutionary of the Leninist type, who devoted all his life to the cause of the working class and communism. The significance of Dimitrov's ideological legacy was shown comprehensively at the conference, the speakers considering this question not only in its historical aspects

but also in the context of the present-day tasks.

It was noted that Dimitrov was one of the first to sound the tocsin, warning against the threat of another world war, and was one of the first to point out that the peace forces would have a growing potential once they appreciated the need for uniting their efforts with those of the then new and powerful peace factor — the Soviet socialist state. This example and experience are of immense value today in a situation in which the threat of war has increased and the joint efforts of the socialist countries and all other peace forces have become one of the key conditions for averting a nuclear catastrophe. The problem of safeguarding peace was central at the conference.

Speakers stressed the importance of Dimitrov's idea of a broad anti-fascist coalition, an idea that in the situation obtaining in the 1930s concretized Lenin's vision of unity between the working-class movement and the general democratic movements. Dimitrov advanced the concepts of a genuine people's democratic state and an anti-fascist democratic government. The viability of these concepts is borne out by the formulation by communist parties of the question of transitional forms of statehood in the struggles for true democracy and socialism. Dimitrov made an inestimable contribution to

the development of the policy of broad popular fronts. The communists are today doing their utmost to develop interaction with broader socio-political forces.

Georgi Dimitrov stressed that it was the duty of every communist party to educate the workers and all other working people in the spirit of internationalism, noting that proletarian internationalism had to be part of the make-up of every country, that it should be allowed to sink deep roots precisely on national soil. These questions were dealt with at length by the speakers, who stressed that the internationalist solidarity of the communists includes solidarity with all revolutionary, progressive, and democratic forces, with all fighters against imperialism, for national independence and social progress.

Much was said about the need for combining theory and practice creatively. Georgi Dimitrov, it was noted in this connection, was always aware that the revolutionary process does not follow formulas and patterns drawn up beforehand, that it is a complex and contradictory historical reality which must be understood so as to direct the creative energy of the masses correctly. The key to such understanding is given by Marxism-Leninism. Dimitrov invariably

took Marxism-Leninism as his point of departure, drawing attention to the underlying provisions of our theory, to the ultimate and immutable objectives of the revolutionary struggle. To this day, it was said at the conference, the development of Marxist-Leninist science cannot be replaced either by utopian arbitrary patterns or by pragmatic calculations.

In closing the conference Todor Zhivkov returned to the most urgent theme, that of peace. "Our party," he declared, "feels that the participants in this theoretical conference dedicated to the centenary of the birth of the great fighter for peace Georgi Dimitrov, the representatives of 140 communist, revolutionary-democratic, and progressive parties and international democratic organizations have every justification to appeal to all peoples, to all the peace forces in the world to support the initiative of the USSR and demand that all nuclear powers should follow its example and renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. This would be tantamount to a ban on their use."

The conference was an important international socio-political event.

Girgin Girginov
BCP Central Committee member

Our aim: socialism in the colors of France

Danielle Bleitrach
CC member, French Communist Party

The 24th congress of the French Communist Party* was held in circumstances that are without precedent in France's political history. The defeat of Giscard d'Estaing, the election of Francois Mitterand as President of the Republic on May 10, 1981, and the left-wing forces' victory in the parliamentary elections in June 1981 put an end to the 23-year reign of the right. For the first time in a third of a century communist ministers are taking part in the government. A new period in national life has begun.

The Communist Party has made a full contribution to the victory. For years, it had inspired the people's urge for change, showing how and by what means such change could be brought about, and that was central to the campaign carried on in the presidential elections by FCP

activists together with its candidate Georges Marchais. The votes collected by the party were crucial for the election both of the President and of a left majority in the National Assembly.

The situation abounds in perspectives but it is complicated and even contradictory.

The crisis in the country is profound and the problems facing it are immense. The forces of capital are determined to resist change. Without constant and conscious intervention by the popular forces there can be no steady advance. The FCP's serious reverse — in the presidential elections we won only 15 per cent of the poll, although we usually got over 20 per cent — does not put it in a better position to promote this process. At the same time, the rejection by the masses of Giscard d'Estaing's policy, their urge to see an end of the crisis, the commitments made by the President of the Republic, our party's role in the society and the con-

*The 24th congress of the FCP was held from February 3 to 7, 1982.

sciousness of millions of working people who trust it create the prerequisites for success.

In this situation, the communists, following the line of the 22nd and 23rd congresses (1976 and 1979) made an unambiguous choice: they took their due place in the new majority in accordance with their part in attaining the victory. We use every possibility to bring about social, economic and political transformations which are necessary to take the country out of the crisis and to give a fresh impetus to its development.

Conscious of its heightened responsibility, the party is firmly resolved to enhance its influence. At the 24th congress, it strove to clarify the reasons for its reverse so as more confidently to advance. It clearly established the importance of the key strategic decisions taken at the last two congresses and gave greater depth to its analysis of the political practice which would make it possible to translate these into life. The communists did so in the conviction that they were acting in their country's interests and that the popular forces need a strong communist party in order to bring about a radical change in their destiny, that is, to advance toward socialism along the road of democracy.

The FCP has made a choice, and it is socialism the French way. What is it based on? The party proceeded from this diagnosis: our society is in the grip of a crisis. It is neither a short-term crisis, nor one brought about by external causes or political mistakes. It is a profound, global and protracted crisis, which the communists first indicated as early as 1971, when the FCP General Secretary drew attention to it and set out its characteristics in an article published in *L'Humanité*. At its 24th Congress, the party analyzed the causes of the crisis and the long-term development trends which, within the lifetime of a generation, have radically transformed the conditions of social life in the country.

Whatever the angle from which one considers our society (evolution of the production apparatus, activity of the state, the strategy of the transnationals, inflationary phenomena, exploitation of labor, destruction of the environment, etc.), one will find on every hand the same cause: the urge of the capitalists to maximize profits and sacrifice the needs of the working people. There is only one conclusion: it is impossible to find a real way out of the crisis without touching the power of capital. In other words, in order to break the vicious circle, there is a need to build another society. But this diagnosis also induces us to see the reality of the contradictions we have to face.

The crisis has highlighted new potentialities

and evoked new aspirations, while signifying a proliferation of diverse disorders and the growth of everyday difficulties. The struggle against them absorbs the powers of millions of men and women in their efforts to meet their most vital needs. The crisis has forced millions of others to live on assistance, it has narrowed down the horizons of their hopes, has discouraged them from action and has made them turn in upon themselves in a world of illusion.

That is the origin of the urge for change, and also of the fear of change: the fear of losing one's job, one's possessions, one's rights and one's freedom, fear of economic chaos, of moral disorder, of political gambles, of war, fear that the future may prove to be even worse than the present — all these fears of the coming year 2000, fears that now tend to dash so many hopes. The crisis is general but not equal for everyone. Everywhere it increases inequality, while simultaneously producing manifestations of solidarity. It obscures the fundamental antagonism between labor and big capital, which for many continues to be something remote and abstract, behind the innumerable daily contrasts, which are superficial but tangible: between he who has work and he who has not, between the trainee, the day-laborer, the part-time worker, and he who has a steady job and the corresponding guarantees; between the unskilled worker and the technician, the engineer and the employee; between he who has education and knowledge and he who has not; between the inhabitant of one region and the inhabitant of another; between the immigrant and the Frenchman; between the young and the adult; between man and woman.

The crisis is an acute form of conflict between the emergent new and the stubbornly resisting old. Consequently, there is a need to abandon every one-sided or mechanistic approach to its evolution. It is futile to expect changes and the emergence of socialism as a result of some liberatory catastrophe, some spontaneous or ineluctable collapse of the capitalist system.

Accordingly, there is a need to reckon with the political dimension of the crisis. It puts on the agenda the question of a transition to socialism, while engendering ideas and attitudes which tend to undermine the will for change or to disorient the masses. This is all the truer considering that the big bourgeoisie tends to play on such contradictions and uses them for its own benefits.

Unfortunately, there is now a gap between our understanding of the measures which need to be taken so as to carry the country out of the crisis, and the extent to which the need for such steps is realized by the working people. This

partly explains the party's reverse in the elections. That is why the congress delegates discussed the practical means that need to be applied to reduce this gap and to influence the consciousness of the masses, by putting forward concrete anti-capitalist solutions. We believe that a rise in the FCP influence — the central question at the congress — depends on its capacity to implement this strategy as a revolutionary party.

The second major point in the definition of our choice was the analysis of French specifics. The national realities in France today are those of a big and developed capitalist power. But behind this general characterization there is a need to discern the specific features which have taken shape in the course of an exceptionally rich and contradictory history.

France is a country in which the age-old struggle for freedom has run very far in the general recognition of human and civic rights, separation of church from state, pluralism and personal independence. Through countless battles for freedom of conscience and freedom of expression major victories were scored in the name of the people and humanism. Intense class battles have led to the consolidation of many democratic institutions and to a genuine politization of the masses which the big bourgeoisie seeks to reduce by spreading an attitude of indifference to politics. The development of the working class movement has raised the stakes in the struggle for freedom. Its boundaries have been enlarged, involving areas like trade union and social rights, and women's and young people's suffrage. Despite the fundamental limitations which capitalism imposes on the urge to live in freedom, this urge tends to acquire an amplitude and a diversity which are altogether exceptional.

In France there is also a highly intricate interlacing of various types of property. Up until the last few decades, the role of the numerous and stratified urban and rural petty bourgeoisie was very great. Many working people combine wage labor with farming. The ownership of personal dwellings is widespread. Artisan production and small enterprises have a considerable place in the economy. Besides, the workers and peasant movement have paved the way for the development of cooperative and other joint forms of property. This kind of complicated reality has an influence on people's minds, in particular, on the minds of new wage workers. The defense of vested interests may hamper the advance of class battles aimed to reduce social inequality. In the course of the struggle there is a need to respect these forms of property to the extent to which they help to preserve indi-

vidual freedoms and the viability of socio-economic structures.

Although monopoly property in large-scale means of production and exchange in France has developed more slowly than it has in a number of other capitalist countries, it has been firmly entrenched here as well. But the successes of the Popular Front and Liberation period led to the origination of a large state sector which is remarkably dynamic, and this largely explains the reason why the nationalization slogan is popular.

France is also, alongside the rights of the communes which are rooted in the distant past, an exceptionally centralized and ramified state power representing a powerful factor of national unity but also an important instrument of the reactionary forces in the country, whose history has known absolutism, Bonapartism, the Versailles traditions of the bourgeoisie and, just recently, presidentialism. At the same time, the Republic is the product of the great battles in which the masses acted as a powerful force. A tradition going back to the Jacobins, which regards centralism as a democratic weapon in the struggle against retrograde particularism, and the system of parliamentarism with its long history in the course of which it was possible to effect much progress by means of the ballot — without, it is true, ever affecting the capitalist system itself — all of this has deeply entrenched the habit to delegate power, and this gives the bourgeoisie a trump card.

But France is also the working class movement marked by these realities and battles and, for its part, exerting its profound influence on them. The ideas of anarcho-syndicalism, the socio-Christian trends and especially the socialism of Guesde, Lafargue and Jaures became the starting points and components in the development of popular and national consciousness. The influence, won as a result of tireless efforts by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) has ensured the prevalence among the working people of the concept of a class trade-union movement. Long deeply rooted in the masses, the FCP has forged a revolutionary current which has a major even if bitterly contested role to play in the life of the country.

All of this makes for a pattern of forces which is now reflected in the specific political situation and determines the peculiarities of French reality, historically definite while being in constant development, and adds above all a national dimension to the crisis of the French society.

Present-day France is an ensemble of especially favorable conditions which have taken shape in the course of its history: the most

diverse industrial and agricultural resources, a powerful even if unequally developed production apparatus, highly skilled and experienced working people, remarkable technological achievements, scientific activity and art on a world level, social gains which are among the most advanced, and an international influence of the first order. But it is also an aggregation of contradictions and disorders being deepened by the crisis, which has sharpened the proportions, undermined national cohesion, and signalled a decline which is alarming even if not yet irreversible. The high living standards and acute manifestations of social and regional inequality; a powerful economic and cultural potential and degradation of entire industries; high labor productivity and gruelling exploitation of the working people. The efficiency of capital investments is being undermined by the methods and orientations of big capital. A deeply rooted civilization and the disintegration of the social fabric. Considerable international potentialities fettered by the narrow framework of European and Atlantic integration.

It is in the light of this concrete reality, that the FCP has formulated the national basis of its strategy and mapped out the way for France.

First, we want to build socialism because it carries a solution for the problems of our society in conformity with the present stage of its history and gives the only possible answer to the crisis. This answer demands the establishment of social justice and a new type of economic growth aimed to satisfy the people's requirements, instead of the drive for capitalist profit; development of democracy and freedom, revival of culture and a new role for France in the world. Such a socialism will be based on democracy and self-management.

Second, the socialism we want will be a socialism the French way, in the colors of France. The transition of each country to socialism and the socialism it builds are necessarily subject to the general uniformities which are derived from experience, although their manifestation is historically relative. This does not mean that there is some universal scheme to which one need merely add national specifics. Both the transition to socialism and socialism itself are always fundamentally specific. We see them as a concrete response to concrete requirements, as a continuation in the development of the French nation following its own way, with its own fundamentally specific features which are not identical to those of other countries, let alone some kind of model.

It is impossible to determine the perspectives for socialism in France by confining oneself to

working out alternatives on the basis of a universal model. There is a need to produce concrete solutions suitable for the given concrete society. That is what the 22nd congress of the FCP said back in 1976, when it spoke of such key problems in the transition to socialism as socialization of the basic means of production and exchange, the establishment of the political power of the working people, and a democratic transformation of social relations.*

Since then, the party has advanced in its understanding of French specifics.

It is in this spirit, for instance, that it deepened the analysis of the national — primarily — nature of the crisis and issued the demand for an expansion of the production of French goods and for investment mainly in France. Advocating a new kind of economic growth, the communists demonstrated the need once again to put economic activity, knowledge and scientific and technical achievements at the service of the national interest. Their idea is that this interest should be served by the urge for social justice, improvement of the professional training of the personnel, development of all the regions of the country, expansion of trade, development of culture and the language, so as to promote an original logic in the development of the individual and the flourishing of the whole nation.

In the same spirit, the party approached the question of France's place in the world. The communists reaffirmed that while respecting the existing alliances, we intend to defend national independence in any circumstances and to guarantee our people freedom to choose its own future. That is also a distinctive feature of France's way to socialism, the only one that will enable us to maintain good relations with other states while putting through all the necessary transformations without any harm. Concerned with the need to ensure security and the country's defense, the party in 1977 defined its position which, based on the conception of a democratic army serving the people and the nation, also reckons with the role of the French force de frappe. Conscious of France's responsibility in the world arena, the communists have come out for a working people's Europe, and for the establishment of a new international order.

Consequently, socialism will develop the French way. Conversely, France will flourish under socialism. Because it is socialism alone, by turning our people into the master of its

*Paul Courtier. "The Future of France is Socialism;" Andre Vieuguet. "Vanguard Role in the Mass Movement," WMR, Nos. 6, and 7, 1976.

means of labor, of its life and its decisions, that will enable it to display its national uniqueness without the present fetters and limitations.

The FCP has not confined itself to projecting the ideals of socialism which we want for France, but has also determined the conditions for its realization. The attainment of our strategic goals is favored by a number of favorable prerequisites. The point is that the line formulated by the party runs into the channel of the profound changes now under way in the world. Let us emphasize here two key aspects.

First, the consolidation and cohesion of the principal liberation forces operating in various parts of the world. And, above all, the existence of a mighty family of socialist countries, the fact that socialism has become a reality now being built up by a billion men and women in every continent. There are battles carried on by the working people in a capitalist world in crisis and the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism is on the rise.

Resting on these major revolutionary and progressive movements is a liberation struggle which is spreading in all the countries, the struggle for freedom and human rights, and to it we are making our original contribution; a struggle against every type of racism and segregation; a young people's struggle for a fitting place in the society to build a future for themselves, and a struggle by women for their full emancipation, which is increasingly a key factor in transforming social relations and mentalities.

Second, the tremendous accumulation of knowledge and the unprecedented upswing of science and technology. The universal urge for emancipation, the level attained by the development of knowledge and the productive forces require a new civilization. There is a need to advance from the old world, which took shape in the process of man's exploitation by man, to a world of justice, freedom, human dignity and solidarity. This is ultimately the historically concrete question of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Our activity is now going forward in a new political situation which has deeply changed as a result of the victory of the left-wing forces in the elections of May 10 last year. Millions of working people now expect their lot to be made easier, and that a start will be made on tackling the main problems and ridding the country of the difficulties in which it is bogged down. In the conditions of the crisis, this can be achieved only through transformations which affect the power of big capital. That is why every step forward becomes a class confrontation.

The first few democratic social measures, the

struggle against unemployment and for broader occupational training, the laws on nationalization in the economy and decentralization of administration testify that the government and the majority, of which the communists are an integral part, are moving in the right direction.

The measures that have been taken do not, of course, fully meet our desires. The big issues — unemployment, inflation, protection of the working people's purchasing power and rights — are still on the agenda. The party intends to use ever new opportunities opening up today to promote the solution of these problems, being convinced that there can be advance only to the extent to which those who are concerned regard it as their own cause.

Resisting the government's initiatives, the big bourgeoisie and the right-wing circles have been mobilizing and organizing themselves to block every progress. They have been intensifying economic, financial, political and ideological pressure in an effort to prevent implementation of the positive measures and to check the new policy or modify it for their own benefit.

Within the left-wing forces, some of them, who made a contribution to the success of the May 10 elections, now want to avoid a confrontation with capital out of fear that the working class will come to play the primary role. They have openly preached class collaboration, and have been striving to restrict the people's actual participation in politics and to divert its struggle away from the main goal and to weaken our party.

The mass media — bourgeois newspapers, radio and television — are waging a war against the changes. Anti-communism is the main instrument they have used in their efforts to block the transformations the country wants. That is why we call on everyone to demand resolutely honest and comprehensive information.

The working people expect a great deal from the new majority and the government, and their hopes should not be dashed. Our party seeks by its ideas and actions to help secure important successes. This is already having an effect on the solution of a number of problems over which it has rallied the working people in recent years.

Consequently, it is not at all inevitable that in the present situation the country should slide into a social democratic way. It is quite possible to conduct a new policy than that of managing the crisis in the interests of big capital.

Relying on this analysis, the party has taken into account the results of universal suffrage and its consequences and defined the main

lines and pace of social transformations, being resolved to do everything to have them successfully implemented.

Accordingly, the FCP entered into negotiations with the Socialist Party in order to clarify whether there is sufficient convergence of opinions to make common governmental action possible. Believing that that is the case, our party concluded a positive political agreement with the socialists and entered the government. That decision was fully in accord with the political line worked out by the 23rd congress of the FCP, whose resolution said: "We are prepared and we shall always be prepared to assume all the responsibilities in the service of the working people and the whole people at every level, including the government. We are all the more eager to participate in the management of the affairs of France, as otherwise the working people will not obtain the changes they need."

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of this step. For the first time in the past 34 years, the communists are taking part in the government of a major country of the capitalist world. The working people can now judge for themselves about the additional advantages this gives to their struggle. They know that our party will do its utmost to live up to the expectations of the working people.

While respecting the voters' choice in the general election, the communists do not, of course, abandon their own ideas and proposals. While loyally taking part in the new majority, the FCP has carried on its own activity and expressed its own specifics within its framework.

This is reflected in the activity of the government, in the irreproachable solidarity aimed to meet the commitments jointly undertaken with the Socialist Party. This also applies to the work of our deputies in the National Assembly, in the Senate, and in the local and regional organs of power, where they are making their own contribution to the policy of the new majority and doing their duty to the electorate. This is manifested in all the regions of the country, at the enterprises and in the neighborhoods, where our revolutionary party is playing its own original and independent role.

The communists' multiple contribution to the conduct of the new policy is indispensable, because the class struggle did not come to an end on May 10. On the contrary, the profound reforms which are to be effected tend to raise the stakes in the struggle and to make it especially acute. From their long experience, the working people know that in the day-to-day battles against capital, it is the Communist

Party that has always been on their side whatever the circumstances. They now see that it is similarly doing its duty in running the state. Life shows the working people that they need a strong communist party. Consequently, a fresh rise of its influence most evidently meets the interests of the masses.

To those who usually vote for the communists but who may have thought that a different vote would be more useful in the special conditions of the latest election, our party at once said that it continues to regard them as its own voters. As the working people come to understand that the FCP's election results do not give it all the desired opportunities for carrying on its activity and that the communists' participation is necessary for successful change, they will take steps to strengthen our party and support it, so gaining new strength for themselves. That is why we believe in the future.

Nothing is ever won or lost in advance. In order to make a correct assessment of the situation, it is important to understand that for the first time since the 22nd and the 23rd congresses, the party has favorable conditions which allow it to pursue its strategy successfully.

The way of democratic advance, as we characterize it, is a way of struggle and alliance.

Over a period of many years the party asserted and once again resolutely emphasized at the 24th congress that in our country and in our time transition to socialism is and will be a matter for a majority of the nation. It will be effected the democratic way, with respect for the will of the majority at every given moment, with a clarity of tasks and goals, and manifested in general elections.

This democratic way should not produce any illusions, either for us, or for the masses. The goal is to change the society and to do away with the domination of exploitive capital in every sphere. This means, consequently, bitter class battles, confrontation, in the course of which the adversaries of change will use, as they have used, every means to deceive, to obscure the truth, to divert the working people from their way, to threaten and to split their ranks.

Our strategy, therefore, has nothing in common with the lulling conception of a gradual and uninterrupted evolution, where it is sufficient to wait for the voters to go to the polls every five or seven years. We do not believe that the French bourgeoisie will break with its long-standing traditions of oppressing the working people and that it will retreat without a fierce class struggle.

To assert that the advance to socialism must

proceed in a democratic and peaceful way means, simply speaking, the following: the transformations France needs can be effected at every given moment only under a balance of forces which will not allow the bourgeoisie to resort to violence and coercion.

The democratic way we propose is also the way of alliance, an alliance of all those who are concerned with the solution of this or that problem, in order to determine the relevant methods and lines of action, an alliance to secure the satisfaction of the formulated demands and to win new rights, as a basis for the creation of conditions for broader associations so as to attain even higher goals.

At the same time, the democratic way is inevitably a way of struggle, a struggle simultaneously to transform both consciousness and being, a struggle gradually to change the balance of socio-political forces, so ensuring the prerequisites for fresh victories at the polls that pave the way for more important gains and help to consolidate them.

Ultimately, there is every indication that only an alliance "at the bottom" can raise the social movement up to "the top," including the management of state affairs. Such is one of the chief conclusions formulated by the 23rd congress on the strength of the experience gained from the left forces joint program: the masses cannot delegate to any higher instance their inalienable role of motive force in social transformations. That could not be done yesterday, be delegating it to the headquarters of left-wing parties. It cannot be done today either, by giving it up to the government, even if it does include communist ministers. Nor will it be possible to do so tomorrow, whatever the arrangement of political forces.

To limit the tasks of the popular movement to passive support of the government, as a result of which it would be delegated to transform the society, would be to stand things on their head and to doom oneself to defeat. The transformations can be brought about only as a result of our people's broad, conscious and resolute participation. Without such participation, without a constant and universal expression of the people's will nothing can really change in France — now or in the future.

The existence of a communist party equal to its strategic tasks is the main guarantee of our success.

The need to use new political methods in the practice of the communists and party organizations profoundly different from those which accorded with the conditions of the preceding period were already indicated by the 22nd and the 23rd congresses of the FCP.

I have already said that the crisis confronts the country with the question of transition to socialism while widening the gap between the level of necessary decisions and the level of mass consciousness. The Communist Party's activity is aimed to narrow this gap by involving a growing number of working people in the struggle who are victims of the crisis. It simultaneously seeks to effect the solution of concrete problems and to have the masses realize that socialism is imperative. The point is not to substitute for the working people but act together with them, in accordance with their aspirations, to improve their daily life, while simultaneously advancing toward socialism.

The central problem in the present situation is to enhance the party's capacity for initiative, which means the initiative of governing bodies at every level, grass-roots organizations and activists, who should be able to act swiftly, resourcefully and independently in making use of the available opportunities for creatively implementing our policy. That is the crucial question. The role of the party cells and their constant activity and capacity to act is now even more important than it was in the past. This also requires a higher political and ideological level in our work.

The FCP holds that in order to be able to respond swiftly to the most complicated situation, every communist and every party organization must have the capacity to find in their daily practice an approach to the solution of major problems in the transformation of the society and to give simultaneously fundamental and concrete answers to them. To display initiative also means popularizing our policy by means of well qualified propaganda that is operational, understandable and diverse and connected with the social realities, which means ever more intensive intervention in the struggle of ideas.

Finally, it is impossible to develop initiatives in every sphere without a mass party multiplying its ties with broad strata of the population and, consequently, having deep roots above all where these are especially important: at the enterprises, where millions of manual and mental workers are concentrated, and also in the neighborhoods where they live. It is impossible to do so without a party constantly seeking to enrich the content of its democratic life and ever more consistently realizing its main organizational principle: democratic centralism.

The unprecedented situation today requires of the French communists the ability to assimilate the experience of the socialist countries

and the universal uniformities of socialism, while simultaneously responding to the changed conditions produced by the crisis and connected with the transition to socialism in a large and developed capitalist country. The communists must know how to use the bridge-heads created by France's rich revolutionary traditions, by the class struggle, and to win new ones. Throughout the whole of its history, the

FCP has demonstrated a capacity to find original ways meeting the people's aspirations, its traditions and requirements, while unflaggingly working for active solidarity with the socialist countries and the national liberation movement. The French communists also believe that the struggle for peace is one of the key conditions for the success of their strategy in the country.

The character of a communist organization: the art of being the vanguard

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY'S NUMERICAL STRENGTH AND QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

Current problems linked to strengthening the revolutionary vanguard and consolidating its influence among the people were considered by the *WMR* Commission for Exchanges of Party Experience within the framework of the ongoing *WMR* discussion of the character of a communist organization.* At this sitting the speakers were representatives of communist and workers' parties functioning under diverse conditions — Vietnam, Guyana, Greece, India, Canada, Costa Rica, the USA, and South Africa. The following is a summary.

Numbers or quality?

What determines a party's strength, its political weight, its potential for influencing the course of events in society, the way society develops? The Leninist theory of the party of the new type answers these questions, dramatizing features such as knowledge of theory, organization, links to the masses, and consistent internationalism. However, life poses parties with specific issues, notably, what has priority in the given situation and at the given time: to campaign for more members and create a mass party or to concentrate not on numbers but on quality? This was the central subject at the sitting, and on the basis of the experience of their respective parties the participants attempted to define the general principled approach to it.

Ever since it was founded, our party, said *Ho Chi Bang* (Communist Party of Vietnam), has steadfastly drawn upon the basic tenets of

Marxism-Leninism in party building, creatively applying them in the concrete conditions of Vietnam. Our experience is that *to a large extent a party's strength depends on its size, but quality, the ability to lead the masses, militancy, and political maturity are decisive*. Prior to the revolution of August 1945 the CPV had only 5,000 members, yet the communist-led revolution ended in victory. In the subsequent new conditions the party's ranks began to grow rapidly — within a few years its membership increased to several hundreds of thousands. Primary organizations were set up practically throughout the country. While relying on the core of veteran cadre, we trained and promoted to leading positions young communists from among workers, peasants, students, and the petty bourgeoisie who had taken part in the movement to liberate the motherland.

Of course, it would be wrong to underrate the circumstance that only an organization with adequate militant forces can establish close ties to the people and play a leading role in all areas of society's life. In this context, numerical strength is closely linked to quality. *But it becomes a force only when it is consistent with the requirements of quality.*

Let me explain what we mean by quality.

First and foremost, the fact that a Communist Party has *acquired a sound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism* and abides by that doctrine, applying it creatively in the actual conditions prevailing in its country. In its political, ideological and organizational work, the CPV has been able to embody the fundamental principles of the theory of Marx and Engels. This, in particular, is the reason that although our party developed in a colony, in what was a semi-feudal, backward agrarian country with a small proletariat, its character has always been that of a party of the working class.

**WMR*, January, February, March, June, July 1982.

The Communist Party of Vietnam combines two aims: national independence and socialism. To achieve them it mobilizes and uses all the potentialities of the working class, of the Vietnamese people, and links the strength of the nation's forces with the struggle of the main revolutionary streams of our time. Now, as before it came to power, the CPV distinctly defines its internationalist commitments, thereby reiterating its affiliation to the world revolutionary movement. We censure all manifestations of great-power chauvinism, national egotism, anti-communism, and anti-Sovietism.

Further, the question of a party's quality is a question of the *political, ideological and organizational unity of its ranks*, of unity of the will, actions, and aims of all its members. It is my opinion, Ho Chi Bang said, that a vanguard torn by internal contradictions and weakened by clashes between factions and personal ambitions will sooner or later suffer a crushing defeat.

The question of quality is also a question of *unbreakable links to the people*. A party's policies and guidelines should unerringly mirror the interests and aspirations of the people, of all the nationalities inhabiting the country. Only in that case will the people sincerely believe the party and rally around its banner.

Our experience of party building, Ho Chi Bang noted, shows that the communist ranks must be constantly augmented not only from among conscious workers but also peasants, intellectuals, and advanced members of other working strata. Had we failed to do so we would not have built up a strong mass party equal to its mission in society. And in all cases this should be accompanied by exacting demands of communists.

There was a period when we were on the wrong track in the question of admitting new members and educating communists: the doors of the party were closed much too tightly, while its ranks were inadequately cleansed of accidental and unworthy elements, and no meaningful educational work was conducted with new members. We corrected this shortcoming without carrying things to the other extreme. The CPV now works tirelessly to improve the qualitative composition of its membership and check any unjustified drive for numbers. The party is ridding itself of persons who have compromised themselves or are politically illiterate, abiding by Lenin's behest that "such a reduction in the party's membership means an enormous increase in its strength and weight" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 432).

A traditionally revolutionary party, said Manuel Delgado (*People's Vanguard Party of*

Costa Rica), emerges, especially if it functions underground, as a relatively small organization. Many such organizations have become a leading force of the revolutionary process, showing that they are in fact militant and exercising considerable influence on large sections of the working class and of the working people as a whole. Thus, the *political weight of a party depends, above all, on the influence it enjoys among the people, in various areas of society's life, and on its ability to head, to direct the struggle of the working people*.

We sometimes get a different situation, in which for various reasons the party is unable to head the mass movement — shortage of trained cadre, the organizational structure falls short of the tasks of the moment, large numbers of people are under the influence of reformist ideas, and so on. A situation of this kind may arise, in particular, during periods of crisis when the consciousness and militancy of the masses grow rapidly while the party is unprepared for such an explosion of social activity. A discrepancy forms between the vanguard's development level, numerical strength, and leadership composition, on the one hand, and the objective needs of the masses and the revolutionary movement, on the other.

In many cases the working people themselves compel the bourgeoisie to retreat from some of its positions, and win wider social rights and freedoms, while the party finds itself unable to use this situation to win more supporters. What is the reason for this? The trouble is that often a small organization does not have the strength and means to bring effective influence to bear simultaneously in several directions of the struggle. Sometimes the problem before a party is whether to give more attention to strikes or, say, the training of cadre.

For the Costa Rican communists, Manuel Delgado stressed, the task is, therefore, to turn their party into a mass organization committed to promoting its quantitative and qualitative growth, to fostering the consciousness of its members, so as to be in a position to head the broad mass movement developing in the socio-economic and political crisis gripping the nation. We mean to have a numerically large party functioning in close unity with the masses, the trade unions, public and peasant organizations, the students, and young working people.

This is not a very easy task. Our adversary has huge potentialities for ideologically influencing the population, while we have no access to the mass media. Or take another problem: since the beginning of the 1960s capitalism has been developing swiftly in Costa Rica. It has broken

up society's archaic class structure and produced new contingents of workers, chiefly of peasant origin. The industrial enterprises that sprang up in the course of this boom have begun to employ more subtle methods of capitalist exploitation and oppression, skilfully utilizing the undeveloped class consciousness of young, unskilled workers.

For a long time the PVP was unable to resolve the question of winning new sections of the working class, with the result that it found itself isolated from these numerically large sections of working people, although it did win greater influence among the rural proletariat (the largest contingent of the Costa Rican working class), the peasantry, and the middle urban strata. This important problem is getting every possible attention from the Costa Rican communists and has been analyzed at their latest congresses.

In considering the question of developing the proletarian vanguard it must be remembered that election results are not always an indication of the party's actual influence among the people, of its role in society's life. The communists are doing all in their power to make the people see the political credibility of the PVP. In carrying out its program the party must employ flexible tactics allowing it to overcome the inertia and prejudices in society that obstruct the growth of our influence. This is evidently a task that can be tackled successfully only by a close-knit organization that has many staunch supporters.

We are therefore trying to enlarge our membership. At our 13th congress in 1980 we decided to introduce the status of probation member. This allows enlisting thousands of working people whose training level is low. However, in the party, steps are taken to give them a political and ideological education.

Of course, the PVP would have been much larger than it is if it abandoned, as the class enemy demands, some of its fundamental guidelines. We could somewhat enlarge our ranks by studiously distancing ourselves from the Soviet Union. However, experience teaches that flexible tactics should not lead to fundamental concessions, to the abandonment of basic guidelines, without which political activity loses its revolutionary character. The Costa Rican communists believe that the way to a mass party does not lie through concessions of the quality of the party ranks in favor of numbers. What we need is not simply a large but a revolutionary party that acts effectively. Fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the condition for the party's consolidation, the growth of its

influence, and the enhancement of the effectiveness of the revolutionary struggle.

The dialectics of objective and subjective factors

It is the view of the communists of Guyana, said Clement Rohee (*People's Progressive Party of Guyana*), that numerical strength is not the sole and not even the most important factor determining the dimension of a party's influence and its ability to draw the masses into struggle. The comrades here have already noted that in some instances small communist organizations exercise considerable influence on the course of events in their countries. On the other hand, a large but amorphous and organizationally loose party may lack militancy. What then enables a small party to play a tangible role? Naturally, experience, active championing of the day-to-day struggle for the vital interests of working people, a correct general political guideline, and much else. If this is how a party acts, we are convinced that quality will sooner or later produce quantity.

But does everything depend on us, on our efforts?

The PPP is in the process of transformation from a mass but organizationally loose party into a Leninist party of the new type. The numerical strength of the communists is growing, but the trouble is that we encounter many difficulties that stem from the operation of objective factors. These include the development level of capitalist relations, the people's traditions and customs, and the religious beliefs predominant in society. Also, the stage of the revolutionary process, the degree of the people's political consciousness, the socio-economic and political situation, and the ethnic antagonisms inherited from colonialism must be taken into consideration. Believe me, problems such as these can create serious barriers in our day-to-day work among the masses.

But even if we were to take all these factors into consideration and mapped out a sound program, this would not mean that all problems would be resolved and the party's numerical strength and influence would automatically grow. Here it is important to be patient and conduct consistent ideological work among the masses. This is, of course, no simple task. Even though our party is well organized and conscious of its objectives, we have to reckon with the shortage of trained cadre and our modest transportation and financial resources.

But while we speak of these difficulties we do not underrate the significance of the subjective factor. To this day we still feel the effects of some mistakes made by the party when it was

in power in 1957-1964. There are weak aspects in the party's organizational work as well. In the first place, much more has to be done to attract Black workers. Because of the regulations governing admittance and the duties of members, we did not always manage to keep in the party's ranks those who had a good potential for communist upbringing. It is not accidental, therefore, that at one of the latest sittings of the PPP Central Committee it was noted that many persons had lost their membership because of the requirement to participate regularly in the day-to-day work of primary organizations. The CC urged a more flexible approach to recruiting every member and a careful assessment of prospective members.

The communists of India, said Sarada Mitra (Communist Party of India), are of the opinion that the most important yardstick of a party's ability to act is the extent it influences political processes in its country. This influence depends, of course, on many factors, including the party's numerical strength, the size of its representation in the government, the size of its parliamentary faction, and so on. But the link between numerical strength and influence is not always direct. If we take the history of the CPI we shall see that in a country where capitalism has not sunk deep roots, has not asserted itself, a relatively small party pursuing an active, militant policy is quite capable of exercising a visible influence on development. *On this policy, in other words, on the subjective factor very much depends.*

We started by projecting a definite political image of the Communist Party of India, distinguishing it from other organizations, from the parties of the national bourgeoisie in particular. But the objective conditions for the materialization of that image were far from ripe at the time. Nevertheless, from the outset the communists were able to show the people that though it was small, there was a purposeful organization prepared to fight selflessly for national independence. Because of this the party was brutally persecuted by the British colonial regime: most of its leaders spent from 10 to 15 years in prison. But this sacrifice was not in vain — the party's prestige grew.

Or take another important factor: in a multinational country like India with its innumerable religious persuasions it was of immense significance that in the person of the CPI there appeared an *organization* standing above ethnic narrowness and religious exclusiveness, that it was a secular party.* People professing

different religions realized that they could unite in this party and find a worthy place and position in it.

Lastly, we were able, at the proper historical moment, to advance a *correct slogan* that defined the orientation and content of the national liberation struggle. In the early 1920s the Indian National Congress debated whether India should accept some sort of Dominion status or fight for independence from Britain. The communists at that time proposed to the INC a program of national liberation. They demanded the maximum — India's full independence — and articulated the aspiration not only of the overwhelming majority of the population, but also of the broad left wing within the INC. Soon the INC had to go along with this demand.

I must add here that the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia was tremendous on our national liberation movement and this greatly facilitated our task in convincing our people about the feasibility of our demand for full independence as well as about the role the organized workers and peasants could play in the liberation of our country.

To ensure mass support for the movement for national liberation the communists bent every effort to organize the working class and the peasantry. At the time there were three main industrial centers: Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Industry was mostly in the hands of the British. The communists set up trade unions and linked the demands made during strikes with the long-term aim of putting an end to British imperial rule in the country. As a result of the militancy of the proletariat, the INC took a serious attitude to the question of organizing the working class and its trade unions.

In states, notably West Bengal, where the Communist Party was functioning we began uniting the peasants and started a broad movement against feudal exploitation, a movement that sometimes erupted into violence. Having made demands such as a land reform, the abolition of principalities, and an end to feudal administration, the peasant movement greatly influenced the course of the national liberation struggle.

What do I want to show with these examples? Although few in number, the communists were to some extent able to give the national liberation movement a new dimension. Everybody had to reckon with us. Many leaders of the INC time and again set as an example for the members of their party the readiness of the communists to make sacrifices for their cause. But the most significant thing was that from the very beginning the Indian communist move-

*The CPI took shape organizationally in December 1925. — Ed.

ment was able to project its own image, which (as we subsequently learned) took firm root in the minds of the people.

Of course, both successes and miscalculations affect the growth of the vanguard's influence and numerical strength, Sarada Mitra continued. The experience of the Communist Party of India shows how great the cost of mistakes sometimes is. One of the most serious blunders of the CPI was that on the eve of independence it underestimated the role and potential of the national bourgeois parties. When India achieved independence our slogan was: "Nehru will go the way of Chiang Kai-shek." More, in the CPI it was decided that the time had come for a socialist revolution. In March 1949 we chose a day that many of us thought would be enshrined in history in red letters. I will not go into details, but that was a sectarian error that struck hard at the CPI and its prestige. Nevertheless, people did not forget that it was the communists who sacrificed their lives for India's freedom and for the toiling masses.

The Communist Party of India has a record of impressive achievements. Its membership now numbers just somewhat under half a million, party branches are functioning in 20 states, and the communists head mass organizations uniting nearly six million working people. But while we take legitimate satisfaction from what has been accomplished, we do not close our eyes to shortcomings in our work and to the problems confronting the CPI.

In a huge country like ours the Communist Party encounters many objective circumstances hindering the growth of its membership. These include the uneven economic development of the states, the exceedingly high percentage of illiteracy, caste survivals (the problem of the "untouchables"), and the disparate levels of class consciousness. This makes it impossible to employ the same forms of struggle throughout the country.

It is hard even to imagine what a serious problem illiteracy is for us. A considerable number of CPI members (especially farm workers) are people who cannot read and write. The efforts to wipe out illiteracy among communists have so far not been completely successful. Sometimes it takes several months for resolutions of party congresses to reach our people living in remote villages. Party leaders have to go personally to these villages and explain its policies. We try to take all this into consideration, and use diverse forms and methods of struggle in the different parts of the country. For example, we publish eight daily newspapers and 22 weeklies in several languages, organize schools to abolish illiteracy

among the adult rural population and in workers' slums, and so on.

Or take yet another problem that issues from the features of the development of Indian capitalism. An analysis of the class origin of CPI members will show that industrial workers comprise less than 10 per cent of the total membership. Most of the communists come from the poorest peasantry and agricultural workers (together they comprise roughly 46 per cent). Why has such a class composition formed in our party? After all, according to official statistics, there are about 16 million industrial workers in India. One of the reasons is that the communists working in trade unions are much too occupied with purely trade union matters and pay inadequate attention to enlisting new members into the party. But there is another, in my view, more important reason. What is now taking place in Indian society? Capitalism is developing. People working, particularly at modern capitalist enterprises, in both the private and public sectors generally come from petty-bourgeois stock. They have jobs and housing, while in the public sector some are even guaranteed pensions. In other words, they enjoy certain social guarantees and in some respect feel their privileged position. The rest of the working population, particularly those who work in the traditional sectors such as agriculture, are denied such rights. I repeat that this is only one of the reasons for the relatively low percentage of industrial workers in the CPI.

However, as Lenin put it, "whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the people that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 257-258). Let me say that our party acts as the militant vanguard of the working class, and takes the long-term interests and aims of the proletariat as the starting point of its alternative programs for the development of the national economy, culture and social relations. In this lies the principal guarantee that the CPI will honorably fulfill its historic mission.

**Keep the organization intact
under all circumstances**

Greek communists, said Polichronis Vais (*Communist Party of Greece*), appreciate the fact that the revolutionary vanguard must have the political image implicit only to itself. This has been confirmed by developments, especially during the past four decades.

In the history of the CPG there have been periods when, whether its status was legal or

semi-legal, it strengthened its organization and won growing prestige among the working people. But there were cases of the opposite, when a combination of unfavorable objective and subjective factors caused the loss of what had been gained earlier, created serious difficulties, and even placed the party's existence in jeopardy. During such periods we lost many thousands of heroic fighters and there was a retreat of the communist and people's movement.

You will recall that when our country was occupied by the nazis the Communist Party of Greece initiated and organized the national resistance of the Greek people. It enjoyed enormous prestige. Hundreds of thousands of people regarded it an honor to join the Communist Party. In 1944 it had 400,000 members. Then followed the imperialist intervention and the defeat of the people's movement in a civil war. Unparalleled terror and harassment, the mass annihilation of communists, the incarceration of tens of thousands of fighters in prisons and concentration camps, and the outlawing of the party greatly complicated the formation of illegal organizations, which, on top of everything, encountered formidable difficulties in getting work going among the population.

The party leadership retreated in the face of these difficulties, disbanding small illegal organizations in 1958. To ensure the presence of the communists in the nation's political life, all CPG members were instructed to join the legal United Democratic Left Party (EDA). The dismantling of illegal party organizations was a terrible mistake because it deprived the party of the possibility of enlisting new members and conducting educational and ideological work among communists, and led to the proliferation of legalist illusions and revisionist and opportunist views. In the EDA the party was dissolved in a broad front of democratic forces and lost its image and prospect. As a result, some cadre went so far as to back out of the party and set up an organization that was revisionist, opportunist, and anti-Soviet.

Upon seeing the negative consequences of this mistake, the Greek communists found the strength to revive the party and reactivate illegal organizations despite the military dictatorship. After the dictatorship fell in July 1974, the CPG emerged from underground, renewed and enlarged its ranks, and put an end to the amorphousness of party cells. All this had an immediate effect in that its influence in society began to grow.

Within a short span of time after the fall of the dictatorship of the "black colonels," the CPG became one of the leading political forces in

Greece and the third party for the number of deputies in the parliament. Further, it should be remembered that the influence of the communists on the country's life and, especially, among the people does not lend itself to simple arithmetic calculations based on the results of the voting in parliamentary elections.

But the Communist Party's commitments to the people demand the further growth of its numerical strength and its conversion into a large, mass organization. These objectives are set in the program documents and resolutions of our 10th congress (May 1978). These orient us on building a mass party with deep roots in the working class and among all other working people, a party closely linked to the trade unions and other public organizations, and capable of fulfilling its mission under all conditions.

A few words about what we mean by a mass party. In our view, this means not only a numerically large but also a close-knit, monolithic organization devoted to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and selflessly championing the interests of the working masses. In short, we see it as a genuine vanguard force of a fighting people.

Hence, the high demands made of those who want to join the CPG. Its rules oblige primary organizations to conduct a painstaking scrutiny of the behavior and thinking of the people wishing to join the party. Every candidate has to submit recommendations by party members and go through a set period of probation. Of course, this procedure does not expedite the process of forming a mass party, but it is a dependable barrier to the infiltration of adventurers or simply accidental people.

We give special attention to educational work. Members and probation members study the fundamental principles of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, are educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and learn to be vigilant. This training is vital to the interests of maintaining the party's purity and reinforcing the unity of will and thought of its members.

The conspicuous success at the parliamentary elections in October 1981 brought new colors into the political palette of national life and created a more favorable situation for the development of our party and for the growth of its membership. However, I should like to say a few more words about the bitter lessons of the past. These, I feel, have lost none of their urgency. The conclusion drawn by the CPG from these lessons is, I would say, of international significance: in any situation, even under con-

ditions of terror, merciless persecution, and the greatest difficulties, the communists must have their organization, their revolutionary party, big or small, legal or illegal, but capable of successfully carrying out the role of revolutionary vanguard.

Objective need for a mass party

The problem of building a mass party is on the agenda of the American communists as well. In the USA, said James West (Communist Party USA), there were many obstacles historically to the development of class consciousness on a mass scale. Among these were the existence of "free land" taken from the Indian nations and peoples through policies of genocide; the existence of slavery; the successive waves of mass immigration from Europe as a source of cheap labor and which were used by the bourgeoisie to promote disunity among workers; and the favored conditions under which U.S. capitalism developed. All this acted as a brake on the development of the working class as a class unto itself. Nor did the various theories about the "exclusiveness" of U.S. capitalism that arose on this soil likewise contribute to the political maturing of the American people.

Alongside the positive shifts in the world balance of forces, dramatic shifts have been taking place in the USA itself over the past few years. This is due to the growing role of objective factors. These are, for example, the revolutionizing influence of existing socialism on the thinking of millions of people; the close of that chapter in national history in which U.S. imperialism grew rich on wars of aggression with impunity; the awareness that if nuclear war breaks out the USA will not escape its catastrophic ravages; and the intensifying struggles of the working class and working masses which increasingly bring them into conflict with the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

All these objective factors militate in favor of putting an end to racial discord encouraged by the ruling class and of strengthening the national anti-monopoly movement. The CPUSA believes that the conditions are at hand for the beginning of a new stage of the mass struggle for peace and cooperation between nations, against racism and monopoly.

In this situation the role of the subjective factor is gaining momentum. It would be a fatal error to underestimate it or to think that spontaneity alone, without the role of the party, can crystallize into a potential capable of leading the nation out of crisis. Today much depends on how profoundly the party understands the new objective realities in the USA, and how

creatively and flexibly the communists act. The party is fully aware that it must and can play a special role, help to consolidate and develop the new tendencies. It now has bigger opportunities than ever before to make a unique contribution to the struggle. As Gus Hall said recently, "The doors are open wider for us than ever before — all we have to do is walk through."

However, it would be wrong to conclude that the conditions for building a mass party emerged in the USA only now. The party was a mass party with mass influence in the 1930s. But at some stages negative tendencies took the upper hand in its development. The departure from Marxist-Leninist principles and the descent into revisionism, first by Lovestone (in the late 1920s) and then by Browder* put the party in a critical position. After the Second World War, right revisionism under the then editor of the *Daily Worker* (then called the *Daily World*), John Gates, nearly tore the party apart in factional struggle. The effect of these negative periods, even though they were relatively short-lived, did great damage and retarded the party's growth and development for years.

The need for building a mass Communist Party in the USA is indeed great and urgent today. The communists are the only force in the nation consistently exposing the threat to civilization from the militarist circles of U.S. imperialism and their bid for world supremacy. The Communist Party is the only organization which has put forward a sound program for a way out of the crisis and combating racism. The Communist Party is fully aware of its responsibility to the people of our country and the entire planet for bridling the warmongers and winning economic and social security. That is what makes the question of a significant growth of the communist ranks so urgent.

By mass party the CPUSA means a party of sufficient size to be rooted strongly among the working class, the oppressed sections, the farmers, and the professionals-intellectuals; a party able to contest and win elections beginning at the local level; a party able to participate in a broad anti-monopoly, all-people's coalition and make a decisive contribution to it; and, lastly, a party which is steadfast in its class and revolutionary principles, and does not forsake them in order to enlist more supporters (as was done by the Gates revisionists).

To build a mass party there must be competent and steered cadre, communists able to take their bearings correctly in any situation and

*Jay Lovestone and Earl Browder were General Secretaries of the CPUSA. — Ed.

resolve the most complex problems. That explains the great significance that the party attaches to educational work and why it shows concern for every member from the moment of admittance to its ranks. By showing concern for new comrades-in-struggle on both the personal and political levels, by establishing good, warm relations with them and their families we strengthen the entire party.

Ability to act with numerically small forces

Our party is an effective force but it is beset with many objective difficulties, said Jack Phillips (Communist Party of Canada). The vast majority of the working people labor under reformist illusions and at elections vote for either the traditional bourgeois or social-reformist parties. Although communists are elected to leadership positions in the trade unions and other democratic organizations in which the party is very active, the masses as a whole are not ready to vote for the communists at elections to federal and provincial parliaments. We sometimes poll not more than 200-300 votes, although the number of electors runs into many tens of thousands. I would say that this is a clear indication of existing problems.

In some provinces the Communist Party exercises a strong influence in the trade unions and communists play a leading part in the peace movement, the civil rights movement, and in many other democratic organizations. It would seem that such influence should have fostered the growth of the party's membership to a much greater degree than is the case. But, unfortunately, realities are often at variance with the ideal.

We have been critical of some communists, who while they work splendidly in the trade unions and other mass organizations, pay not enough attention to building the party. We have communists in the trade union movement who enjoy enormous and merited prestige as leaders. Nonetheless, throughout the many years of their work they have not been able to build the party and extend the circulation of the party press to any significant degree.

Miscalculations of another kind sometimes occur. For example, some years ago we made the mistake of calling for the building of a mass party as our immediate aim. This was putting the cart before the horse, because the needed conditions had not matured. Many party members therefore began to work for a goal that was not attainable. As a result, they were disappointed, and some lost confidence in the party's policy and leadership.

We corrected this mistake, while at the same

time stating that the party must be brought out of isolation and an end put to all sectarian illusions and "self-elimination" tendencies. For this it was necessary to take a more active part in every public movement and give more leadership to the masses. The 25th convention (February 1982) noted that the building of a mass party requires more initiative from the communists in the struggle against the effects of the economic crisis, for peace, for the rights of young people and women, for an end to racism and discrimination against immigrants, and in support of the peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua, South Africa and other countries fighting for national liberation.

The Communist Party of Canada has to give more attention to popularizing and winning support for its program for a way out of the economic crisis. In other words, the CPC must become a party of mass action in the true sense. This is a pre-condition for building a mass party.

One sometimes hears that a small revolutionary organization is incapable of responding effectively to developments, that it closes itself up in the "tiny, narrow world" of inner-party life, and takes a sectarian stand toward allies. Yes, indeed, a party may strike these reefs if it does not fight with determination for the interests and aims of the broad masses, of the working class in the first place. It is fair to say that at present the CPC is a small party. But we are certain that provided it continues to act boldly in helping to resolve the problems of the working people our party can become a major factor of national life. In this context it would be appropriate to recall Lenin's words that "even a small party . . . , after it has thoroughly studied the course of political development and become acquainted with the life and customs of the non-party masses, will at a favorable moment evoke a revolutionary movement" (Coll. Works, Vol. 32, p. 476). The experience of many communist parties, including our own experience, confirms this tenet.

At the 25th convention we concluded that more systematic efforts had to be made to win the support of progressive people capable of championing the interests of the working class. The leadership and rank-and-file communists were called upon to give more attention to party building at industrial enterprises and invigorating their work among immigrant workers of Italian, Greek, and Portuguese origin and people from the Caribbean nations. Today it is not a case of thousands of workers coming to us with the request to be admitted to the CPC. We therefore have to fight for every recruit painstakingly, to educate and enlist people into the

party. This requires an organized, systematic approach to party building.

Further, the convention raised the question of the need to improve work with those who have already joined our ranks. At present the grass-roots organizations are too much involved in inner-party work, and insufficiently involved in public activity, but it is at the grass-roots level that we should know non-party people better and work in close contact with them. We consider that party building is linked closely to the promotion and education of young communists and functionaries, including members of the leadership, comrades with the ability to work correctly among the masses in a principled, non-sectarian fashion. This is one of the keys to qualitatively improving the work of the CPC, strengthening its ties to the mass movement, and converting it into a large national political force.

The recent upsurge in the broad peace movement in Canada, in which the role of the Communist Party is a contributory factor, along with the militant struggles of the trade union movement, in which communists also play a role, are indications of the new possibilities for party growth in Canada.

In the specific conditions prevailing in South Africa, there is no question, of course, of building a mass Communist Party, Ahmad Azad (South African Communist Party) remarked. Apart from its political inexpediency, the raising of this question would inflict enormous harm on the entire national liberation movement. In a situation of ruthless repression, Lenin said, "the more we confine the membership of such an organization . . . , the more difficult will it be to unearth the organization" (Coll. Works, Vol. 5, p. 464). These words accurately mirror the situation in which we are fighting. Since the early 1950s the SACP has been forced to act deep underground, and this affects all aspects of party life. Under conditions of terror and vicious persecution of patriots by the racist authorities, we cannot, of course, open the party's door to all who want to join. This would inevitably cause a breach of the laws of secrecy and increase the danger of our ranks being infiltrated by police provocators, in short, it could weaken the party.

The fact that the SACP is numerically small does not prevent it from exercising a tangible influence on the national liberation movement, on the minds of large numbers of working people. How is this to be explained? The point is that the party responds more keenly than any other organization to new socio-political developments, is more sensitive to the problems of national oppression and racial dis-

crimination, and has a better understanding of the aspirations and day-to-day grievances of the people. All this explains why the party's influence goes far beyond its numbers. In the present situation in South Africa the qualitative factor is the most important for us.

Meanwhile, among young people interest is growing rapidly in revolutionary theory and scientific knowledge, and many of them are declaring they want to join the communist ranks. The party must react positively to these processes strictly in accordance with the aims and conditions of the struggle. We are doing everything to win more supporters for the SACP by improving and extending the combat efficiency of our underground units, by our members displaying their discipline, loyalty, and courage in the national liberation movement and in the ANC military wing, *Umkhonto we sizwe*, and by extensive propaganda work inside and outside the country. We are thereby, I would say, exercising a long-term influence on the masses, the effect of which will pay off in the future.

Significance of the international factor

Close attention was given in the discussion to the question of the extent international factors affect the numerical growth and influence of a communist party. The speakers were unanimous on the point that world socialism powerfully influences the processes of the formation and development of communist parties. That is why bourgeois propaganda maintains its torrent of slander and misinformation about socialist countries, is silent about the epochal achievements of socialism in social relations, economic development, science and culture, and magnifies the difficulties and problems encountered in the course of the complex process of building a new life. In short, an all-out effort is being made to blunt the attractiveness of existing socialism for the masses. The class enemy is eager to erode the international communist movement, set some communist parties against others, and compel the communists living and fighting in the non-socialist part of the world to cut, putting it figuratively, the umbilical cord linking them to the Great October Socialist Revolution and the countries of the socialist community.

The class enemy, Polichronis Vais noted, is interfering openly in the affairs of sovereign nations and exporting counter-revolution to, as happened in Greece, suppress the revolutionary forces. For that reason the unity of the international communist movement and a correct understanding of the role played by the Soviet Union in the first place, are an indisputable

factor in the struggle against imperialism's plans.

As James West put it, much depends on how the leadership of a Communist Party relates to the question of so-called weak spots in the system of existing socialism. In the history of the CPUSA there have been periods when campaigns have been conducted to "expose" socialism. The revisionists used this smoke-screen in an attempt to push the party onto the road of anti-socialism, anti-Sovietism, and anti-Marxism-Leninism. This was, for example, the substance of the revisionism preached by Gates. This attitude harms the cause of the workers. I am sure, James West said, that for the communists the main thing is not to accentuate attention on the problems in socialist countries but to explain accurately and meticulously the subjective and objective causes of these problems and show how difficult, thorny, and unexplored is the path of pioneers building a new society.

James West drew attention to the fact that when the notorious Watergate scandal laid bare the entire depth of the rottenness, corruption and falsity of the American bourgeoisie, the U.S. mass media, acting as if by a signal, began a campaign to defend the capitalist system. And they did this adroitly. They sought to persuade a nation shaken by the Watergate swindle that since it was exposing frauds of this kind and taking court action against members of the government the USA was the most democratic country in the world. This deceit of the masses, this dodging is alien to us. The communists have every reason to and should act energetically in defense of socialism, vigorously and frankly explain any difficult situation.

For our party, said Sarada Mitra, considerable difficulties are caused by the "Chinese question." You will remember that after the revolution was accomplished in China it had a considerable radicalizing effect on Asian countries. It is now very difficult for us to explain what happened there, especially why in foreign policy Peking so often plays into the hands of imperialism. The Maoist "experiments" brought about a split in our party, a catastrophe in the communist movement of Indonesia, and so on. Not to mention the conflict between China and India or Peking's aggression against Vietnam. All this is a very serious problem, for our region at least.

The revolutionizing example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been quite rightly mentioned here. This is a fact recognized by the vast majority of communist and

workers' parties, Ahmad Azad declared. The socialist community exercises a very great positive influence on humankind's development, especially in the question of war and peace. But it seems to me that we thought for much too long and sought to convince people that socialism develops without problems. While spreading the ideas of socialism we did not say, and this is, I feel, extremely important, that in building a socialist society the peoples encounter considerable difficulties because never in the history of humankind have tasks of such magnitude and complexity been tackled. Socialism resolves problems that have not been raised by capitalism — the molding of fundamentally new social relations, the upbringing of a new type of citizen, and so on.

Moreover, one should be able to make a comparative analysis. In the capitalist world there is no country that has surmounted the catastrophic effects of crisis. Japan and West Germany are sometimes offered as models of capitalist development. But neither of them has managed to end the crisis, nor can they ever solve the fundamental problems. At the same time, we can show how the socialist world, which, of course, has its own problems, often difficult ones, looks for and finds effective ways to resolving these problems.

Efforts are often made, said Clement Rohee, to use the difficulties experienced by socialist countries in one period or another to galvanize reformist ideas about a third way. The claim is made that like capitalism, socialism no longer "works," and therefore there is a need for a "third way." One hardly needs to wax eloquent about how important it is to refute these pseudo-scientific views, which sow fatalism, inertia, and pessimism amidst the working class, the working masses.

I should like to note something else. In the face of the exacerbating class and ideological struggle in the world one cannot sit on two chairs at one and the same time. Let's ask ourselves bluntly: Do we gain anything out of concessions to anti-Sovietism? Perhaps we can win more prestige or strengthen our independence? If we in Guyana began speaking of this sort of "independence" we would be doing a great service to U.S. imperialism and local reaction, who are anxious to drive a wedge between our links to ruling communist and workers' parties. It is likely that some people may temporarily capitalize on anti-Sovietism and attract the attention of some sections of the population, but in the long run this cannot benefit a party of the working class. I feel that the ideological struggle should be stepped up to

the maximum, for this is the only way we can resolve the problems of the development of our parties.

In closing the discussion Georg Kwiatowski (German Communist Party), Chairman of the WMR Commission on Exchanges of Party Experience, stressed that today the communist parties differ substantially from what they were like not only at the dawn of their existence but even 10 or 15 years ago. This is a natural process and it shows that the revolutionary party is a living political organism, which develops constantly in accordance with the changing objective and subjective conditions and requirements of the class struggle. The speeches of the participants in the discussion have given further eloquent evidence of how diversified, specific, and sometimes largely dif-

ferent the conditions are under which the communists are working. At the same time, the speakers were unanimous on the point that it is a complex science and subtle art to be a vanguard regardless of the specifics of the situation and the character of the tasks being tackled. To master them it is not enough to adapt one's work to the rapidly changing political situation. It is vital to make the maximum use of and not reject the accumulated revolutionary experience and the generalizing theoretical conclusions based on scientific socialism.

I will be stating the common view, Georg Kwiatowski said in conclusion, if I say that our discussion did not cover all aspects of the subject. However, this exchange will give an impetus to a further examination of the problems raised in the course of our discussion.

Process of growth

Vsevolod Rybakov
WMR staff member

A POLITICAL REPORT

My visit to Democratic Yemen coincided in time with the membership campaign launched by the Yemen Socialist Party in response to a call from its CC. To some extent this predetermined the range of issues that held my attention. However, it was not a matter only of coincidence in time, of course. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is one of the Afro-Asian-region countries building a society with the transition to socialism as its objective. Its problems are largely common to such countries and the experience of resolving them is of far-ranging interest. In particular, this concerns the experience of setting up a vanguard party adhering to the positions of the working class.

My interlocutors of various levels, from members of primary party organizations to members of the CC spoke of how the YSP is structured and functions, of its social make-up, achievements and difficulties. These conversations, whose gist is given below, touched upon the national specifics of the problems confronting the party, the past and the present, traditions and changes, and the character of the current phase of the nation's development.

The question of power

Having spread out from its historical center set in a bowl formed by the Crater Mountains,

Aden now extends far along a narrow strip of the coast. Passing the port, the highway runs out of sight, while a narrow road veers at a sharp angle to the left and is lined by standard four-storey houses shaded by trees. This is where the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party is located.

In the talk with CC member and Deputy Secretary for the Ideological Department Salem Buker we started with the cardinal question of how the YSP understood and implemented its role as the ruling party.

"The provision about the party's leading role in society was recorded in the constitution as early as 1970," Salem Buker said. "But the road to its realization was long and laborious — the change of the party itself, the specification of its class character, the elaboration of its ideological principles, organizational structure and methods of work, and the maturing of cadre. I would say that a short excursion into history would be in order, especially as it has a direct bearing on the present."

The anti-colonialist liberation revolution in South Yemen took place under the leadership of the National Front, which in 1963 united large sections of the population. But discord flared up in the Front after the republic was proclaimed (November 30, 1967). Right-wing and moderate elements were set upon forming a "traditional state," on building a society of

"national socialism" based on "Arab Islamic philosophy." The left wing wanted radical national-democratic reforms founded on the principles of scientific socialism. Although this stand had the support of the vast majority of the population, as was demonstrated by the Front's fourth congress in March 1968, the right wing in the Front itself and also in the army, as well as the feudal landowners, the compradores, and even a segment of the petty bourgeoisie resisted strongly. They contended that the Front's progressive elements were opposed to religion and traditions, trampling national morality and, in the long run, isolating themselves from the country's realities and preaching an "imported" ideology.

The struggle was especially acute over the question of the country's administration. In the Arab East people have grown accustomed to a feudal administration. The very idea that in society the leading role could be played by a different force, by a political party, was alien to them. In our republic, too, the right wing used this sentiment in an effort to reinforce the position of government agencies as opposed to public organizations, set up an order under which all decision-making would be in the hands of senior officials, of the president, and firmly establish the view that a party, a political organization, was no more than an "attribute" of state power. There was a period when almost all the right-wing leaders were in leadership positions in the state apparatus, holding the offices of president, ministers, and so on, while most of the leaders of the left wing held key posts in political organizations, forming a sort of "opposition" to the government.

Right-wing elements were removed from power as a result of what is known as the improvement movement that began on June 22, 1969 and was put into effect by peaceful means thanks to the support of the people. Revolutionary democrats, representing the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, came to power. It was proclaimed in clear-cut terms that the national-democratic, revolutionary party was playing the leading role in the state, that the revolution in South Yemen would follow the road of non-capitalist development. This was reaffirmed by the fifth congress of the National Front in March 1972.

The next stage was the unification of all the national-democratic forces on the platform of scientific socialism. This was new in the Arab world. As early as 1970 the leading party, the National Front, had decided to merge with two others that had adopted the advanced ideology: the Popular Democratic Union¹ and the Popular Vanguard Party.² This was not an easy pro-

cess and it took five years. But the identity of views on basic issues of strategy and tactics made it possible to proclaim the birth of the United Political Organization of the National Front.

In Yemen this was seen as the first step toward the formation of a vanguard party of the working class. However, the difficulties did not come to an end. There were left-opportunist groups in the UPONF. Without acting directly as an opposition, they argued that the subjective and objective conditions had not matured for building a working-class party, that the working class was weak and the level of its class consciousness was low, and it therefore could not become society's leading force. Another argument was that the republic was encircled by reactionary states that would make war on it if a party of scientific socialism were to appear on the Arab Peninsula. It was claimed that we were as yet not strong enough and would therefore be crushed. Hence the efforts of the left opportunists to have contact with the region's rich reactionary regimes and their guarded attitude to the USSR and the socialist community as a whole, and also to the Arab and worldwide national liberation movement.

To this, Salem Buker said, the party replied: Indeed, the working class is small and its consciousness level is not high. But it would have been disastrous to wait for the needed conditions to arise: they had to be created. The further development of the revolution could not be guaranteed without building the party—the vanguard, mind and conscience of the revolution. There could be no question of wavering between East and West. It was imperative to define the stand explicitly, namely, alliance with socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties, and the national liberation movement.

The left opportunists were defeated in mid-1978 and the constituent, first congress of the Yemen Socialist Party, which adopted the program and constitution, was held in October of the same year. The party, the program declares, exercises overall political and organizational leadership of all aspects of society's life.³ The idea of a ruling party was thus defined and asserted in struggle. Today it decides all vital economic, political, defense and social problems. The state apparatus is obliged to pursue the political line laid down by it. Through public organizations the YSP directs the whole of society.

The question of power, Lenin said, is central to any revolution. In South Yemen this question was decided in favor of the working people, whose interests are championed by a

party that has adopted the principles of scientific socialism and the position of the working class. However, questions related to the building of the party itself — the growth of its membership, the improvement of its socio-class composition, the strengthening of its organizational and ideological unity, and the enhancement of its efficiency — remain acute. This was dealt with substantively in the next talks.

The party at the factory

Workers and students are predominant among the inhabitants of the Esh-Shaab district. In it are an oil refinery, a textile mill and a building corporation — by Yemeni standards this is a large concentration of industry. Aden University is situated in this district. Of the 950 members of the district party organizations, 400 are workers, 250 are office employees, and 300 are students.⁴ Attention is given mainly to building up the party's working-class core. To see how this was being done we went to the source.

The Starting Point. The oil refinery is the nation's largest industrial facility. Mohamed bin Mohamed, the party organization's first secretary and member of the Aden governorate YSP committee, has been working at the refinery ever since it was started in 1954 (at present he is a laboratory assistant and has no intention of becoming a full-time functionary). He has been a member of the party since 1963, since the founding of the National Front.

"The British began building the refinery after the Mossadegh government in Iran had nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. They thought that nothing would threaten their domination here," the party veteran said. "But the logic of life was that as early as 1954 a political movement to free Yemen from British colonial rule began to form precisely at this refinery. Aden's first trade unions were set up here, and in 1956 they led a political strike. At the close of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s illegal political cells were formed, and these later united in the National Front. When revolution broke out on October 14, 1963 trade unionists took part in partisan actions, campaigned for funds for the Front, and worked for international solidarity with the working-class movement. In the trade union we cooperated with other revolutionary political parties: the PDU and the PVP.

"After independence was proclaimed we came out into the open. However, the party encountered many difficulties. The owners of the refinery, British Petroleum, sought to paralyze political activity as such. The situa-

tion changed only in 1977, after the factory became the property of the state. Representatives of the party were elected to the management council and got the opportunity of working among the personnel.

"At present the refinery's party organization has 65 members; 58 are workers. The refinery has a workforce of 2,150, of whom 1,600 are workers. The question that may be asked is whether these are not small numbers in such a workforce? Of course, they are. But there are difficulties that have to be borne in mind. Before the nation won independence the National Front branch had between 130 and 140 members at the refinery, while the number of sympathizers was three times as large. But the period between 1967 and 1969 witnessed a sharp ideological conflict, which affected the working-class movement. When a distinct class line crystallized in the Front, some who had earlier supported the liberation struggle against the British began to leave the organization. The class consciousness of the workers was not high enough, and a section of them did not accept the ideas of scientific socialism.

"Much is now being done to enlarge the party's membership and, of course, much still remains to be done. Some good workers, who are devoted to their jobs, do not want to join the party, feeling they do not want additional duties which would swallow time. In some cases, conservative tradition is also a hindrance. This means that the party organization itself has to be more militant. It has a membership recruiting plan, and the people who have applied for membership are given specific assignments and tested if they are ready for membership."

We got a closer look at how this work is organized at another enterprise of the district, the textile mill. It employs 1,100 persons, of whom 850 are workers. Half the workforce are women.

Operating Mechanism. There were many people — representatives of the party branch, public organizations, and the management — in the office of Mohamed Abdulalim, the general manager of the Yemen Textile Corporation. A party member since 1966, he is a member of the bureau of the party organization at the mill. The atmosphere was unconstrained, and one got the feeling that the workers and the political and public functionaries come here often, for they comport themselves with confidence, without any inhibition.

"Our organization," said its first secretary Saleh Mohsen (a party member since 1973 and the only full-time party functionary at the mill), "is one of the largest in the district. It has 84

members and 6 probation members. Of these 65 are workers, with 15 women among them. We are gradually focusing attention on building the membership. At present 19 persons, admitted during the campaign drive, are awaiting confirmation by the district committee.

"A few words on the admission of new members. This is conducted chiefly through the Yemen Democratic Youth League (it is popularly called *Asheed*), which, according to the YSP constitution, is the party's assistant and reserve.⁵ Young people up to age 28 join the party exclusively through *Asheed*. Older people are admitted through other public organizations. One of the principal requirements is literacy. The probation period for workers is one year, and for all others it is two years.

"The party organization is headed by a bureau consisting of 11 persons, including 2 secretaries. It meets once a month. There are four shop organizations (three in the production departments themselves, and one in the management). Each elects a secretary and a bureau (consisting of from three to five persons). A general meeting is held once in three months, while shop organizations have meetings once a month. The latest general meeting was an election meeting. The next meeting is to discuss output sales and hear a report on the work of the party bureau for the preceding three months. This is consonant with the main objective set by the CC, namely that of achieving a growth of output and carrying out the country's five-year plan.

"There is another extremely important matter—I am referring to the ideological education of party members and of the working people generally. At the mill this work is conducted in accordance with an annual plan drawn up by the CC Ideological Department. Classes are conducted each month. The shop organizations have their own political propagandists, who prepare seminars and select reporters. Probation members are encouraged to speak. Help is given by people with a higher education, of whom we have 14 in our organization. Representatives of other party organizations lend a hand. In their turn, party members speak before workers, talk to them, and direct their education through mass public organizations. The central role here is played by *Asheed*."

A few words about how the party organization cooperates with the management.

"There is harmony," said representatives of both sides (such a reply will by no means be received everywhere). That the managing director is a member of the party bureau we already know. The first secretary of the party

organization is a member of the mill's managerial council (which includes a trade union representative). The bureau's recommendations are passed on to the council by the party secretary. These are debated and a decision is passed on them. Emulation, material incentives and much else are considered with the mandatory participation of the party organization and the trade union.

From the standpoint of a communist from a socialist country everything seems familiar: the procedures, the norms, and the terminology. It is quite evident that the YSP uses the experience of fraternal parties and employs tested methods of party building and work among the people. However, every step made by the Yemeni comrades has to be consistent with national conditions, with the traditions and thinking of the population, for many of the problems are local. One of these, the vital question of *drawing women into production and political life, into the party*, we discussed here, at the textile mill.

"The proportion of party members among the women working at the mill is very small," said Saleh Mohsen. "We encounter considerable difficulties, the principal of which is illiteracy, in the direct and in the political sense of the word. The mill employs many new women workers — their social activity is fettered by tradition, by the laws of Islam. But within a few years it will be easier to conduct work with them. However, when a girl marries and leaves the party and even the mill, much will depend on the husband. But there are instances of the opposite being true. Talk to them yourselves in the shops."

Attika Abdo Noli, a tally clerk, has been in the party since 1979. She has no problems. Her husband, a military man, is not only a member of the YSP but the first secretary of his party branch. Attika wants to be a foremost worker and an example to others.

Humaidana Ahmed Saleh, a multi-loom operator is 20 and unmarried. She joined the party in 1978. Her father died and she is the breadwinner of a family of six. She joined the YSP because she feels that as a party member she can devote herself more fully to her country. She sees the party's aim chiefly in improving the life of workers, who would then have total confidence in the party, regard the ideas and slogans of socialism as their own, and staunchly defend the revolution against the intrigues of reaction, of the imperialists. I asked her what if she married and her husband would want her to devote all her time to her family? Humaidana smiled shyly, replying that she would try to find an understanding husband.

I asked the same question at a fish-canning plant in the town of Mukalla. My interlocuter was a 20-year-old machine operator named *Habiba Abdalla al-Khaj*. Her father is a retired worker. Her two brothers are serving in the army. Habiba replied without hesitation that if she married she would make the condition that she would go on working at the plant and remain a party member. But in the street this bouncing, pretty girl wears a veil, saying that she does not want to stand out among others.

This is a very complicated problem in a Muslim country. Even at industrial enterprises the going is not easy for the formation of the vanguard. And an even larger effort has to be made in the countryside, where the national specifics must be taken into consideration.

In a peasant family

Abiyan, the PDRY's third governorate, is almost entirely agrarian. Of a population of 280,000, 70 per cent are peasants and 3 per cent are fishermen. There are 11 state farms, whose employees are regarded as workers. Consequently, the proportion of workers in the party is high by Yemeni standards: 26 per cent of a total membership of 2,600.

Specifics of the Agrarian System. In the principal town of the governorate of Zinjibar I met with Ahmed Haidar Said, a member of the YSP Central Committee, second secretary of the governorate party committee, and head of the Department for Party Organs. Present at our meeting were the heads of some other departments, governorate committees of Asheed, trade unions, the General Union of Yemeni Women, the people's defense committees, and the Governorate People's Council. These organizations are elements of the coherent structure of the new political system, which is characterized in the YSP program as one of the main achievements of the national-democratic revolution in South Yemen.⁶ The party is the core of this structure.

How are the peasants represented in it? The figures given by the Yemeni comrades merit attention. Cooperated peasants — 1.7 per cent; non-cooperated peasants — 12.9 per cent.⁷

The question that comes to mind immediately is why there are considerably more non-cooperated peasants in the party than cooperated peasants? By logic it would seem that the contrary should have been the case. This is not a simple matter, and we got the explanation through the collective efforts of everybody present. Roughly 90 per cent of the peasants are united in the government's 13 agricultural cooperatives. The rest are small-holders or nomad Bedouins. There are two stages of the coopera-

tive process: in the first type of cooperative the land is worked collectively and the products are divided in accordance with the size of the land; in the second, higher type, the plots of land are put together and the products are distributed according to work. In one of the two of the governorate's agricultural districts, the Abiyan delta, all the land once belonged to the local sultan and the feudal nobility. It was turned over to the peasants, who formed cooperatives. In the other district, Ahwar, the land was historically in the possession of the peasants. It is harder to set up cooperatives in the latter district. The first type of cooperation was completed, in the main, only in 1974. The task now is to go over to the second type. But first the people have to be shown that in such a cooperative life is better, that labor productivity and incomes are higher. The peasant will believe this only when he sees it with his own eyes. The principal factor is irrigation: when the peasant gets water he is persuaded. To this must be added technical assistance, help in marketing output, and state subsidies to compensate for the low prices for some products.

"Haste," we were told, "will only spoil things. We've already had that experience when the left-opportunist group compelled us to speed up the second stage of cooperation, forbid the peasants to sell their surplus products in urban markets, and so on. These mistakes were used by hostile propaganda and much harm was inflicted on the cooperative movement. That is why so few peasants — only those in the Abiyan delta — have entered the second stage. Besides, peasants retaining ownership of land and those who have turned their land over to the cooperative can be members of one and the same cooperative. Only the latter are listed as cooperated in statistics (which are still far from accurate); landholders figure as non-cooperated peasants. And since these comprise the vast majority, their proportion is larger in the total party membership, although in terms of percentage more of the former are in the party. This explains what at first glance is an illogical proportion. Thus, there are 44 party members among the members of the higher type of cooperatives, and 338 at cooperatives of the first type. But the prospect, as is shown by Asheed, is favorable. In the governorate youth organization there are 125 cooperated and 103 non-cooperated peasants. Young people go over to the higher form of collective work more willingly.

Party Members at the Hadramout Cooperative. From our conversations in another, the fifth governorate — Hadramout — we learned of the conditions under which the party is

working among peasants and fishermen, who comprise the largest strata of the population.

The sultanate of El-Quaiti was one of the largest in pre-revolutionary South Yemen. The sultan had his summer palace in the oasis of Ghail Bawazir. Also, he owned most of the land. After the revolution the sultan fled the country. The land was distributed among the peasants. The summer palace was turned into a holiday home for the working people. There we met with Mohamed Said Benuabar, first secretary of the Ghail Bawazir YSP committee, Frej Islam Kamel, chairman of the local agricultural co-operative, the latter's deputy, and the first secretary of the party organization.

Mohamed Said Benuabar gave us some statistics about the district. Its population numbers 40,000, of whom 60 per cent are peasants and the rest are office employees, shopkeepers, artisans, workers of small enterprises and builders. In the party there are 116 members, three of whom are women.

At first much seemed unclear. For instance, all the farmers — 600 — are members of one cooperative. This figure sounds incongruous since 60 per cent of the population are peasants. We gradually got our answer: by tradition women do not work on the land; there are quite a few elderly people, who do not work either; many of the men go abroad to earn money; lastly, many of the peasants' children seek to leave the countryside after getting an education. That leaves 600 workers.

Further. The cooperative in Ghail Bawazir is a sort of association of communities of peasants scattered among the villages but working according to a single plan. Each community sends representatives four times a year to a general meeting of the cooperative. The general meeting elects the board, which consists of 15 persons. As in Abiyan, among the cooperative members there are people who relinquished ownership of land and those who retained ownership.

How does the party assert its role here? Among the peasants there are only 23 party members, plus four members of the board, including the chairman and his deputy. The party organization at the cooperative recommends the most militant peasants as members of the board. Their candidature is discussed and then recommended to the general meeting. But the decision is made by the peasants.

The chief problem is illiteracy, we were told here as well. Then there is the problem of holding back young people. The age of the cooperative members averages 45. That explains why the local Asheed organization has only 12 members (not a single girl among them). Efforts

are now being made to encourage the peasants' children, who have finished the compulsory eight-year school, to remain on the land if they cannot or do not wish to continue their education. We see them as the party's future mainstay. To influence children, whole families are encouraged to work in the field. One of the difficulties here is the predominance of manual labor. The cooperative owns only two tractors (and four bullock teams).

"Mass organizations have a very important role to play," Mohamed Said Benaubar said. "The peasants' association in the district has 195 members. The party urges the most conscious peasants to join the association, and recently another 30 peasants have applied for membership. The largest organization consists of the people's defense committees, which are usually called committees for the defense of the revolution. Uniting all the inhabitants from age 16, these committees organize voluntary, unpaid work, maintain order in the villages, and participate in political and ideological work. In them the leading role is played by the party."

We rounded out our picture with a tour of a fishing cooperative in the district of Shihr.

"Our cooperative," said Avad bin Lesuad, the director and member of the party bureau, "operates in the offshore waters of three governorates. It was set up in 1971 after the rising of the fishermen against owners of large vessels, who were using hired labor. These vessels and the implements were confiscated, and the fishermen formed a cooperative. Many of them brought their own boats and nets. The cooperative has two groups: one consists of fishermen who own no nets, and these are called cooperated, and fishermen who own nets and, according to statistics (the analogy with the agricultural cooperative we have described is obvious. — V.R.), are called non-cooperated. The first group has 358 members, and the second 204. Most of the catch is purchased by the state, and the rest is sold in the market."

The cooperative's party organization consists of 28 persons, of whom 22 (including four probation members) are fishermen, all belonging to the first group. Among the fishermen the party members organize emulation drives for the largest catch. Political and ideological work is conducted among those who cling to their nets to show them the advantages of genuinely collective labor.

Indeed, the factors that the Yemeni Socialist Party has to contend with in building its ranks and conducting work among the people are complex, especially in the countryside. The level of its organization, its tasks, and the methods it uses depend directly on the state of

society. This brings to mind Lenin's counsel given in 1921 to the communists of the Soviet Republics of the Caucasus, who faced similar circumstances: "... more moderation and caution, and show more readiness to make concessions to the petty bourgeoisie ... and particularly the peasantry"; "a slower, more cautious, more systematic transition to socialism — that is what is possible and necessary" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 317). The YSP is aware of this need. It is eradicating the consequences of the left-opportunist mistakes of the past. At present the party is engaged in quest, but each day reinforces its confidence that it is on the correct road. This was the subject of a talk in Mukalla, capital of the Hadramout Governorate and the nation's second largest city and industrial center after Aden.

Growth pains

We were able to see Abdalla Abdel Hafed, first secretary of the YSP regional committee, and Fuad Bamatraf, secretary for ideology, only late in the evening, after they had gotten through their day's work. The party organization of the region, which includes the town of Mukalla and the Ghail Bawazir District, is responsible for everything in the governorate concerning party building, improving the party's composition, and strengthening its leading role.

"The region's population," Abdalla Abdel Hafed said, "numbers 125,000 of whom 85,000 live in the town. There are a thousand party members, 800 in Mukalla itself. In the period after the unitary congress of the UPONF the strength of the party's membership was affected by the bickering that went on until 1979. That was precisely why after the extraordinary YSP congress in 1980 the Central Committee appealed for an enlargement of the membership, for an enlargement of the proportion of workers. The results so far have been quite good: workers now comprise 34 per cent of the membership of our party organization, but the momentum of the membership drive has to be maintained.

"We are trying to develop new methods of work. for the first time a CC appeal is being widely discussed directly at the factories, co-operatives and offices. There the people know each other better and nominate, support or criticize candidates. As a result, we are getting a realistic membership plan and actual candidates with whom the party organization must work.

"A new element is that mass organizations are drawn into discussing candidates. Here the purpose is not only to fulfil the membership

building plan but also to understand what the people think and to educate them.

"Another important aim today is to reinforce the YSP's leading role, at enterprises in the first place. It is not enough to proclaim the leading role. It is necessary that people should recognize this role, and that party members should set an example by their work, their consciousness, their moral behavior, in short, everything they stand for and do should foster confidence in the party as society's leading force. To this end it is imperative that party members themselves should distinctly see their tasks and take a firm stand against bribery, abuse of office for personal gain, and so on. We get cases of this kind, and they are being more and more energetically combated by party auditing commissions. Also, the family law is frequently broken, especially by people returning from work in other Arab countries. These cases are usually linked to conservative traditions. The party gives this question every possible attention."

"But this is not a simple matter," said Ali Mohamed Ahmed, secretary for ideology of the YSP committee in the governorate of Abiyan. "We come across survivals of feudal and kulak views. We live in the Arab world and must reckon with this. We have to be cleverer than our enemies. Much depends upon the forms of explanatory work. For instance, we do not try to prevent people from professing Islam. But how is the new to be brought home to them? The party has been able, for instance, to explain the polygamy abolition law, discussing it broadly with the participation of religious leaders. We cited the ayat,⁸ in which it is said that it is after all better to have one wife. It was only after this discussion that the law was passed. And its implementation proceeded peacefully. Generally speaking, all draft laws on society's structure are discussed democratically — at thousands of meetings — and only then are decisions taken. The main thing today, I repeat, is the drive to wipe out illiteracy."

There and then, in Abiyan, we got an insight into how this drive is conducted. After passing through the October 7 State Farm, we turned into a side road. In the shade of banana trees Ali Salekh Koshan, second secretary of the local trade union organization and a bookkeeper by profession, was conducting a class with illiterate people. In front of a blackboard there were about 30 people, mostly women, the majority of whom were young; they were sitting on the ground in a semi-circle. Classes are held during working hours and they are attended by nearly 130 persons. As I took some snapshots the women laughed, leaving their faces uncovered.

"The problem of ideological education is further compounded," said Fuad Bamatraf in Mukalla, "by the active propaganda of the class enemy from without the country. Regrettably, this propaganda reaches out to ordinary people. In Hadramout people can hear the Saudi Arabian and Omani stations, the BBC, the Voice of America, and the Voice of Araby from Egypt, the latter being a more powerful station than the one we have in Aden. These stations are expert at slanting news. In order to counter this propaganda more effectively we plan to begin television broadcasts. But our material potential is limited, we have little experience, and are short of trained personnel."

All these growth problems are encountered by every young vanguard party and every country taking the very first steps in building the new society. The Yemeni comrades believe that pressing problems can be correctly resolved only from the stand of the working class and by methods inherent in its party.

"Do not copy our tactics, but analyze the reasons for their peculiar features, the conditions that gave rise to them, and their results; go beyond the letter, and apply the spirit, the essence and the lessons of . . . experience," Lenin counselled (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 318). In the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen party members, as we have seen, take the specifics of their country into consideration and try to make national traditions work for the cause of socialism. At the same time, they strive to make the maximum use of the experience and internationalist assistance of fraternal parties that have already traversed the road upon which the Yemeni comrades have only just embarked. Had it not been for the support of friends, the quest for ways would probably be longer and more painful.

I should like to mention one more impression. In Democratic Yemen the party is now at a very important stage. Hitherto its organizations have concentrated mainly on their internal tasks and they continue giving these tasks their attention. But they have now begun to take a larger and qualitatively new share in deciding matters of state and are becoming the foundation of the nascent pattern of comprehensive leadership of society.

Character of the present stage

"After the first congress of the YSP," Salem Buker said in our concluding talk, "much has been done to strengthen the party's ideological, political and organizational unity, to enhance its role as the ruling party. This work needs time and, in fact, it was begun in real earnest only after the first congress. Initially, the dis-

tinctions in the origin of the members of the three parties that have united continued to make themselves felt. But now all of us see ourselves as members of one party bound by discipline that makes no allowance for sectarianism or mutual suspicion.

"The central principle of party building — democratic centralism — is being asserted in practice. The leading role of the YSP is acquiring tangible forms. This is seen, above all, in the fact that the plans for the nation's development — both in the center and in the localities — are approved by the party, which also monitors their fulfillment. One more point: if cadre, governmental and economic, do not carry out their duties and do not in fact abide by the party line, it may recall them, remove them from office — and the people know this.

"The present state of the YSP, the level of its development, its achievements and difficulties are consistent with the present stage of the revolution. In our country the left and right opportunists claimed that they were already building socialism. But we proceed from the principles of scientific socialism and upon analyzing the class character of our society consider that the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is still at the stage of the national-democratic revolution. This is due mainly to the level of our material and technical resources. Prior to the revolution we were an extremely backward, undeveloped country. The prevailing relations were a mixture of capitalist and pre-capitalist, and feudal and pre-feudal. From that starting point it is impossible to go directly over to building socialism within a few years.

"The next question in this context is that of class alliances. We have a broad alliance embracing workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. It, too, corresponds to the stage of the national-democratic revolution. The building of socialism requires the gradual assertion of the leading role of the working class in alliance with a cooperated peasantry. This means that there must be a numerical growth of workers; but it takes time to build industry, just as education, upbringing and the development of the consciousness of the advanced class take time.

"The problem of modernization, of equipping agriculture with machinery is now also on the agenda. In many areas agriculture is still primitive and labor productivity is low. The key to rectifying this situation is to promote a cultural revolution and raise the consciousness level of the peasants.

"Lastly, there still is a private sector, which in some fields — for instance, construction —

plays a large role. The petty bourgeoisie remains a numerically large class and its influence is perceptible.

"However, the seeds of socialist changes have already sprouted. Above all, these are the YSP itself, its ideology, its political guideline, and its striving to build society scientifically, on the basis of socialist theory. There are elements of socialism in the national economy as well — the state sector, which as early as 1978 accounted for more than 50 per cent of the social product and continues to grow, and there is a cooperative sector. The social structure of the population is changing accordingly. Economic planning has become a law. We see a major achievement in that our foreign policy is a line toward internationalist solidarity and closer cooperation with socialist-community countries, the development of relations with the world revolutionary movement and its vanguard parties, and the consolidation of anti-imperialist unity with other progressive forces in the world."

Our tour and our talks showed that in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen the socialist ideal is more than a theoretical project, more than the subject of speculative debates. It has acquired tangible form and become a fact of life, developing and finding its own concrete forms in the process.

All this has been achieved thanks to the formation and continued strengthening of a party, of a vanguard relying on the working masses and showing a "constant readiness to accept sacrifice so that the banner of scientific socialism should always fly over the motherland."⁹ This readiness is felt keenly when one talks to party members in Democratic Yemen.

1. The PDU brought scientific socialism to Yemen in the 1950s.
2. The former Baath, the Popular Vanguard Party embraced scientific socialism.
3. *Documents of the 1st Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party*, Moscow, 1979, p. 214 (Russian translation).
4. All figures on the party's numerical strength given in this report are for the period before the membership campaign was started in response to the call by the YSP Central Committee's plenary meeting in January 1981. At the time of going to press the results of the campaign were not published.
5. *Documents of the 1st Congress of the YSP*, p. 274.
6. *Documents of the 1st Congress of the YSP*, p. 171.
7. The other social groups are represented as follows in the governorate party organization: cooperated fishermen — 0.5 per cent; non-cooperated fishermen — 0.4 per cent; Bedouins — 1 per cent; intellectuals — 2 per cent; office employees — 36 per cent; students — 5 per cent; housewives — 0.3 per cent; military — 12.3 per cent; independent householders — 2.9 per cent.
8. A part of the sura in the Koran.
9. A. Nasser Muhammed. "Fidelity to the Revolution," WMR, March 1981.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

TOP PRIORITY

Walter Listl

Board member, German Communist Party,
Chairman of the South Bavarian
Regional Organization of the GCP

Q. What is today the principal direction of your party organization's work and on what are the South Bavarian communists concentrating their efforts?

A. In our work today the principal direction is the struggle for peace, against the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in the FRG. South Bavaria is the country's largest arms manufacturer. It produces more weaponry than any other region in the Federal Republic. For that reason we attach special significance to drawing the workers of armaments factories into the anti-missile movement. Our task is to give these workers a class understanding of the motivations of the arms race.

At factories the party branches are doing

much to enlist new members, publishing newspapers, which, in addition to dealing with production problems, explain the principles and aims of the GCP's policy. In the innumerable civil initiative groups the communists are cooperating successfully with social democrats, liberals, Christians and uncommitted people, with everyone who is opposed to the FRG's conversion into a launching pad for U.S. missiles.

Tireless explanatory work is yielding results. This is exemplified by this year's successful Easter peace march, which reiterated the people's determination to live in peace. Or take another example — the movement to declare Munich a nuclear-free city. This movement, in which the communists are participating, unites many public organizations and civil initiative groups opposed to the stationing of nuclear weapons delivery systems in the northern part of the Bavarian capital.

Q. As everybody knows, reaction has strong positions in Bavaria. Does this influence the

work of your party organization and the character of the local peace movement?

A. For the communists it is neither harder, nor easier to work in Bavaria than in other lands of the Federal Republic. In our country the reactionaries are sowing anti-communist feeling everywhere, whether it is Hessen, Hamburg or Munich. Yet I would mention one specific feature — the developed religious traditions in Bavaria. These traditions are being used by reaction, but they can also play a positive role, notably in the anti-war movement. In that movement there is an objective basis for cooperation with Christians, especially with their youth organizations, say Evangelical or Catholic, which are active in the mass actions for peace and disarmament. A big anti-war demonstration was held last year when the Evangelical Council was in session. Its success was a heavy blow to Strauss and other reactionaries.

The struggle for peace may thus be called an area with many prerequisites for cooperation. Not only with believers but also other sections of the people.

Q. What, in your view, are the features distinguishing the present anti-war and anti-missile movement in the FRG?

A. In speaking of the features of the present peace movement, of what distinguishes it from the movement of the 1950s and 1960s, I would note three elements.

First, the wider spectrum of participants. Look who is now protesting against the deployment of U.S. missiles: communists, social democrats, Christians, non-party people, ecologists, members of the CDU/CSU, generals of the Bundeswehr, and members of the clergy. Further. The present movement is young. Young men and women, extremely worried by political developments, by the trends of building up the arm race, are in the front ranks of the peace fighters. And, lastly, the third characteristic: the participants in the anti-war movement are cooperating as equal partners. Their unity of action is based on their common determination to prevent the deployment of new U.S. missiles.

Q. Would you say a few words about the participation of the communists in this movement?

A. Some quarters would like to split the movement and exclude the communists from it. To achieve this they are fabricating various pretexts. But such people are in the minority. We are cooperating productively with the majority. The communists lay no claim to the leadership of the movement. They do not put forward their class stand as a condition and, at

the same time, are opposed to anybody making conditions to them. The GCP holds that in the peace movement there must be a place for all views, including the class view. And it says to everybody: Let us cooperate on the basis of equality and be loyal to each other.

While supporting the joint slogan of struggle for peace, the party has not, of course, renounced its own positions. The most significant of these is, and we persevere in explaining it to people in the movement, that it is not right to lump together the USA and the USSR. Although there is armaments parity it would be wrong to conclude that these countries pursue similar policies. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are part of the peace movement. This is the viewpoint of the communists of the FRG. We actively project this viewpoint, and expose the incorrect, dangerous views of others who see the USA and the USSR as two "super powers" equally responsible for the arms race. We make it clear who is the friend and who the foe of the peace fighters.

DOCUMENTS

SWITZERLAND

Anti-crisis program

The Central Committee of the Swiss Party of Labor has had a plenary meeting at which it adopted a resolution noting with concern that the national economy has entered a new crisis that is hitting the entire working population and the nation's economic future. The financial oligarchy is unhesitatingly dismissing working people and deciding to close down individual production facilities and entire industries and transfer them to foreign countries, where the exploitation of low-paid and defenseless labor enables them to extract higher profits.

As the communists see it, the accelerated technological progress and the mass use of new technologies are leading to changes in industry's production potentials, the services sphere, and the managerial apparatus, with the result that there are favorable prospects for the satisfaction of the demands for shorter working hours, longer paid leaves, a lowering of the pension age, and the preservation and development of social gains. The new opportunities must be used in the interests of the people. The Swiss Party of Labor, the resolution says, urges the Federal and cantonal authorities to take steps to guarantee the nation's economic development. To provide employment for all it suggests assistance to districts hit hardest by the crisis, assistance for systematic retraining of

dismissed working people to make it easier for them to find new jobs in accordance with their skills, the fostering of trade relations with all countries, control of foreign trade and of the movement of capital in order to have the possibility of taking timely steps to protect national interests, and so on.

The Swiss communists have appealed to political and trade union organizations of the working people to act together to get the government to introduce trade union control of dismissals, to secure trade union participation in the discussion of all projects affecting jobs, and to oppose the so-called austerity policy, which is pursued to the detriment of the interests of working people.

SWEDEN

On the eve of elections

The Left Party — Communists has published its action program for the Riksdag elections slated for September 1982. It is vital for the LPC to be successful at the elections, the program states, chiefly to ensure a common victory of the left forces and set up a barrier to the policy of class cooperation pursued by the social democrats, who act jointly with bourgeois parties on individual issues.

The program spells out the main directions and aims of the LPC's work. The party considers that unemployment must be ended by creating at least 100,000 new jobs, notably in the services industry, and enlarging the volume of construction and the public transport network. The communists uphold the rights of young people and women to education and work, and demand the abrogation of the surtax on food, the imposition of a tax on the turnover from speculation in shares, and the annulment of the agreement between the social democrats and the government on the enforcement of an unjust tax reform. The program notes the need to upgrade social security, increase pensions, and improve the medical service. The LPC suggests a more vigorous quest for energy sources and steps against the predatory use of natural resources and the pollution of the environment.

In the section dealing with international affairs, the program states that the LPC stands for peace, disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons, for more assistance to Third World countries and to peoples fighting for national liberation, and for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.

The program stresses the need to develop and protect democracy, end the domination of big finance capital in Sweden, and extend the rights of working people at production

facilities. The party, the program states, urges granting immigrants residing in Sweden the right to vote in the Riksdag elections.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

PRAVDA

60th anniversary of the USSR

In its every issue *Pravda* carries diverse features devoted to the upcoming 60th anniversary of the USSR. It reports how primary party organizations are preparing to mark the jubilee of the Soviet state. Socio-political lectures are being arranged at factories, government offices and institutions, and collective and state farms. Considerable interest is shown in the history of the formation and development of Soviet statehood, the solution of the nationalities question, and the role of the CPSU in forming and consolidating the Soviet people as a new historical entity. Special attention is also given to the Soviet Union's fight for peace, and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the latter's stepped-up arms race that threatens the peoples with a nuclear catastrophe. The lecturers include party and government leaders, prominent scientists, cultural workers and party veterans.

Pravda chronicles the socialist emulation movement started on the initiative of the communists in honor of the 60th anniversary of the USSR. It cites an array of facts and figures showing the impressive achievements of all the peoples of the Soviet Union in social and economic development. It also illustrated numerous opportunities created in the country for the development of gifted persons, for the flourishing of culture, science and art of the peoples who 60 years ago united in a great single family.

The preparations for the jubilee, the newspaper says, are fostering the ideological, patriotic and internationalist education of the people, reinforcing their class steeling, and enhancing their political and labor activity.

JUSTICE

Readers aid their newspaper

The Martinique communists have taken steps to improve the content, make-up, and circulation of *Justice*, organ of the Martinique Communist Party. This drive is aimed at giving the party press a larger role in the struggle for the national and social liberation of the Martinique people and enhancing the newspaper's prestige as the party's political spokesman and disseminator of information.

The newspaper's work has been subjected to a comprehensive critical analysis at a meeting of its editorial committee with the participation of representatives of the MCP leadership and the newspaper's distributors. Questionnaires were sent out to readers asking them to state their views on matters of interest to the editorial staff. The many recommendations from rank-and-file communists and other subscribers, *Justice* writes, have made it possible to introduce some innovations in the newspaper's make-up and the style of the articles, start new columns, and see shortcomings in the work of the editorial staff more clearly.

The newspaper has issued many thousands of aid bonds, which are sold by party members throughout the island. In the process we explain what the party newspaper is doing to further the interests of the working people, to broaden contacts with and politicize the new sections. The whole population, *Justice* stresses, gains by the growth of the influence of Martinique's oldest newspaper which was founded in 1920.

REFLECTIONS

Hemmy Croes

CC member, Communist Party of Venezuela,
Chairman, United Trade Union Center of
the Working People of Venezuela

Lessons of two decades

In March 1983 it will be 20 years since the foundation of the United Trade Union Center of the Working People of Venezuela, which is the vanguard of the nation's trade union movement in the true sense of the word. We are closely studying the main events of these years, considering them in retrospect, and analyzing the actions and struggles of the working people in order to use the experience of the past two decades today and in the future.

The founding of the United Center was preceded by hard-fought battles by the Venezuelan working class. In 1958 there was a strike in support of the progressive government that had replaced a military dictatorship. The workers were then in control of Caracas and other principal towns. Three years later there was a national strike of transport workers, which became a milestone in the history of the Venezuelan trade union movement. To "restore order" the authorities without hesitation called out troops. All these actions of the proletariat were a prelude to a guerrilla war that soon broke out and reached its zenith in 1964-1965.

The fighting spread to a large part of the country and in many cases was carried directly to the streets and squares of towns, irrepressibly

involving the most diverse political and social forces and organizations into this fierce class struggle. It is not surprising therefore that many trends in the Venezuelan trade union movement, especially those affiliated to the United Center, were until 1966 closely linked to the insurgent movement.

The revolutionaries endeavored to combine various forms of struggle — legal trade union activity and guerrilla actions. But in practice they failed to combine them properly, with the result that everything was reduced to one form: the trade unions joined the insurgency. Their premises were used as storehouses and transfer bases for food, ammunition, and even weapons for the guerrillas.

This activity, this unusual role of trade unions led to negative consequences. Many of the United Center's militants were imprisoned, killed, or lost without trace. Some trade union leaders, including myself, were sentenced to prison terms by military tribunals. In a number of cases, serious damage was done to the trade union movement by police agents infiltrated into it. As a result of systematic and brutal repression, the United Center's organizations were visibly weakened.

Nevertheless, the trade unions were not destroyed. They continued to fight hard, conducting important actions, including demonstrations and strikes. More, as a result of the experience it gained, the United Center was considerably, in fact, excessively politicized. Of course, the fact that in the latter half of the 1960s it directed the organization of a series of significant actions, including the big 1965 demonstration in protest of the occupation of the Dominican Republic by U.S. marines, the mass actions of working people in support of the Vietnamese people, and the innumerable acts of solidarity with the Cuban revolution, was of positive significance. What do I mean when I say that the United Center was politicized excessively? The fact that the political aspect of its activities was given so much attention that, while the defense of the day-to-day economic demands was not entirely ignored, its significance was largely underrated. This is what immediately, negatively, affected the influence of our trade unions among the people.

The last flames of the armed struggle died out by the close of the 1960s. Although that struggle never reached the intensity we observe today in El Salvador it nonetheless played a large role in the destiny of the working-class movement. For a long time we were haunted by the errors made in the period of guerrilla actions. In general outline these errors may be reduced to two: the first was that the insur-

gency began at an unsuitable time, when the conditions for an armed struggle were nonexistent in Venezuela; the second was the inability to combine different forms of struggle. As a result, the people had to pay for our very serious miscalculations. Further, in the guerilla war, the revolutionary movement generally and the trade union movement in particular suffered heavy losses: many comrades lost their lives, with some dying under torture by the police.

Having drawn this picture, we could deduce the conclusion that ours was a negative experience, but I do not wish to sound so categorical. Still more incorrect would be the conclusion rejecting the importance of armed struggle generally. Among the negative phenomena were the mistaken choice of the time for beginning an armed struggle, the attempts to forestall developments, and the euphoria over the successes of the Cuban revolution. But this in no way signifies that in Venezuela the insurgent movement was negative as such. It would be wrong to say so. We acquired valuable experience of armed struggle, while the negative elements were not the struggle itself but the specific errors made by specific people, who headed the struggle, the ideological weakness of our movement, and the split that occurred in the Communist Party of Venezuela, following which militaristic and then liquidationist trends were to be observed in its ranks.

All these developments are a matter of the recent past, and it is, therefore, not surprising that they continue to affect the situation today, for instance, we see the diminution of communist influence in the Venezuelan trade union movement. The CPV has self-critically admitted the errors it made at the time, in particular, its isolation from the people at the final phase of the armed struggle, and has begun to analyze them carefully and remove them.

The position of the United Center has now somewhat improved. It is gradually extricating itself from stagnation. Combining their forces, the nation's trade union centers conducted a series of joint actions in the 1970s. The first major action after the split in the Venezuelan trade union movement was the drive for solidarity with the Chilean people started on the initiative of three of the country's largest trade union centers in 1973. In this drive different trade union centers such as the Confederation of the Working People of Venezuela (affiliated to the ICFTU), the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions of Venezuela (a member of the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unions), and our United Center, which is

a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions acted in a united front.

At the close of the 1970s all the trade unions were active in the struggle against the rising cost of living. A wave of demonstrations swept across the country, the working people demanding higher pay. This time the struggle was successful: on the insistence of the three trade union centers parliament passed a law raising wages according to a special tariff scale. In the course of the joint actions we restored contacts with other trade union centers, contacts that had been broken off earlier. In frank talks the leaders of different trade union centers have again begun to discuss important national problems and look for ways of resolving them.

In most cases the initiative for joint actions comes from trade unions headed by communists, but we never make a show of this. If the United Center appeals through the press for unity for the attainment of one aim or another, this will hardly have a favorable response: nobody likes to be seen as playing second fiddle. Therefore, acting on experience, we prepare joint action by national trade unions in the following manner: first we consider the essence of a problem and the ways of resolving it, and then, after we have reached a consensus, we offer one of our partners to act as the initiator. As far as we are concerned the important thing is not sectarian ambition but the success of the entire movement.

In the past few years there have been further major events in the development of the nation's trade unions. One of these was the struggle of textile workers for collective bargaining. The culminating point of this struggle was a nationwide strike. The experience of the textile workers showed that unity of action can be achieved most easily on the level of branch federations. This is due, above all, to the greater closeness of the working people to the leadership, which enables the former to bring pressure to bear from below. Besides, the leaders of federations are more inclined to conduct a dialogue than the leaders of national trade union centers. They heed the opinions of others more willingly, and this fact alone makes it easier to conduct negotiations. Of course, we do not always come to agreement even at the federation level, but for the time being this is the most effective way.

To sum up let me note that while for a long time the influence of the communists in the Venezuelan trade union movement was on the decline and then for another long period it remained at a low level, there are now signs that it is growing slowly but surely. One indication of this is the success of the United Center's eighth

congress in November 1981, which was attended by many young delegates and representatives of many new trade unions headed by communists and also members of other progressive organizations. This broad representation is gratifying, for it is evidence of the further spread of our influence and the correctness of our line of action. I would say that more evidence of this is the fact that during the preparations for the congress the United Center was joined by new trade unions and some organizations that had earlier withdrawn have returned to it.

The United Center has entered a period of rejuvenation and we believe that it will be successful and have a strong say in public life. The communists are determined to enlarge the ranks of the United Center and enhance its influence, and they have no doubts about being able to achieve these aims. To this end we shall continue activating the struggle, and if our victories are modest at first they will nonetheless be tangible victories of the working people.

IN BRIEF

FRANCE

A colloquium devoted to physical education and sports in the primary schools was held in the National Assembly of France on the initiative of the FCP's monthly journal *L'Ecole et la Nation*. Its program included round-table discussions, the screening of films, and discussions in working groups. The participants included representatives of the ministries of national education and public health, members of parliament, and members of the FCP Central Committee.

GDR

The traditional festival of the newspaper *Neues Deutschland*, organ of the SUPG, was held in Friedrichshain, Berlin's central park. The guests met with contributors to and staff members of the newspaper, writers and scientists, and were present at exhibition performances by sportsmen and artistic collectives. Representatives of newspapers of communist and workers' parties in 36 countries took part in the festival.

INDIA

The left front consisting of the CPI and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) won the elections to the legislature of West Bengal. The front's candidates polled over 75 per cent of the votes and the front was entrusted with forming the state government.

NETHERLANDS

At elections to local organs of power more people are voting for left parties: the Communist Party of the Netherlands, the Pacifist Socialist Party, and the Radical Political Party. This is particularly evident in the communities where the Left forces acted as a united bloc.

POLAND

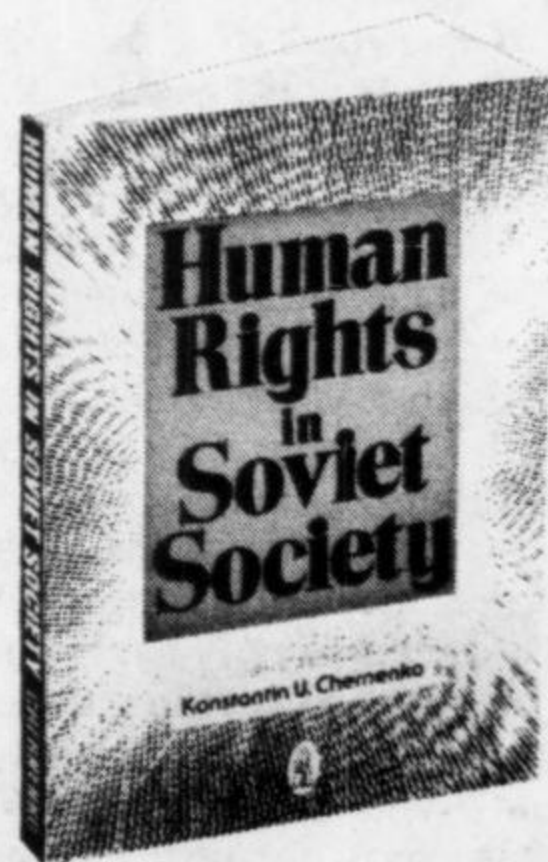
Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, the workers' publishing cooperative, has marked its 35th anniversary. It disseminates Marxism-Leninism through its ramified publishing, propaganda and educational work. A single printing of its 45 newspapers and 226 journals totals nearly 22 million copies.

PORTUGAL

The sixth conference in defense of the agrarian reform, which is one of the basic achievements of the Portuguese revolution, ended its work in Evora.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOVIET SOCIETY

by Konstantin U. Chernenko



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Grass-roots diplomacy

Jan Debrouwere
Political Bureau member,
CC National Secretary,
Communist Party of Belgium

NEW DIMENSIONS OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

May-June 1982. Reports of massive peace demonstrations were coming from many European countries. They were held in London and Bonn, in Athens and Rome, in Paris and Amsterdam, in Brussels and Antwerp, and everywhere they dramatized the aspiration of millions of Europeans to remove the nuclear threat to Europe, to prevent Europe from becoming the theater of an armed conflict once again, this time with irreparable consequences.

This new eruption of anti-war feeling has strikingly shown that the problem of peace, that foreign policy is now being taken up by huge sections of society, by millions upon millions of people. Grass-roots diplomacy is asserting itself in European political life and playing a growing role, compellingly raising the question of the future of civilization. It showed its strength again in June when, for instance, despite earlier statements of intent, the Belgian government once more postponed taking a decision — which it had planned for this period — on the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles on Belgian soil.

The magnitude of the present peace movement and the results it has achieved indicate that the movement is not merely an emotional response of Europeans to the growing threat of war, but something much bigger. What is it spelling out? What does it signify? What are its mainsprings and prospects? Developments over the past few months compel further thought over these questions and the raising of new ones. What we are seeing is something unique, something that has not yet been examined, something that requires serious analysis and thought. In this article I should like to share some of my own reflections, which I do not claim to be all-embracing, but am putting down on paper rather to raise some pressing matters for discussion.

Let us return to the autumn of last year. Oc-

tober 25, 1981 has gone down in the history of Belgium as having witnessed the biggest-ever demonstration of Belgian peace forces.¹ This demonstration, in which, by modest estimates, 200,000 people took part, holds a fitting place among similar actions in other West European capitals. Hundreds of thousands of people professing the most diverse political views went out into the streets to assert the existence of a factor of inestimable significance, namely, the unprecedented mobilization of public opinion against the deployment of nuclear weapons.

In Belgium a high degree of mobilization was achieved chiefly through the efforts of the National Action Committee for Peace and Development and its counterpart in Flanders, the Flemish Committee Against Nuclear Weapons. Acting as coordinators, these committees represent the mosaic of Belgian peace forces. It would be hard to list all the organizations affiliated to the two committees, but it may be said with certainty that they far outnumber those that took no part in the demonstration.

Innumerable initiatives and measures to stir the Belgian people to action led up to the October demonstration. The organizations affiliated to the Flemish Committee drew upon the experience of the demonstration of December 9, 1979 that was held directly after the NATO double option was adopted. The work accomplished by that committee's militants at the grass-roots level yielded results: Flemings predominated among the demonstrators. In the French-speaking part of the country the lessons of the 1979 setback were taken into account. Pluralist committees of fighters for disarmament, against Euromissiles, were now set up everywhere — in large towns and in small communities in Wallonia. The National Action Committee placed its technical resources at the disposal of these committees and assigned activists to help them. As a result, the October demonstration was a national action that left no doubt about whom it represented and the nation's demand for an end to the arms race.

The joint communiqué issued by both the

National Action and Flemish committees stated in part: "There has never been opposition of this magnitude against nuclear weapons. We are in a position to inhibit the dynamics of the nuclear arms race. The organizers urge all people, all committees and groups to sustain the struggle, bearing in mind, above all, the Special UN General Assembly on Disarmament."² Further, this document stated that Belgium should play a central role in the peace process and that the pressure maintained on the ruling circles by public opinion was extremely important. The battle against the nuclear threat, for peace could be won provided resolute and unanimous actions such as the Brussels demonstration of October 25 were continued. "Our destiny is in our hands,"³ the document said.

What was the course of developments after October? The mass action of the peace fighters, that went beyond the framework of traditional anti-war actions, carried out and inspired chiefly by the left forces, has visibly influenced policy. The government can no longer disregard, for example, the fact that most organizations and political parties have categorically rejected Reagan's notorious zero option, assessing it as unrealistic, as ignoring the forward-based armaments of the USA and the British and French nuclear potential.⁴ Another factor that must be reckoned with is that in response to an appeal by the National Action and Flemish committees the nation's peace forces have continued their struggle, bringing strong pressure to bear on the government. They are demanding that it take a firm, unambiguously negative stand to the deployment of Euromissiles in our country, in other words, that it end the period of the "Belgian moratorium," under which a final decision is being constantly postponed, as happened again in June. Moreover, this decision, let me add, should not be made dependent on the opinion of other countries, on the outcome, whatever it may be, of the Vienna or Geneva talks, or on the results of a possible Soviet-U.S. summit.

What are the chances that in the long run Belgium will refuse to have new U.S. weapons deployed on its territory? The political situation has changed following last November's parliamentary elections. The voting brought in a government formed mainly of representatives of the right. But the situation is dissimilar and fairly complex in the two ruling parties or, as they are called in our country, the two political families (for each consists of two parts: Walloon and Flemish).

Many Christian Democrats, chiefly in the trade unions, are opposed to Euromissiles. There is also the circumstance that in the northern part of the country, where the Christian Democrats have their largest base, the anti-war movement has acquired a particularly large scale. This circumstance is exercising a considerable influence on the decisions taken by the party leadership, which has to reckon with the sentiments of the rank and file. This is why even a person far removed from progressive views like Leo Tindemans is making statements which indicate quite clearly that among his supporters there is little enthusiasm about the deployment of U.S. missiles. As regards the socialist parties, both, though not in equal measures (the Flemish to a larger and the Walloon to a lesser extent), are against the implementation of the double option.

There are thus forces in the government that can prevent the stationing of Euromissiles in Belgium. The idea propounded by Pierre Harmel⁵ in 1967 is now circulating again among the ruling circles. He said that NATO should serve not only defense but also détente. This idea is bringing many people around to the conclusion that the dialogue with socialist countries must go on and that the nation should stop taking its cue obediently from the USA.

I should like to digress a little by mentioning the stand taken by the Netherlands (Holland, as you know, is very close to Belgium not only geographically, and for that reason everything occurring in The Hague arouses a response in Brussels, and vice versa. Moreover, the two governments adopted a largely similar attitude to the NATO double option). Belgian public opinion followed the visit of the Dutch queen to the USA. Speaking in Washington on the occasion of her arrival, President Reagan declared that the USA was expecting a quick and clear reply (in the affirmative, of course) from the Dutch government on the deployment of missiles. What was the queen's reaction? It gives much, very much, food for thought. She said that the USA could not understand that Western Europe was defending its millennium-long culture, that relations between Holland and the USA, in other words, between a small nation and a great power, should not be dogmatic, and that the posture of the two countries should not necessarily be identical. This was a distinct indication that the Dutch were far from agreeing with the Americans on everything.

This episode in Washington was widely

commented upon in the Belgian press. The view spread quickly in Belgium that our government should follow the example of our neighbor. Indicative in this context is the quick public response to the information, leaked to the press, that the Defense Minister had already decided — unofficially, of course, because such a decision could not be made by him — to begin the building of pads and bunkers for Cruise missiles. This was refuted by the Defense Ministry, but it in no way calmed Belgian opinion or made it less vigilant.

Among the population centers where preparatory work is under way the press keeps mentioning the Walloon town of Florennes. "Florennes," said a statement of the French-speaking bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium, "was chosen in order to avoid a head-on collision with opposition opinion, which is particularly strong in Flanders."⁶ But in Wallonia, too, actions of this kind do not pass painlessly. The inhabitants of Florennes, particularly young people, set up a peace group that decided to act without waiting for confirmation of the rumors. The group started a Golden Book, in which every inhabitant of the town could set down his or her motives for a negative attitude to the deployment of missiles. On May 22 a long procession passed through the townships in the vicinity of the air base. People who took part in the procession talked to the local inhabitants, explaining the danger of the proximity of missiles. The municipal councils were contacted in order to compel a vote on declaring the Florennes area free of nuclear weapons. As a matter of fact, at the time of writing more than 70 Belgian population centers — from small villages to the largest towns — have declared their territories non-nuclear zones. Their municipal councils have insisted that these territories should not be used for the stationing, storage, or transportation of nuclear weapons of any kind.

To return to our subject, it may be said that although the powerful anti-war movement has influenced the government, which has once again postponed taking a final decision on the deployment of U.S. missiles, the threat has not been removed. The resolution of the 24th congress of the CPB notes: "It is not to be excluded that attempts will be made to catch the peace forces unaware and in some form impose the decision adopted by NATO in 1979."⁷ Following the June peak in the mobilization of public opinion, much again depends on the peace movement, on its militancy and ability to go on fighting.

Are there conditions for this? Before answering this question we have to look into the movement and see the changes that have taken place in it.

The unity of the peace movement continues to rest on the same basis it had acquired some time ago. The slogans are the same, and the political and social forces are the same. But the movement's participants themselves and their motivations have undergone a change.

One hears the argument that people are motivated to join the struggle for peace solely by fear, by the compulsion to survive. Is this true? Of course, fear is part of it. But if it was the sole motivation of the mass actions, these would have had the corresponding character and effect. In its "pure form" fear breeds panic, paralyzes the will to act, makes people flee or, say, depend on some strong personalities. But what we see is a structurally constituted organization of action that perceptibly influences political decisions. This means that alongside and parallel with fear there is an element of faith in reason, an element of the people's confidence in their own strength, their ability to avert a catastrophe. In the process of resolute action, of participation in large demonstrations people acquire the understanding and confidence that their efforts are not futile, that the worst can be avoided.

Another important thing is the internationalization of the movement, its more pronounced international character. There have been major joint actions by the West European peace movements. The routes of their marches have lain across many frontiers. Such was the case last autumn, and also in May-June of this year. A noteworthy point is the increasingly more impressive magnitude of the anti-war movement not only in Western Europe but also in the USA.⁸ The latter's first contacts with the movement in Western Europe do not augur an easy life for the White House and the Pentagon strategists. The expansion of these contacts is a formidable barrier to the arms race being imposed by the U.S. administration.

Let us put the question bluntly: Did we expect such a powerful explosion of anti-war feeling and were we prepared for it?

It will be recalled that shortly before the NATO double option, in October 1979, members of our party set up a table in a street in Antwerp, put a sheaf of papers on it, and asked passers-by to sign their names under an appeal against the deployment of missiles. This was customary. Actions of this kind had been taken on innumerable occasions, and usually between 200 and 500 signatures would be col-

lected. This time 3,000 signatures were collected within the space of three hours. And within several weeks the appeal was signed by hundreds of thousands of people. It became clear to us that the demonstration planned at the time for December 9 would surpass expectations. That is exactly what happened. We wanted to rent buses to go to the demonstration but everywhere the answer was the same: "All have been booked by this or that organization, by this or that committee." We had not even suspected the existence of many of them. In the communes, where it would seem people knew everything about each other, organizations that nobody knew of sprang up. The struggle for peace was the sole subject of all rallies. People asked what right Minister Henri Simonet had to declare in Washington that Belgium would agree to the deployment of missiles. It was then that everybody heard the name of the Socialist Louis Tobbak. No sooner did he publicly demand in parliament an explanation from Simonet about the latter's promises in Washington than Tobbak, about whom nobody outside his party and its apparatus knew anything, became the man of the hour. Meanwhile, the ill-starred minister had to return to Belgium within 24 hours and was disowned by his own party.

I am recalling this to make it clear that the magnitude of the movement was unexpected to many people. Also unexpected was that its participants not only demonstrated but saw their real strength, their ability to achieve something tangible. We had, after all, seen many battles that were regarded lost even before they were started (for instance, the struggle against Belgium's membership in NATO).

I believe we can draw the conclusion that the peace movement is now acquiring growing confidence in the success of its actions, in the ability of the people to compel governments to abide by their will. Hence, the increased demands on the work of communists, the need to study this movement and help to bring out, multiply, and make full use of the potential accumulated by it.

One of the most important questions attracting the attention of communists is the participation of workers in the anti-war movement.

The numerical difference between the two demonstrations, that of December 1979 and that of October 1981, was 120,000 persons. Largely, though not entirely, this is the result of the participation of the organized working-class movement in the latter demonstration. In December 1979 the initiative came spontaneously from various grass-roots, neighborhood and communal committees. Although the

working-class movement officially aligned itself with the demonstration it made no visible effort to mobilize the masses.

The principal aspect of this movement is its level of organization. Since through its structure the movement did not influence the masses, the latter's response was partial and belated. That is what happened in 1979. But in the course of the preparations for the demonstration of October 1981 the working-class movement (the trade unions and the "political families" backing them) began a direct, concrete mobilization, using their own funds. Buses and trains were hired, and people arrived in Brussels not spontaneously but as members of organizations. This was facilitated to a decisive degree by grass-roots pressure.

The working-class movement's certain slowness in acquiring political consciousness, maturity in regard to the area we are considering, was due to, among other things, the distinctions between the two trade union organizations, to their dissimilar position in the two parts of the country. Unlike those of Flanders, the Walloon trade unions give little support to anti-war actions, maintaining that their main struggle is with the crisis, and that international problems have nothing in common with trade union activity.

What is the role of the communists in this situation?

We are making every effort to achieve the maximum mobilization of the organized working-class movement, in which the CPB exercises a definitive influence. Evidence of the growth of its consciousness level is that it does not dissolve into pacifism, does not let itself be lured by castles in the air, by slogans that do not distinguish between cause and effect.

As I have already said, in the correlation between the spontaneous and the conscious, a change has taken place in favor of the latter. This change will unquestionably help the masses to have a better understanding of the reasons for the arms race, and the dependence of the crisis of the capitalist system in Belgium on NATO's militaristic policy. It is the task of the communists to show this cause-effect link, and bring it home to the people. But it must be clearly understood that just as the program of the peace movement cannot be identical with the peace program of the Communist Party, we cannot adopt any maximalistic stand, ignore the character of this powerful public movement, and try to change the direction of the ongoing processes artificially. To act in such a manner would only isolate the party. It is good to be certain that one is right, but one must be able to convince others of this, others who

reason in their own way and have their own arguments.

The political struggle thus does not cease for a moment. For the Belgian communists its main area today is the battle for the unconditional and unequivocal denial of the nation's territory for the stationing of medium-range missiles.

There is one more thing I should like to note.

A question we pondered was whether the mass character of the recent march by unemployed young people⁹ was linked in any way to the mass character of the peace movement. Does the upsurge of this movement facilitate the growth of public action? I feel it is hard to say which of these phenomena is primary and which is secondary, where, as the saying goes, is the chicken and where the egg. A serious analysis must be made. There is no doubt that a direct link exists between them, between the anti-war and the anti-crisis actions, even if only by the composition of their participants.

At the start of the crisis, at the stage during which it was gathering momentum, the population, including the working masses, was inclined to take a conservative view. The motivation was the desire to preserve the gains won during the period of relative prosperity. The initial period of the crisis has passed, and the moment has come when people are more and more clearly realizing that there is nothing to preserve, that qualitative changes are needed in society. It is too soon, of course, to speak of a total transition from the struggle against the effects to a struggle against the causes. Large sections of the population still believe the prevailing system can surmount difficulties. But this belief is gradually wearing thin, and the understanding that changes are needed is penetrating deeper into people's minds, although it has not yet taken the shape of a distinct option in favor of a different type of society. At the same time — and here one discerns

the impact of the peace movement on public activity — faith is growing in the transformative power of mass actions, in the efficacy of an organized struggle.

At the same time, the peace forces, too, are step by step approaching the starting line of a qualitative leap, from the struggle against effects to a struggle against causes. This is not an easy process. We must help it to develop by energetic explanatory work, by unremitting work to politicize the mass movement.

I once heard a militant of the anti-war movement say: "We do not know where we are going, but we are going there quite quickly; it now remains to find out where we are, after all, going." We communists are distinguished by our own logic of thinking, by the fact that we are Marxists. From these positions we study all current processes and phenomena, including the present peace movement, which has built up a huge potential in itself. The Communist Party of Belgium and its Central Committee are now giving this much of their attention. I hope the observations and thoughts I have advanced will induce the comrades from other communist parties to contribute to the journal in order to analyze jointly issues that have lately become paramount.

1. WMR, January 1982.

2. *Le Drapeau Rouge*, October 28, 1981.

3. Ibid.

4. For instance, Karel Van Miert, leader of the Flemish socialists, declared that "account must be taken not only of the U.S. missiles to be deployed in Europe and the Soviet SS-20, SS-5 and SS-4 missiles, but also of the so-called forward-based systems: missiles with nuclear warheads on board U.S. submarines and aircraft-carriers in the North Sea and the Mediterranean. Reagan's proposal ignores these forward-based systems" (*Le Drapeau Rouge*, November 22, 1981).

5. Pierre Harmel was Belgium's Foreign Minister. — Ed.

6. *Le Drapeau Rouge*, May 8 and 9, 1982.

7. *Cahiers marxistes*, April-May 1982, p. 25.

8. This is admitted by the capitalist press. I'll take the liberty of citing some quotations. "The anti-nuclear campaign has been joined not only by young militants, who had earlier denounced the Vietnam war, but also groups of pacifists. It has been joined also by people of the middle classes, the liberal professions, by people who are not committed to any political view but numbed by fear of a nuclear war" (the French journal *Le Nouvel Observateur*). The President cannot blame people for fearing a nuclear war... He must show that... he is anxious about the fate of the nation and the planet (the American *Washington Post*). The movement consists of ordinary people who want to give diplomacy and the world another chance. It is amazing that, judging by everything, the administration is acting in the opposite direction (the American *The New York Times*). This is a salutary and promising movement... The people are right... They want disarmament to get off the ground (the American *The Christian Science Monitor*). (Quoted from *Le Nouvel Observateur*, April 3-9, 1982.)

9. This march took place on April 24, 1982. — Ed.

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"No" to the war menace

The beginning of this summer was marked by a new upsurge in mass anti-war action in Western Europe, the United States, Japan and other countries. Evidence of this is furnished by the following brief reports that came in as this issue was being prepared for printing.

Mass demonstrations in Europe

Over 400,000 peace supporters in the FRG and other NATO countries responded to the appeal of 1,900 organizations and groups by arriving in Bonn for the biggest anti-war demonstration in West German history. Mass demonstrations for peace were also held in other European countries. A quarter million British opponents of the Thatcher government's militarist policy took to the streets in London; 300,000 people representing diverse trends of the peace movement joined in an anti-war demonstration in Italy; in the streets of Vienna, 70,000 Austrians declared loyalty to the cause of peace; in Göteborg, a demonstration of peace supporters drew 100,000 participants from Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden; no less than 200,000 people took part in a peace demonstration in Lisbon and a quarter million in Paris. The Flemish Committee Against Nuclear Weapons handed over to the government a petition, signed by over 200,000 people, demanding a ban on deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Belgium.

Peace marches

Thousands joined in an anti-war march sponsored by the National Anti-NATO Committee of Spain. It took place in Torrejon de Ardoz (a town in the vicinity of Madrid), near which a U.S. air base is situated. In West Berlin a peace march drew 50,000 people. As many peace supporters marched along the roads of northern Greece. Several European organizations are planning a Peace March-82, whose route will take the participants from Stockholm to Minsk via Helsinki, Leningrad and Moscow.

"For a Nuclear-Free North"

Various public organizations of Nordic countries published a joint appeal "For a Nuclear-Free North." About 2.5 million Danes, Finns, Swedes and Norwegians have signed it to date. The movement for a nuclear-free North and nuclear-free Europe is gaining ground in these countries.

A new wave of protests in the USA and Canada

The echo of peace demonstrations held in Europe reached the United States. Some 10 million Americans took part in diverse actions against a continued arms race. "Speak out", "Demand a world without nuclear weapons", "Protest against escalating the insane arms race." These calls came from public organizations and noted leaders all over the United States, from the Atlantic seaboard to California. In the first half of June, people arrived in New York, at the UN headquarters, from every part of the country to join in a peace day and a nuclear disarmament march. The anti-war action involved about a million people. In Canada, 100,000 opponents of the arms race met at a number of rallies. They demanded that the government declare the country a nuclear-free zone.

News from other continents

Japanese opponents of war organized a vast demonstration in Tokyo that drew 400,000 people. The demonstrators called on the government to abide unfailingly by the three non-nuclear principles: not to have, not to manufacture, and not to import nuclear arms.

A world Buddhist conference in Sri Lanka was attended by delegates from 35 countries. The conference demanded that an end be put to the arms race and steps taken to prevent nuclear war and save humanity from destruction.

"No to war", "No to the neutron bomb", "Guinea-Bissau declares for détente and disarmament." It was under these slogans that a peace march took place in that African country for the first time in its history.

In Mexico, there was an international meeting of students "For Peace, Disarmament and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity." The participants came from 17 countries of Europe and Latin America.

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Save José Luis Massera!

AGAINST REPRESSION AND PERSECUTION

Alarming reports come from Uruguay. Persecution and repression are continuing, with more people "disappearing." The conditions for political prisoners in the prison called Libertad ("Freedom") as if in mockery, and in the women's prison at Punta de Rieles go on deteriorating. Food, already meager, has been cut still more. Prisoners have virtually been deprived of exercise and are denied all opportunity to work. There have been cases of brutal beating, and mental torture is as common as ever. The prisoners are threatened with still worse punishment.

Among those whose lives are in danger is Professor José Luis Massera, a communist. A noted mathematician and politician, he was sentenced by a military court to 20 years im-

prisonment in 1975. He has been atrociously tortured. One result is a fractured thigh, which makes walking very difficult. Massera's jailers forbid him to do any scientific research and refuse him badly needed medicines. All signs are that the regime plans to destroy one of the recognized and authoritative leaders of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

Massera has travelled an arduous path of labor and struggle. He took an active part in the anti-fascist movement during World War II and in the founding of the World Peace Council after the war (the WPC awarded him the Salvador Allende Medal in 1980). Massera joined the Communist Party in 1941 and was invariably elected to the CC CPU from 1945 on. He was an MP from 1963 to 1972. Great credit is due to him for the formation and consolidation of the Broad Front, a progressive alignment.

Massera began his scientific career in the 30s. He is the author of more than 200 writings that have appeared in academic publications the world over and the founder of the Montevideo Higher Mathematical Institute. Marxism-Leninism is part of his scientific pursuits. It is the basis on which he has analyzed social and economic changes in his country. Massera has won recognition both at home and abroad. Rome University, the Humboldt University (GDR), Nice University (France) and Central University of Ecuador have conferred on him the degree of D. Math. *honoris causa*. New editions of his books and scientific writings come out in many countries.

An international campaign for Massera's freedom is under way on the initiative of Mexican mathematicians. Scholars of dozens of other countries have joined in. The governments of a number of American and European states have signified their readiness to grant Massera political asylum.

The fascist jailers' treatment of Massera is expressive of their fear of those who put the happiness and freedom of their compatriots above their own lives. Demands by the Uruguayan people and the international solidarity campaign must bring the militant scientist out of the dictatorship's prison.

Samuel Behak
Representative of the CP of
Uruguay on the journal

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When masks are discarded

Rafic Samhoun
CC Political Bureau member,
Lebanese Communist Party

ROOTS OF THE NEW ISRAELI ACT OF AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A further act of the Middle East tragedy has unfolded 15 years after the Israeli aggression of June 5, 1967 against Arab peoples, almost on the very day of the anniversary. In flagrant violation of the Lebanese Republic's sovereignty, Israeli troops intruded into its territory after several days' massive bombing and shelling of Lebanese population centers and Palestinian refugee camps. Tens of thousands of troops and hundreds of tanks and armored personnel carriers were committed to the fighting. They were supported by fighter aircraft, bombers and commando helicopters, and by warships.

Never discriminating in its choice of means, Tel Aviv has once again brazenly challenged the international community. Its armored columns passed through the areas patrolled by blue-helmeted UN troops sent to Lebanon by decision of the Security Council after the Israeli aggression of 1978. This is the first case of its kind in the history of the United Nations.

The invaders employed scorched earth tactics, reducing towns and villages to heaps of rubble, and laying waste to fields and orchards. Colossal destruction has been suffered by Beirut, the Lebanese capital. Hundreds of thousands of people have been made homeless, forced to leave their homes to save themselves from death. The roads were clogged with refugees with Israeli fighter aircraft spitting fire and lead over their heads. Fragmentation and personnel bombs and other barbarous weapons were used. Tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians, mostly civilians — women, the aged, and children — fell victim to this brigandage. Incalculable losses were inflicted on the country.

The invaders encountered staunch, courageous resistance from combined detachments of the Lebanese National Patriotic Forces and the Palestine Resistance Movement, and also from the civilian population. Fighting side by side, they repulsed the enemy attacks. Despite their considerable numerical superiority the Israelis were forced to retreat in some sectors.

Resistance was put up against the aggressor also by the Syrian troops of the Arab Deterrent Force in Lebanon. Both sides took heavy losses in life and equipment.

What led to this new eruption of fighting in the Middle East? What motivated the Israeli hawks to launch an aggression that has created a serious threat to international peace?

According to Zionist and U.S. propaganda, the direct cause of the invasion was the attempt on the life of the Israeli ambassador in London allegedly made by agents of the Palestine Liberation Organization. This is an obvious echo of an old motif — the shots fired in Sarajevo.* Even Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, found Tel Aviv's "explanation" unconvincing, declaring that the Israeli government had simply used the incident as a pretext. For its part, the PLO emphatically disclaimed responsibility for the assassination attempt.

Similarly, without any proof, it was alleged that this predatory action was undertaken to protect northern Israel from shelling by the Palestinian resistance forces, to "move" the latter away from Israel's frontiers. Yet it was none other than the Zionist military who broke the ceasefire agreement signed last year. Last April the aggressors resumed their massive bombing of Lebanese territory, showing that they were not so much concerned about the security of their fellow citizens. Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Defense Minister, bluntly spoke not of "moving back," but of destroying the Palestinians, and this monstrous guideline was methodically put into effect on Israeli-held Lebanese territory. At the close of June, at the time of writing, as much as almost half of Lebanon had been seized.

As a matter of fact, the Zionist leaders have never taken the trouble to offer any plausible justification for their acts of aggression. Cynicism is a distinguishing feature of their political behavior. The plan for the invasion of Lebanon was debated all but openly. Its actual aims were no secret to anybody. Nevertheless, to get

*It will be recalled that the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, was the signal for the start of the First World War. — Ed.

to the bottom let us briefly consider the situation just before the aggression.

Unprecedented in scale and intensity, the actions of the Palestinian Arab people on occupied lands against the invaders dispersed the myth about the invincibility of the Zionist state and showed the futility of the attempts to undermine the morale of the Palestinians and their sense of national unity. The role of the PLO grew increasingly more pronounced as the banner and mobilizing center of the Palestine resistance, embodying the faith that sooner or later the people would win the right to self-determination and create their own independent state.

On the other hand, Arab reaction grew more active. It hatched the Fahd plan,* which was an obvious attempt to sell the Camp David line, and advanced the slogan of bringing Egypt, enmeshed in the chains of the Camp David accords and the Israeli "peace" terms, back into the Arab fold. More energetic efforts than ever were made to reconsider the scale of Middle East priorities. The idea was persistently peddled that the main issue was the notorious "Soviet threat" and (this is characteristic of the reactionary Persian Gulf regimes alarmed by the unexpected turn in the Iraqi-Iranian war that was started not without the connivance of imperialism) the "Iranian menace." A symptomatic statement was made by Saudi Arabia's late king Khalid. "The main objective today," he said, "is not to settle the Palestinian problem but to repulse the Shiite menace." The overriding issue of the Middle East conflict — the struggle with the Zionist enemy, was, in essence, pushed into the background. On the other hand the road was opened for the implementation of the U.S. "strategic consensus" doctrine, in other words, the formation of a bloc consisting of Israeli and Arab reaction under the aegis of the USA.

In this situation the mainstay of the struggle against the imperialist Israeli aggression continued to be the triple alliance of the Palestine Resistance Movement, the Lebanese National Patriotic Forces, and Syria. Precisely this alliance became the target of the conspiracy between imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Subversion was conducted subtly. U.S. emissaries, notably President Reagan's envoy Philip Habib, went to all lengths to coax acceptance of recommendations that in fact contain the terms made by Tel Aviv: evacuation of Syrian troops from Lebanon, withdrawal of Palestinian

detachments from the southern regions of the country, and the replacement of both by Lebanese army units formed on the confessional (religious community) principle and controlled by the local isolationists who are Israel's myrmidons.

Pressure was brought to bear on Syria as well. In order to undermine that nation from within imperialism abetted and directed the criminal actions of the ultra-reactionary Muslim Brotherhood organization. Communal passions were whipped up in Lebanese towns in an effort to create an atmosphere of hostility around the Syrian units stationed in them.

With the involvement of local and foreign secret services inter-communal conflicts were provoked also in regions controlled by the National Patriotic Forces. Assassinations, explosions, and other acts of terrorism were committed and a situation of chaos and anarchy was created. This was done in order to precipitate internal clashes and a split among the patriotic forces and clear the way to the attainment of the plans, harbored by the Zionists and their myrmidons, for the occupation and fragmentation of Lebanon.

However, imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction failed to achieve their goal at the time. Nothing came of the limited Israeli armed action in southern Lebanon on April 21, virtually just before the scheduled evacuation of Israeli troops from the Sinai. Tel Aviv then decided on an invasion of Lebanon with large forces.

The aggressor pursued several aims. These were, above all, to bleed and ultimately smash the Palestine Resistance Movement, destroy the military potential and political structure of the PLO, break the PLO's influence among the population of occupied territories, and eliminate it from the Middle East scene as a military and political factor. This was seen as crucial to breaking the resistance of the Palestinian Arab people, cutting short their struggle for an independent state of their own, and perpetuating the occupation of the Jordan West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In the context of the Palestinian problem and the attempts of the participants in the Camp David deal to resolve that problem on the basis of the notorious "autonomy" offer, the aggression against Lebanon is the second stage of this conspiracy, the stage of armed action. On occupied Lebanese territory the invaders had recourse to undisguised genocide, aiming at the physical extermination of the Palestinians resident there. Characterizing this nazi-type "wiping up" operation, the Israeli Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan declared: "We will not leave one stone unturned. It may take a long time."

The Israeli military have indeed begun a

*This is discussed in some detail by N. Ashhab in "Anti-Popular Policy in the Middle East: Dead End", WMR, February 1982.

long-term entrenchment in Lebanon. Military governors have been appointed to administer the occupied towns. Israel banknotes have been put into circulation. Trained administrators have been transferred from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. "We have had a lot of experience in this field, and we are putting it to use," one of them boasted.

Tel Aviv sticks to the Camp David idea of dealing with the Arab countries one by one. It struck at the National Patriotic Forces in order to give superiority in Lebanon to reactionary isolationist elements, to install a regime prepared to cooperate with the Israeli ruling élite and join the Camp David process. Presidential elections were scheduled to be held in Lebanon in two months' time, and the calculation was that with control by the confessional-based Lebanese army and with the phalangists of Bachir Gemayel exercising hegemony, the election would be won by a person favored by the imperialist-Zionist alliance. In other words, Israel set out to accomplish by aggression what the imperialists had failed to achieve throughout all the seven years of civil war in Lebanon.

Lastly, the aim was to undermine Syria's position, to downgrade its role in the Middle East conflict, and make the Syrian government more "pliable."

The Israeli rulers, of course, would not have ventured to behave in this brazen and provocative manner, they would not have plunged headlong into a bloody gamble had they not had the backing of their powerful patrons, the U.S. imperialists. In Lebanon, U.S.-Israeli "strategic cooperation" acquired flesh and blood in a monstrous context. The hands of the members of this conspiracy are stained with the blood of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians killed by the tracks of U.S.-made tanks, by shells and missiles bearing the trademark "Made in USA," by bombs dropped from aircraft manufactured overseas. The massive supplies to Israel of the most advanced U.S. military hardware is the sole material basis of its expansionist ambitions. At the height of the invasion the Pentagon announced it would supply Tel Aviv with additional tanks, self-propelled guns, and armoured personnel carriers, openly encouraging the invaders to continue the genocide. Moreover, the aggression itself was started with the knowledge and approval of Washington. A few days before it commenced, Alexander Haig, then U.S. Secretary of State, warned that if the "autonomy" talks within the framework of the Camp David deal broke down a "more dangerous option" would arise. The time had come, he hinted meaningfully, to do something about Lebanon.

The precursor of the invasion was the visit to the USA by the Israeli Defense Minister Sharon. Upon returning home he made a statement that clearly indicated that the Zionist aggressors had been given the green light.

U.S. imperialism not only put the most lethal and destructive weapons in the hands of murderers, but also gave them political cover. Washington resisted all condemnation of the actions of the invaders at international forums, the United Nations in the first place, and obstructed the efforts of the Security Council to halt the aggression and restore peace. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. representative at the United Nations, tried to justify Tel Aviv's lawlessness, characterizing it as the exercise of the right to "national self-defense." The USA vetoed a Security Council draft resolution condemning Israel's action and demanding the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. And here is what Reagan said: "We must all work to stamp out the scourge of terrorism (the term used by the White House for the national liberation forces. — R.S.) that in the Middle East makes war an ever-present threat."

With the explosions of bombs and shells on long-suffering Lebanese soil as the accompaniment, the U.S. President played host to the Israeli Prime Minister at the White House. Ronald Reagan gave what amounted to his approval to the atrocities being committed by the Israeli military on the occupied territory of Lebanon, endorsing Tel Aviv's continued treatment of a neighboring sovereign nation in total disregard of international law. Upon the completion of his overseas visit Menachem Begin declared that the Israeli and U.S. governments saw eye to eye relative to what was happening in Lebanon. Small wonder. The Zionist aggression may be called a joint U.S.-Israeli action serving both parties to the criminal conspiracy. This was openly confirmed by the well-informed Henry Kissinger, who was U.S. Secretary of State and one of the architects of Washington's Middle East strategy. "In this particular case," he noted, having in mind the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, "the results were concurrent with the interests of the peace process in the Middle East (in other words, the Camp David line. — R.S.), of all moderate governments in the area (read: reactionary Arab regimes. — R.S.) and of the United States itself."

The Israeli aggression gave Washington, among other things, the chance to have a military presence in the Middle East. A U.S. naval strike force, including aircraft carriers, was sent to Lebanese waters when the fighting was at its height. This brought to mind the possibility of a

repetition of the events of 1958, when the USA intervened in Lebanon. The Washington strategists produced a scenario under which any withdrawal of Israeli troops was made contingent upon the replacement of UN forces in southern Lebanon by a so-called multinational peace-keeping force with U.S. troops as part of that force. In fact this was an attempt to repeat the Camp David strategem that had been put into effect at Egypt's expense and enabled the hobnailed boot of the USA to step on Arab soil. Having discarded its mask U.S. imperialism undertook the role not only of abettor and patron of the Israeli aggressor but also of a direct accomplice of the crimes committed by it. It thus shares the entire responsibility for these crimes.

The atrocities committed by the Israeli military with the support and encouragement of the U.S. ruling circles drew outraged protests throughout the world. The government was condemned in no uncertain terms by courageous patriots and internationalists in Israel itself. Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI

Central Committee, declared in the Knesset: "The doctrine that Israel becomes more secure as the number of killed Palestinians increases, is criminal and borders on cannibalism." All of the world's decent people are on the side of the Arab peoples fighting for legitimate national rights, for a just and lasting peace.

International solidarity is a source of inestimable support for the Arab national liberation movement. Its significance has never been greater for the Lebanese and Palestinian fighters. At this critical moment for our country we welcomed the Soviet government's serious warning to the aggressors and their patrons. It declared: "In the interests of peace in the Middle East, in the broad interests of international security effective steps must be taken promptly to halt the aggression, end the hostilities, and get the Israeli troops to withdraw from Lebanon. This is demanded by the unanimously passed resolutions of the UN Security Council. They must be fulfilled. This is a key issue today."* Communist parties of West European countries have appealed for greater solidarity with the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine, with the PLO and the Lebanese National Patriotic Movement, declaring: "... we are acting to get democratic opinion and the governments of our countries to do everything in their power to secure an immediate ceasefire and the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon." This appeal was subscribed to by the representatives of nearly 60 communist, workers,' and revolutionary-democratic parties attending an international theoretical conference in Sofia in Mid-June.

The Lebanese and Palestinian peoples are continuing their struggle against the Israeli aggressors. For the success of this struggle every effort must be made to strengthen the militant alliance of the forces opposed to the combined forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Georges Hawi, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, has called upon all Lebanese "to unite regardless of ideological, religious and other differences in order to give a determined rebuff to the Israeli aggression." The guarantee of victory lies in unity and in closer fraternal co-operation with our true friends — the USSR and other socialist countries, with all who hold peace and justice dear. This is the only way to secure a radical change in the developments in the Middle East, bring down the high priests of war, bridle the criminal plans of the imperialists, and establish a lasting, just and all-embracing peace in our region.

*Pravda, June 15, 1982.

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DIALECTICS OF THE GENERAL AND THE PARTICULAR IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The theory and practice of socialism, its ideals and principles, and also the ways and means of putting them into effect are at the core of the class struggle of our epoch. One of the main issues is that of the relationship of general laws and the historically-specific, national features of socialist revolutions and the building of the new society.

The argument over the idea of socialism began as soon as that idea was advanced. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels characterized the reactionary-feudal, bourgeois-conservative, and petty-bourgeois-utopian concepts of the ways and means of remaking society. Lenin distinguished at least three orientations in the socialist movement, the program of the Communist International speaks of 10 anti-Marxist currents, while today there are several score. It is not our intention to write of the content, the social and gnosiological roots, or the designation of each of these discordant notions about socialism. It is much more important to show how they affect the struggle of classes.

Prior to 1917 the debates over socialism were conducted mainly in the working-class movement, and these concerned theory and programs. The October Revolution moved scientific communism into the sphere of practice, raising it to the level of state and social policy and making it a matter of the day-to-day work and experience of millions of people. Today questions of the theory and practice of socialism are a conspicuous element of the worldwide confrontation between the two social systems, which constantly influence each other and use the entire armory of means at their disposal. This and some other factors understandably trigger debates also in the communist movement, in which new theoretical, conceptual-strategic, and tactico-political considerations are stated on matters concerning the proletarian revolution, the essence and principles of socialism, and the forms and

methods of building it, considerations that not only match but also come into conflict with each other. Here the rationale is objective or subjective, short-term or long-term, and also methodological, springing from conflicting interpretations of the interaction of theory and practice, from disparate understandings of the correlation between a concept and a policy being put into effect. Also, a certain role is played by the question of the sources of our theoretical knowledge, and of the circumstances in which Marxist-Leninist theory is elaborated, applied in practice, and creatively developed.

Socialism has been developing as a state and social system for six and a half decades, and as a world system for somewhat over 30 years. In terms of history this is a short period, especially if it is borne in mind that hitherto, in most cases, the building of the new society was started in countries with a low or medium level of economic development and, besides, had time and again been cut short by wars, hostile actions on the part of imperialism, and internal social conflicts. Understandably, owing to these circumstances the socialist system has been unable to display all its advantages, while in some countries it has been unable to take shape definitively.

However, the experience of these decades and of the socialist revolutions that have been accomplished in that period is quite enough for some theoretical generalizations, that have stood the test of practice. Among these a special place is held by the basic laws of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction collectively formulated in 1957 by representatives of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries.¹ The document adopted by the meeting underscored that by virtue of the "great diversity of existing national specifics and traditions" these general laws require "creative application . . . depending on the concrete historical conditions obtaining in each country" and should not be imitated mechanically.

A quarter of a century has passed since then. Compared with the time the Declaration was

adopted, the process of the world's revolutionary transformation has grown broader geographically, embracing new regions of the globe, deeper in the context of society's reorganization, and more diversified in terms of the motive forces, manifestations, forms, means and methods of struggle. In 1959 the revolution triumphed in Cuba, following which Laos, Kampuchea, Nicaragua, Grenada, Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen enriched the theory and practice of revolution. Great achievements were scored in the socialist countries. The class struggle gained momentum in capitalist countries. The national liberation movement reached a colossal scale. Taken together, all this has enriched the theory and practice of Marxism. An unbiased analysis and evaluation of these historical processes lead to at least two conclusions: first, the attractiveness of the ideas of the October Revolution and socialism continues to grow and, second, alongside the many basic features common to all socialist countries there are visible distinctions stemming mainly from the historically disparate forms of national social organisms.

A survey of the economic conditions, political institutions, and social practice of socialist countries will show that while there are unquestionable similarities, each country has its own inimitable, unique features. This is only natural, for revolution and political structures can be neither exported nor imported, much less imposed upon any country.

A feature distinguishing the general laws of the socialist revolution and the building of the new society is that they do not exist as "things in themselves," but acquire prominence only in a concrete revolution, in concrete socialist society, in other words, in a special and particular case.

Marx, Engels and Lenin had repeatedly noted that the road to socialism would be blazed in different ways and that the working class should in all cases wage its struggle with account of national and historical conditions. The operation of general laws in a "pure" form abstracted from concrete circumstances is as inconceivable as an exclusively national path to socialism unaffected by the operation of the general laws of the proletarian revolution and the building of the new society. In 1915 Lenin wrote: "The universal exists only in the individual and through the individual" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 38, p. 361). He often made the point, especially after the October Revolution, that each country should accomplish the revolution in its own way (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 423) and that the transitional steps to socialism

in Western Europe would differ from those in Russia (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 132; Vol. 28, p. 473). He said: "... it would be absurd to set up our revolution as the ideal for all countries" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 192). He was also emphatic on the point "that some basic features of our revolution are not exclusively local, national, Russian, but international" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 21). Prompted by the clearly demarcated correlation between the general and the particular, Lenin said that general principles should be applied differentially, with account of national-state distinctions. The problem, he wrote, was mainly "to seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the concrete manner in which each country should tackle a single international task" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92).

In this context any proletarian revolution and any socialist society are unique historical phenomena. As the motive forces, participants in and initiators of changes, the people, the working class and the nation's ruling party bear most of the responsibility for their content, rate and course.

In the GDR, as in other socialist countries, the past and present provide many examples of a creative application of the basic principles of socialism under specific national conditions. For instance, in our republic the transition to socialism took place in many respects differently from the way it was accomplished three decades earlier in the Soviet Union or practically at one and the same time as in other countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe. In particular, since in accordance with the agreements among the great victor-powers the supreme authority in Germany was exercised during the initial post-war years by the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces — each in his zone of occupation — the working class of the GDR won power (which is, as everybody knows, the basic issue of any revolution) not immediately, not as a result of a single action, but gradually.² Unlike the Soviet Union, Hungary, Romania, Cuba or Mongolia, in our country we have not a one-party but a multi-party system under SUPG guidance. Further, in the GDR there was no general expropriation of capitalists or nationalization of the land³ — acts that in some countries were the prerequisites of socialist changes. Tens of thousands of small and medium entrepreneurs, artisans, shopkeepers, and well-to-do farmers were given the opportunity of taking part in building the new society.

But given all the specific ways, methods and forms of the transformations in the GDR, the

class content and the social and economic essence of the changes in all areas of society's life were the same as in the Soviet Union and in the countries that had laid the foundations of socialism. Headed by the Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with the peasants and intellectuals, with all the working people, the republic's working class assumed political power and formed a socialist state that successfully fulfilled and continues to fulfil the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat. That is what made it the first genuinely democratic power on German soil. Socialist relations of production were given shape step by step, while planning became the basis of economic development. Lastly, a revolution was accomplished in culture and spiritual life, the people's way of thinking changed fundamentally and continues to change, and education, science, culture and other areas of society's life are developing steadily.

In the SUPG program, adopted at the ninth congress in 1976, it is stated in full accordance with the party's theoretical postulates and experience: "In its program aims and in its practical work the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is guided by the general laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism validated by the world revolutionary process, and uses these laws creatively in the specific historical conditions obtaining in the German Democratic Republic."⁴

This creative approach presupposes not only an understanding of the objective character of general laws and the forms in which they manifest themselves but also the ability of the country's political leadership, on the basis of theory and substantive analysis of the conditions of socialist construction, to map out correct strategy and concepts, formulate tasks, and define the ways and means of carrying them out. In this respect there neither are nor can be ready-made recipes or patterns. The abstract, speculative patterns for universal "models" of socialism and for their regional and national varieties cannot provide an understanding of the complex dialectical interaction of general laws and the conditions under which they operate, much less lead to the realization of this interaction. The only way for success to be achieved, setbacks and disappointment avoided, and vacillation prevented is to absolutize neither the general nor the particular, but to act in accordance with the specific historical situation with account of general laws.

Ever since it was founded 36 years ago, the SUPG has reckoned with what Lenin called the general principles of socialism and with the specifics of our country. It has always taken a

creative approach to the elaboration of theoretical problems and the fulfillment of complex practical tasks, utilizing the experience of the communists of other socialist community countries and, at the same time, looking for and developing new ways.

This is not only a matter of what is usually designated as general laws and national features, but also of a large range of acts, of specific realities and concrete historical conditions in the GDR, each with a significance and impact of its own. Throughout all the periods of the revolutionary process in our country there have been at least three categories (types) of factors that were taken into account when the party's relevant strategy and general political line were charted, defined and put into effect.

The first category of these factors may be called *general historical conditions*. Their essence is that the socialist revolution in the GDR, commencing three decades after the Great October Revolution and at the same time with the transformations in some other countries, was from the beginning part and parcel of the world revolutionary process, of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. This circumstance was a colossal asset and it was seen most strikingly during the first post-war years, when enormous difficulties had to be surmounted.

The Soviet Army won a military victory over nazi Germany, smashed the state machine of the German big bourgeoisie with all its fascist instruments of terror and oppression, and thereby substantially changed the international balance of strength in favor of socialism.

The eastern part of Germany, later to become the German Democratic Republic, was occupied by the army of a socialist state. It encouraged and supported the democratic forces of the German people, gave scope for their initiatives, and when necessary afforded them protection. Largely as a result of this circumstance the transition to socialism in the republic was accomplished peacefully, without civil war or intervention. Moreover, in mapping out its strategy and tactics the SUPG was able to draw upon the experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. There was no intention of mechanically transplanting this experience, or copying foreign practice: nobody insisted on or suggested this.

The second category of factors — *specifically national* — consisted of historically shaped conditions, of objective and subjective national realities and circumstances that influenced the process of revolutionary changes in the GDR. Among these were the higher level of industrial development that we had to start with than

pre-revolutionary Russia or most of the other socialist countries and, correspondingly, a more developed class structure, a more numerous working class, a somewhat different role of the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and also some historical traditions, customs and so forth.

Lastly, the third category of factors stems from the actual conditions and alignment of class forces in the country at the given moment, from the country's international standing and the socio-economic situation in it, from the consciousness and frame of mind of the people, and so on. These may be called *concrete historical* factors. Unlike the other two groups of conditions we have mentioned and which remained practically unchanged throughout the three periods of revolutionary transformations in the GDR, the concrete historical factors changed so quickly that these changes were felt even within the limits of one period.

In its strategy, policy and tactics the SUPG has invariably taken account of all three types of factors of socialist construction. Further, as was aptly put by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, the party had "at each stage of social development to assert itself all over again" as our society's leading force. "Its maturity is seen in the extent it is able to analyze with scientific accuracy the corresponding conditions of struggle and development ... frame the relevant strategy and tactics, and mobilize and lead the people."⁵

Let us take a closer look at each of the three stages of the revolutionary process in our country.

The German working-class movement entered the first of these stages after 12 years of underground activity. By the time it was able to act openly once more its experience consisted of a whole century of class struggles, two revolutions that were cut short, 50 party congresses, and four programs. It had successes, suffered severe setbacks and bitter defeats, fought under legal and illegal conditions, and seen for itself the strength of proletarian unity and the harmful effects of a split.

Immediately after the war, acting on this experience and an extensive knowledge of Marxist theory, we achieved, first, unity of action between the communist and social democratic parties and then, after these parties were united in the SUPG (April 1946), organizational and political unity of the working-class movement. Even before that merger it was found possible to draw up jointly a minimum program for resolving current problems and a maximum program oriented on "building socialism through the establishment of the political power of the

working class in the spirit of consistent Marxism."⁶

However, directly after the war when those who had started it — the monopolists, the big landowners (Junkers), and nazis — were still in hiding and biding their time, the paramount task was to uproot fascism and militarism, finally get rid of the old state machine, and create the guarantee that the forces of reaction would never again be able to push the German people onto the road of war.

For that reason our party's strategic aim at the time was to establish an anti-fascist, democratic system, a political system that could not be measured with the yardstick of bourgeois democracy and would differ fundamentally from the bourgeois-parliamentary system of the Weimar Republic.

In the GDR at the time there were, apart from the SUPG, two other political parties.⁷ One of them, the Liberal Democratic Party, urged the "preservation of private property and a free economy," and the other, the Christian Democratic Union, spoke of a "system based on democratic freedom," of "socialism as a Christian responsibility." The right-wing social democratic leaders, who were active mainly on the territory that is now the FRG and West Berlin, proclaimed socialism as the immediate aim of the day. The SUPG objected to this demagogic slogan, explaining that in view of the obtaining situation there could be no question at the time of building socialism, for neither the objective nor subjective conditions for it were on hand.

In the period 1946-1948, basing itself on Lenin's theory and the lessons of the Great October and the November revolution in Germany, our party confined itself to anti-fascist, democratic slogans. A series of reforms, carried out under its leadership, laid the beginning for the revolutionary process that is going on in the GDR to this day.

The reforms affected the basic questions of state and revolution, of power and democracy.

First, genuine democracy for the people was established. Key posts in the administrative apparatus and in economic management went to tested anti-fascists, working people began to receive appointments in the new organs of power, and the SUPG established cooperation with bourgeois-democratic parties; the trade unions, and youth and other mass organizations acquired weight in society, and democratic elections were held to local representative bodies.

Second, over 9,000 enterprises belonging to monopolies and the land possessions of more than 7,000 Junkers and 4,500 war criminals and nazis were expropriated; upwards of half a mil-

lion active nazis were dismissed from administrative bodies, the judiciary, and other important posts. Under solely the democratic reform of the school, tens of thousands of teachers, who had been nazis, were discharged; they were replaced by persons trained at special short-term new teacher courses. The privileges enjoyed by the former ruling class in education were abolished.

Third, the process of understanding the Marxist theory of the state and revolution, of the essence of socialism and the ways of building it began as a result of the party's educational work in its own ranks and in society.

Although parties and political schools could legally and openly oppose the SUPG platform with their own diverse views and concepts, there were as yet no democratic rights and freedoms "for everybody" in our country. The imperialist-fascist circles were not only stripped of their former economic power. All democratic rights were not extended to them. This was a necessary measure, for otherwise we could not have established an anti-fascist, democratic system or begun the advance toward socialism. Instead, as the example of the FRG shows, we would have again found ourselves fettered by the tenets of bourgeois relations.

With the proclamation of the GDR our country's revolutionary development entered the second phase, in the course of which the conditions for the transition to socialism matured as the specific historical situation changed. The Marxist-Leninist party, the working class, and all the other working people of the republic faced a fundamental and responsible option. Germany as a single territorial and political organism with a historically shaped economy, science and culture, the Germany that had been the aim of the strategy and policy of 1945-1946, no longer existed. In its place, as a result of an unrelenting confrontation of national and international forces there arose two states, of which the GDR regrettably was the lesser and economically weaker that had suffered the greatest damage during the war. In the other, imperialism deliberately set up the FRG as a bulwark against socialism; in terms of territory and population it was two and a half times larger than our republic, it was economically much stronger, and, besides, it had its sights on destroying the workers' and peasants' government and socialism in the GDR.

The historic choice of the working class and people of the GDR in favor of a transition to socialism under conditions of a divided country and open frontiers with the FRG and West Berlin⁸ changed the situation, creating entirely

new conditions. This specific of the period of transition in the republic required the relevant forms and methods of socialist construction that were unknown either to Marxist theory or to the practice of other countries, in particular relative to changes in property relations.

In 1950 the state sector in the GDR (6,000 production facilities) was producing half the gross social product and three-fourths of the gross industrial output. In addition, there was a large private sector consisting of 17,500 industrial and 340,000 artisan enterprises, 190,000 retail outlets, and 850,000 peasant households. The overwhelming majority of these were enterprises with simple commodity production or small and medium private capitalist enterprises (chiefly in industry and construction), the nationalization of which would have seriously weakened the economic and political alliance of the working class with the urban middle strata, the petty bourgeoisie, and would, as a result, have upset socialist construction. This was avoided by the use of forms and methods that made it possible to draw these strata into socialist construction without coercion, on a voluntary basis, consciously. Account was also taken of the different roles played by individual groups in the division of labor and in society's life, of the specifics of their socio-economic status. The time that it took each of the classes and strata to traverse the path of social changes differed substantially.

For instance, the peasants' transition to social production was completed in the period between 1952 and 1960. By creatively applying Lenin's cooperative plan, especially the principle of voluntary membership in cooperatives and the step-by-step transition to higher forms of social production, it was found possible to win all the working peasants and even a large proportion of the well-to-do farmers over to socialism. The allegation that the socialist restructuring of agriculture is inevitably attended by a decline in production was refuted by practice.

Artisans began to form producers' cooperatives in the mid-1950s. At the same time, private shopkeepers were given the opportunity, on the basis of contracts, to sell goods manufactured in the state sector and receive a commission on sales. While forming, reinforcing and systematically promoting socialist internal trade and handicrafts, the party and government have been encouraging private shopkeepers and also artisans ever since the GDR was founded. In the SUPG program it is stated that this policy will continue to be pursued.

The socialist reorganization of small and

medium capitalist enterprises was more complex because on the one hand, they had to be encouraged to show initiative and, on the other, the private capitalist character of production had to be limited so that it could ultimately be eradicated altogether. In the beginning, this was done by regulating incomes and prices and by a tax policy, but from 1956 onwards use was made of a form, devised together with other parties, of state participation in the fixed assets of enterprises, i.e., so-called commandite associations.⁹ In 1956 there were 144 of these semi-state enterprises, but by 1960 their number had risen to 4,500 (employing 300,000 persons and producing a total of 5 billion marks' worth of goods). In 1972 most of the semi-state and also all the private enterprises still in operation were bought by the socialist state with the agreement of owners and complementers, without coercion and social conflicts, and turned into state enterprises (there were about 11,000 of these).

Thus, gradually and in parallel with the extension and consolidation of socialist relations of production, capitalist and petty-bourgeois ownership was modified, an end was put to the multi-structural character of the economy, and a coherent socialist economy was formed. The socialist sector's contribution to the national income, which increased in 1950-1960 from 56.8 to 81 per cent, rose to 85.7 per cent in 1970 and to 96.4 per cent at the close of the 1970s.

By the beginning of the 1960s the problems of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in our country had been resolved in the main. Socialist society began developing on its own foundation and the SUPG's sixth congress (1963) set the new strategic aim of going forward with the all-sided building of socialism. The eighth (1971) and ninth (1976) congresses reaffirmed this aim, defining it in the words that had by that time been adopted by the parties of other socialist countries as the building of a developed socialist society. The SUPG regards the attainment of this aim as a long-term process of deep-going political, economic, social and spiritual changes accompanied by the creation of the conditions for a gradual transition to communism.

The eighth congress of the SUPG formulated the basic tasks in the building of developed socialism, while the ninth congress defined its essential indications, criteria and main long-term lines of development. The latest, 10th congress (1981) mapped out the economic strategy for the implementation of the concept of developed socialism in a situation witnessing a deterioration of the external political and

external economic conditions for its construction.

At the present, *third stage* of our revolution the general principles and laws of socialism continue to be applied in accordance with the actual historical situation. The SUPG charts its policy with account of the following major elements:

- the world balance of strength and the rapidly changing international situation, mainly as a result of imperialism's aggressive policies, including its present course toward confrontation and an arms race;

- the GDR's solid political alliance and economic integration with the socialist community, particularly its unbreakable fraternal relations with the Soviet Union;

- the development level of all material, technical, social, spiritual and cultural relations in the GDR;

- the limited raw material resources and the soaring prices of raw materials, fuels, feeds and other commodities;

- the aggregate experience accumulated in the course of revolutionary transformations in our own country and internationally.

The SUPG's strategy envisages a further rise of the people's living standard and cultural level on the basis of high development rates in socialist production, greater labor efficiency, better quality, scientific and technological progress, and a growth of productivity. The course toward unity of economic and social policy, which enables the people to feel the result of their work more tangibly in their day-to-day life, a course pursued since the beginning of the 1970s, has fully justified itself.

The GDR is a small country. Its territory is only 0.007 per cent of the earth's land surface, and its population 0.4 per cent of the world's total. But consistent and creative application of the general laws of socialist construction has won for the republic wide international recognition as a country with a developed and dynamic economy, an excellently organized education system, and a high level of culture.

The GDR's gross social product and national income are today seven times as large as in 1950 (in terms of the same number of employed). In agriculture, where the number of people employed has diminished by nearly two-thirds compared with 1949, the output per hectare (in terms of the same area of useful farmland) has doubled, the output of milk and butter has tripled, and the output of meat and eggs has increased seven-fold. In the past decade alone, the GDR's national income rose by 59 per cent, the real incomes of the population by 52.8 per cent, and the retail trade turnover

(with prices of consumer goods, rents and transport rates remaining unchanged) by 56 per cent.

Unemployment, crises, diminishing outlays on social requirements and other ills of capitalist society are known to young citizens of the GDR only from history books, newspapers reporting the situation in capitalist countries, or what they hear from relatives who come often to visit them from the FRG and West Berlin.

The dialectical link between the general and the particular, which we have shown in the example of the GDR, may be illustrated with the experience of any other socialist country. The Soviet Union or Cuba, the GDR or Mongolia, China or Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia or Romania — each, as was noted at the 26th congress of the CPSU, "carried out the revolution in its own way."¹⁰ Each country has its national specifics, its historical features. The multiplicity of the economic and social organization of existing socialism is more accentuated than is usually believed.

Properly speaking, the question of the choice of the ways to socialism has been answered by life. Ever since the Soviet Union took the first steps in that direction, several ways to socialism have emerged and these are followed by European and Asian countries and by Cuba. Other peoples, who are beginning socialist transformations, will undoubtedly enrich the specific forms in which general laws manifest themselves and further diversify them. This is borne out by the experience of Angola, Mozambique and other countries.

The most atrocious crimes of the capitalist past — age-old oppression of man by man, militarist barbarism, class antagonism, unemployment, national and social discrimination, and much else — have been eradicated in the socialist countries long ago.

Of course, by virtue of a wide range of circumstances the general development level of individual countries, the extent the people's material and cultural requirements are met, the consciousness level of the people, and the forms of socialist democracy vary to a large degree. Even under existing socialism the sun is not always bright. There are outstanding achievements and impressive progress, but there also are shortcomings, concerns, disappointments and contradictions; in one country or another one observes, from time to time, misinterpretations of Marxist-Leninist theory, deformations of socialism, and crisis elements in politics.

Practice, as everybody will acknowledge, is the best judge of any theory. The desire to do

something better than somebody else is quite justified, but this is still not politics. Political concepts are not reality and antitheses are not theory, while difficulties and even errors in an individual country are not evidence of a crisis of the system as a whole, they are not proof that theoretical provisions or practical conclusions have grown obsolete.

It is relatively simple to formulate a wish, an idea, or an objective, but it is much more difficult and sometimes impossible to translate them into reality. Formerly, before or at the commencement of a revolution, many communists in the socialist countries believed that the tasks posed by the revolution were much more simple and could be quickly carried out, and that the relations in and between our countries had fewer problems and were free of contradictions. However, the blame for views of this sort cannot be imputed to socialism. The fault lies with the incompleteness of our knowledge of socialism, with the immaturity of our notions and desiderata. Socialism is not built in a vacuum, not in a laboratory, but in the course of class confrontation between the two opposing social systems; difficulties have to be overcome and contradictions resolved. Although our development is planned and this allows scientifically anticipating much, everything cannot be foreseen and taken into account. Even in a socialist society there are no magicians who can, with the wave of a magic wand, get everything people want and need.

As Engels wrote, a socialist society "is not anything immutable. Like all other social formations, it should be conceived in a state of constant flux and change."¹¹ The individual stages of these changes, as the solution of particular problems, are determined by objective and subjective factors, which cannot be arbitrarily selected or changed. None of socialism's advantages and none of its internal laws is realized automatically.

Existing socialism has a record of impressive, epoch-making achievements, considerable economic progress, and social, political, spiritual and cultural gains. But all this is only the beginning of the great process of transition that will take a long time. It has been and still is not only a matter of providing all people with food, clothes and housing, the opportunity to buy a refrigerator, a TV set or a car, of ensuring a life of peace and averting the threat of a devastating war. It is even harder to build an entirely new social organism, to remold the way of people's thinking, action and life.

To continue perfecting our society, it is necessary constantly to generalize the entire experience hitherto acquired in the course of

revolution and the building of socialism. The practice of socialism is not only the principal criterion of whether the theory of socialism is correct. It is also the mainspring of its creative development.

1. The Declaration passed by the meeting named the following general laws of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction: leadership of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, in accomplishing a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another; alliance of the working class with the majority of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; abolition of capitalist property and the establishment of public property in the basic means of production; a gradual socialist reshaping of agriculture; planned economic development aimed at building socialism and communism, and raising the living standard of the working people; realization of a socialist revolution in ideology and culture and the creation of a numerically large intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people, and the cause of socialism; eradication of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between peoples; defense of socialism's achievements against encroachment by external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class of the given country with the working class of other countries, in other words, proletarian internationalism. The Declaration was signed by the delegations of the communist or workers' parties of Albania, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam.

2. In 1945, with leadership provided by the working class, anti-fascist, democratic organs of self-administration were set up in rural communities and the towns, and also lander and provincial administrations. These bodies consisted of advanced workers and representatives of the other classes and strata, of all political parties and trade unions, and non-party specialists, all of whom were nominated by the people. Elected organs of state power — urban and rural popular representative bodies, lander

parliaments and governments, in which the workers won key positions — were formed in the autumn of 1946 as a result of the first democratic elections in the communities, districts and lander. In subsequent years, the positions of the workers continued to be strengthened, while after the GDR was formed (October 1949) the working class took the central state power into its hands.

3. A land reform was put into effect on the suggestion of the working people in the autumn of 1945 during the anti-fascist, democratic stage of the revolution: the property of war criminals and nazi activists was confiscated outright, while surplus land over and above 100 hectares was alienated from landowners without compensation. This land was turned over to farm laborers, peasants with inadequate land, and persons who had settled in East Germany after the war. All industrial, building and transport facilities owned by monopolies or by war and nazi criminals were made public property in 1946.

4. *Program der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, Berlin, 1976, p. 8.

5. Erich Honecker, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Vol. 5, Berlin, 1978, p. 329.

6. *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 6, Berlin, 1966, p. 388.

7. Later there were four. — Ed.

8. For 12 years (until 1961) the frontier between the city's two parts, the capital of the GDR and capitalist West Berlin, was crossed daily and with practically no control by over 100,000 persons. The imperialists used this circumstance for subversion against socialist construction in the republic.

9. This name comes from bourgeois commercial law. It was a customary form of association that made it easy for private entrepreneurs to go over to socialist management. The state (represented in most cases by a public enterprise) became a shareholder and co-owner, influencing production and sharing in the profits. The owner (complementer) had the double role of entrepreneur and manager of a semi-state enterprise that was steadily drawn into the planned economy.

10. *Report of the CC of the CPSU to the 26th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow 1981, p. 29.

11. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 485.

You can't kill the truth

A COLLECTIVE ACCOUNT OF HOW THE COMMUNIST PRESS WORKS UNDER REPRESSION

The *WMR* Commission on the Communist Press, Reviews and Bibliography has held a Round Table on "The Communist Press under Persecution and Repression." Taking part were the representatives of a number of communist parties which have to work in the underground. Below is a report on their exchange of opinion.

The book entitled *Light in the Darkness*, which was written by Jorge Montes, member of the Central Committee of the CP Chile, in the prison cells of Pinochet's junta and published

clandestinely, describes, among other things, the measures taken by the dictatorship to seal off the arrested patriots in isolation from the rest of the world. The author adds: "But experience shows that, regardless of the barriers which may be erected in the way of information, it does go through and become known, it does spread and seep through, like air and water, to the remotest corners, the forbidden places, where prisoners languish in solitary confinement under the harshest surveillance."¹

These words could serve as an epigraph to the discussion of the activities of the clandestine communist press. Indeed, like air and water, the truthful, impassioned word of the communists calling for the struggle for freedom penetrates into the midst of the masses despite

the draconian measures of the reactionary regimes.

Clandestine work is clandestine work

Even in the capitalist countries where the communist parties are not banned, they are beset by numerous difficulties in publishing their periodicals. From year to year, inflation tends to increase printing costs, and this results in an undesirable rise in the price of newspapers and periodicals. There is a need for skilled journalists. The circulation of the press is a problem that is not easily solved.

But all these difficulties are multiplied many times over for communist parties which are "outlawed." Indeed, they have to face a number of special problems. The participants in the meeting said that these spring above all from the fact that the communists are absolutely deprived of freedom. They have to work in an atmosphere of constant risk and secrecy. As a result, they have to use printing facilities that need to be carefully hidden from others, and now and again act swiftly to relocate such equipment, which is, as a rule, designed for small printing runs. Whereas the legally operating parties can hold regular drives among communists and sympathizers to collect funds for their press and newspaper festivals, that is quite impossible to do in an atmosphere of terrorism. Contacts with readers (including feedback) are limited to an extreme, and this makes the problem of obtaining information most acute. It is much more difficult to solve personnel problems in clandestine conditions. As a result, journalists, printers and other workers have to do more than double duty. It becomes especially important to find ways of making the most economical use of the printed space available, and this undoubtedly has an influence on its content and style. In short, the threshold of difficulties in carrying on clandestine propaganda is much higher than the usual one. Not all the enumerated problems lend themselves to solution. But the communists seek to find ways of overcoming these difficulties, and here much is being done by the parties' international solidarity and exchanges of opinion between them.

One has, of course, to abide by certain conditions when describing our experience, said S. Sudiman, a member of the leadership of the CP Indonesia. Clandestine work is clandestine work, and the organs of repression in countries where our parties have to operate illegally would certainly be quick to seize upon the tiniest pretext to step up their savage persecution.

It was said at the Round Table that there are

some publications, however few, about the experience of the clandestine progressive press. For instance, interesting information is contained in a book by three Soviet authors.² It gives a broad picture and analyzes the experience of the clandestine social-democratic and later Bolshevik press, and brings out Lenin's outstanding personal contribution to its formation and development.

A few years ago, a collection of interviews was published on the initiative of the Union of Journalists of Cuba with those who had been directly involved in the struggle against the Batista dictatorship, and in the distribution of the underground newspapers and journals published by the July 26 Movement.³ It contains many details about the secret techniques used in concealing printing shops, their organization, circulation of the press, etc. The communists of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Italy, Belgium and other countries have also written on the clandestine period of the communist press.

The story of the publication of *L'Humanité* in France during the Resistance against fascism is told in a book of reminiscences by Georges Cogniot, a prominent leader of the FCP and the international communist movement.⁴

To the hearts and minds of men

One could well assume that just because underground communist publications are printed and circulated secretly they are doomed to remain unknown beyond the circle of their immediate readership. But that is not so. The participants in the meeting spoke about underground newspapers and journals which are as well known as big bourgeois publications. Among the examples given was the newspaper *El Siglo*, the central organ of the Central Committee of the CP Chile. The communists' underground publications cannot, of course, vie with the bourgeois press either in the speed with which they are published or in their make-up, circulation, etc. What then is the power that enables them not only to exist but also to influence the masses?

Their main power, said Ahmed Salem, representative of the Communist Party of the Sudan, is the communists' profound and impassioned conviction in the truth of their ideas, in the ability of the communist press to carry these ideas to the hearts and minds of their readers and to make these ideas understandable even to untutored working people. Take my own country. Our party was formed in 1946 under the name of the Sudanese Movement for National Liberation. Within a year, it began to issue the country's first communist publication with the

help of the Egyptian communists, who gave us a printing press. With the exception of a short period, the party had to carry on clandestine publishing activity. The inner-party journal *Ash shuiu'i* (Communist) has now appeared clandestinely for 35 years. The party's governing bodies are constantly concerned about having the publications appear regularly and up to an ever higher standard. The best trained cadre of the communists are assigned to work in the press. We publish the mass newspaper *Al-Maydan* (Forum) which until 1954 was known as *Al-Liwa al Ahmar* (Red Banner). A key task before the Central Committee of the CP Sudan is to enlarge its readership.

Q. Could you tell us in somewhat greater detail about how this task is being fulfilled?

The distribution of the newspaper is assigned to the party branches at the place of work and residence. Special attention is given to this in areas where the party has reliable support. *Circles of constant readers* function at the party branches. We try to set up such circles even where there are as yet no party branches, because we regard these circles as an important step for the organization of party cells. We seek to have every communist organize around himself a circle of constant readers and to have a network of circles with each party branch.

It stands to reason that in clandestine conditions the party has very limited potentialities for action, including efforts to increase the number of publications and their circulation. The circles help to increase the readership of our press by "rotating" every copy, by passing it from hand to hand. This simultaneously helps to strengthen the ties between the members of the circles and to organize them in a definite way. We recently conducted a study to find out how many persons read each copy of the party paper. We discovered that the number ranges from three to eight (the differences depended on the size of the local party branch, and the social make-up of the circle membership). In areas where a majority of the population cannot read, we set up circles for reading aloud.

Following the sanguinary events in the Sudan in the summer of 1971, which ushered in the period of terror, the party succeeded — despite the fierce persecution — in publishing 150 issues of the newspaper *Al-Maydan*, 25 issues of the inner-party journal *Al-shuiu'i*, 12 issues of the journal *Dirasat Iktisadiyya* (Economic Studies), 30 issues of a newspaper in English for circulation in the southern areas of the Sudan, and also a considerable number of pamphlets and other publications.

In the spectrum of the tasks and functions of the clandestinely published communist press,

S. Sudiman went on, its importance for party construction is paramount. Our party has now been banned for 16 years. Following the blow it was dealt in 1965, we were unable right away to start the publication of any periodical, but just two years later a Marxist-Leninist group began to publish a journal, which is now well-known, the *Tekad Rakyat* (The People's Will). It is the official printed organ of the CP Indonesia. It now appears not only in Indonesian, but also in English. We circulate the English edition among the fraternal parties for the purposes of information. For the time being, the journal is the only consistently revolutionary publication in Indonesia to appear regularly.

The distribution of communist literature is considerably complicated by Indonesia's geography: the great number of its islands. Even when the party worked in legal conditions, this used to present great organizational problems. You can imagine them now! But even today our press is read in many parts of the country.

Why do I emphasize, Sudiman asked, the importance of the press for party construction? It is because, for us, the consolidation of the party is an exceptionally important matter. The press acquaints thousands of people with the communists' policy and helps them correctly to understand and assess the situation in the country and in the world, to rally together and to organize themselves in the struggle for democratic and revolutionary transformations, for socialism.

Indeed, the party press helps to involve masses of people in the struggle. The effort to obtain printing equipment, printer's ink, newsprint and premises for installing the printing press, and to provide the means of transport for delivering the publication, that is, the process of preparing and circulating the press itself helps to set in motion thousands of communists and sympathizers, to establish sound relations between them, teaching them to act together, which is, in effect, organized struggle.

Otto Sanchez of the Guatemalan Party of Labor showed copies of the newspapers and journals being published under the fascist regime. They drove home to everyone the understanding of the price — frequently the high price of human life — that has to be paid for their publication. The communists of that country have now been fighting deep in the underground for nearly three decades. The press, Sanchez said, has become a most important instrument helping the party to establish ties with the masses. Its central organ, the newspaper *Verdad* (The Truth), has been published since the end of 1954. At first it was duplicated in a small format, but subsequently it

was printed, and even with the use of the offset method. In the past few years, we have had to return to the duplicating machine. At home, we circulate 8,000 copies of *Verdad*. In addition, the Guatemalan Party of Labor prints and circulates nearly 15,000 copies of other publications every month. There are also party publications in some areas of the country. In the central region of Guatemala there is the newspaper *Revolucion popular* (Popular Revolution), in the west, the newspaper *Trinchera* (The Trench), and in the south *Grito popular* (Popular Call). The party's youth organization, Patriotic Youth of Labor, also has its own paper.

Groups of communists responsible for publishing activities have been set up in all these regions. Many sympathizers are also involved in the distribution of the press. This work naturally involves a grave danger to life and the risk of "disappearance" for ever. The party constantly concentrates on seeking ways of work that would minimize the grave danger.

The difficulties of the communist press in Guatemala arise not only from its clandestine condition, but also from its modest financial resources and the lack of necessary equipment. But I think I am right in saying that these difficulties are apparently faced by all the parties which have to work under persecution and repression. Apart from the fact that the regime seeks to crack down and break up printing shops and incarcerate and kill our comrades, it also maintains stringent controls over the sale of printing equipment, newsprint, and printer's ink. Still, we believe that, given skilful organization (and the blows of the dictatorship have driven home many lessons), and with the development of even closer ties with the masses and greater international support for the Guatemalan people, our press can continue to fulfil its mission in the future as well.

In conformity with specific conditions

Kemal Kervan, the CP Turkey representative, described the publishing activity of the party as a whole, and concentrated his attention on radio propaganda. We have two clandestine radio stations: *Bizim radio* (Our Radio) and *TKP nin sesi* (The Voice of the Communist Party of Turkey). Together, the two broadcast for 16 hours a day. The broadcasts are in Turkish, and once a week, in Kurdish (20 per cent of the population is Kurdish). Considering that over one-third of the Turkish people are still illiterate, one will easily realize why we regard the radio as an especially effective means of ideological influence.

Following the military coup, the party's publishing activity has naturally been reduced, but

we have continued the clandestine publication of the central organ, *Atilim* (Forward), a monthly newspaper.

Looking back on the period just before the coup, we realize that an essential shortcoming of the party's publishing work was the lack of an in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of our press. We think that this work can and should be carried out even in the arduous conditions of the underground.

Before describing the work of the Egyptian communists in the sphere of propaganda, said Farid Mougahed, representative of the Communist Party of Egypt, there is a need to note three characteristic points (and our party has been forced to work in the underground for more than 60 years). First, there is the existence of an experienced police machine inherited from British colonialism and strengthened by the bourgeoisie with the aid of the American CIA, the Israeli MOSSAD intelligence service, and former instructors of the Iranian shah's SAVAK. Second, virtually all the national mass media in Egypt are either in the hands of the authorities or are under their stringent control. Third, the illiteracy rate among the Egyptians is very high (over 75 per cent). This will show just how hard it is for us to spread the printed word. That is why I was happy for the Turkish comrades when comrade Kervan said that his party has the possibility of addressing the people on the radio. That is, of course, an advantage in terms of effectiveness and security. We use a different method. In Egypt, virtually every family, even peasant families (and the peasants make up a majority of the population) has a cheap portable tape-recorder. We decided to make use of this and to record on tape speeches by party leaders and even lectures on ideological topics which are intended for those enrolled at party schools.

Folk poets and singers have always been popular in Egypt, and no festival does without them. They improvise their texts to their own accompaniment. For instance, the singer Sheikh Imam, who is well known not only in Egypt, but also in many other Arab countries, has produced many progressive songs which the people like. Together with Imam, the people sing about *Bahie* (Egypt's allegorical name), about Salvador Allende, Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara and Pablo Neruda. We maintain close ties with such folk singers.

Of course, we also have our printed organs. *Al-Wa'y* (Consciousness) deals with political and ideological problems, the party organ *Al-Intissar* (Victory) has been published since 1975, and its 72 issues have been quite broadly circulated. For the peasants, we publish the

newspaper *Al-Ard* (The Soil), while the information bulletin *Al-Nashra al-I'lamiya* deals mainly with international problems. In addition, we publish leaflets and pamphlets.

The Egyptian communists' experience in oral propaganda is certainly interesting and instructive, *Samuel Behak*, CP Uruguay representative, said. But in our country we cannot give the oral word precedence over the printed word. Our arguments and alternatives require an in-depth analysis and explanations, in view of the ceaseless propaganda treatment of the population by the dictatorship. Besides, as other comrades here have already stressed, the publication and circulation of the press is a process that helps to unite individual communists into an organization. Let us recall that Lenin regarded the development of the party press as an indicator of the maturity of a revolutionary movement. *If there is a party organ, it means that there is also a party.* The very fact that we publish a Marxist-Leninist press in face of all the odds, helps the communists, our friends, and all the ordinary people to hold their heads high and not to bow down under the weight of the repression.

In the atmosphere of underground struggle and unabated terrorism, when the main thing is to carry news of developments to our readers in the most concise form and to shed light on them, one cannot give very much thought to the niceties of layout and the beauties of style. *There is a need for a direct form of address* in which every word carries a 10-fold charge and when slogans are equivalent to theses.

There are many clandestine publications in Uruguay. The Communist Party publishes the newspaper *La Carta* (The Letter), which analyzes the main domestic problems facing the country, sheds light on the revolutionary process in neighboring Latin American countries, reports on action by the working class, the students, and the middle strata, exposes the corruption of the fascist elite, the moves by the oligarchy catering for the imperialists and so on. We devote special attention to international solidarity with our struggle. Our theoretical journal *Estudios* (Studies) is also published. The organ of the Communist Youth League of Uruguay also appears regularly. Together with the communists, other parties and political groups with their own newspapers and journals, are also taking part in the struggle against the regime. That is a visual result of the growing resistance in which the communists have a place of honor.

Q. How often is the journal *Estudios* now published? How is its high level of content maintained?

S. *Behak*. In 1981, we marked the 25th anniversary of our journal. From 1956 to 1973, it was published legally, six times a year, i.e., once every two months. After the coup, there was an interval of five years. The journal resumed publication in 1978. We are now trying hard to put out at least four issues a year. The party leadership, and First Secretary of the Central Committee comrade Rodney Arismendi (he is personally in charge of the journal *Estudios*) have always devoted much attention to propaganda matters and to practical ideological work, and that is, in effect, what publishing is all about. The party assigns its best members to this work.

Q. How are clandestine and legal forms of propaganda combined?

F. *Mougahed*. Each communist party banned by the authorities must have this kind of experience. The Egyptian communists, for instance, have always tried to use the legal mass media as well. The party's tactic is to spread our ideas and make known our stand on the various issues primarily among those who work in the mass media and then, through them, to carry the word of truth onto the pages of legally published newspapers and journals. These include not only progressive publications, but now and again bourgeois publications which on some points disagree with official policy. We have such opportunities, although they are, of course, limited.

The truth about existing socialism

The South African journalist Vusizwe Seme told about the publication activity of the South African Communist Party. It publishes abroad and distributes clandestinely within the country a quarterly, *The African Communist*, and a newspaper in Zulu entitled *Inkululeko* (Freedom) is clandestinely printed on a duplicating machine in South Africa itself. The distribution of placards, leaflets, records and tape recordings is a part of the party's propaganda work. In addition to the communists, the African National Congress, which leads the South African people's liberation struggle, also has its own clandestine press. Besides, the Congress has regular radio broadcasts addressed to the population of South Africa.

I should like to draw attention to an aspect of the subject which appears to be highly important, namely, the mission of the clandestine communist press in spreading the truth about existing socialism. In the capitalist world, especially in countries ruled by fascist dictatorships, where, as in racist South Africa, anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria has become an essential element of official policy, it is

exceptionally important to open people's eyes to the achievements of the new social system. It is no exaggeration to say that in these conditions communist sources of information are the only ones from which one is able to obtain an undistorted picture of life under socialism. The Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, we say, are natural friends of all those who are fighting for national liberation and social progress. It is on their support that we rely in the revolutionary struggle. Our class adversary will never manage to erect an "iron curtain" between the people and the revolutionary movement, because, as Marx said, once an idea has gripped the masses it becomes a material force, and the idea of resolute resistance to racism, colonialism and fascism has already gripped the minds of masses of working people. This has been largely produced by the progressive clandestine press.

A. Salem. The underground communist press naturally falls short in many ways when compared with the bourgeois mass media, and especially in terms of speed of presentation. One frequently hears that in propaganda speed is crucial: it is alleged that he who has had the first say is right. I myself think that this does not apply so much to the scientific propaganda we have in mind, as to the bourgeois practice of manipulating people's thinking.

Before the formation of the world socialist system, the bourgeoisie had the upper hand in what could be called material terms. Nevertheless, the socialist ideology steadily won more and more minds in every corner of the world. Africa provides a visual example of this. We find a great many obstacles in the way of the truth. But the communists spare no effort to counter the imperialist propaganda with the truth about the socialist society.

I should like, in this connection, to draw attention to the following, said S. Sudiman. Do we always remember to whom our word is addressed? I think that this is a question which was contained in comrade Kervan's suggestion that it was necessary to analyze the effectiveness of the communist press even in clandestine conditions. We, for our part, constantly try to have the texts carried by *Tekad Rayat* understandable not only to the educated and politically trained members of the party, but also to ordinary workers and peasants.

A. Salem. I agree that there is a problem here, especially if the party has only one publication. We do not forget about this either. For instance, in the circles of illiterate people in the Sudan, about which I spoke earlier, there is special emphasis on the reading aloud of editorial articles from the newspaper *Al-Maydan*, and these

are written in plain and popular language. But not every complicated topic can be simplified without loss. It is not easy to explain instantly to a man who has just learned to read what historical materialism or socialist democracy is. On the other hand, it is not right to take the approach of threshing out the content for the sake of primitivism. The only way out here is that every newspaper and journal should contain a broad spectrum of material of varying difficulty, addressed both to the intellectual with a university degree and to the peasant who can hardly scrawl his name.

This was the first time WMR has arranged a discussion of the clandestine communist press, although it has carried items on the subject. This discussion showed that the communist press in clandestine conditions has a number of specific features in fulfilling its main task of acting as agitator, propagandist and organizer of the masses. The fact that it exists and is distributed shows, first, that the ideals of Marxism-Leninism cannot be killed, because they contain the indestructible truth of life, and second, that it goes to prove once again that all the bourgeois talk about democracy and freedom of speech is a lie, because no such freedom is allowed to the communists.

This meeting also showed that, for all the specifics of the communists' struggle which are determined by the concrete conditions in their countries, their accumulated international experience helps to solve many problems.

1. Jorge Montes. *La luz entre las sombras*. Edición Clandestina, 1980, p. 1975.

2. I.G. Levitas, M.A. Moskalev, E.M. Fingerit. *Revolutionary Underground Printing Shops in Russia (1860-1917)*, Moscow, Gospolitizdat Publishers, 1962 (in Russian).

3. *Items in the underground and guerrilla press in the 1952-1958 period*, Havana, Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1970. The book has been issued in Spanish, English, German, French and Russian. — Ed.

4. Georges Cogniot. *Parti pris. Tome I. D'une guerre mondiale à l'autre*, Paris, Editions Sociales, 1976.

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