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Greece / 51

**CPUSA
congress / 17**

**Imperialist
contradictions / 73**

**Culture &
socialism / 30**

**India, Sri Lanka
— against
chauvinism / 40**



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Features

- 1 Meeting the requirements of building the new society
S. Mikhailov (Bulgaria)
- 7 The efficiency of the vanguard rests on its bonds with the masses
M. Beno (Czechoslovakia)
- 12 U.S. missiles in Europe. Resistance grows
I. Norlund

The Party

- 17 For peace, jobs and equality
J. Pittman (USA)
- 22 Vindicate the people's choice with deeds
G. Rabesahala (Madagascar)
- 27 New experience

Exchange of views

- 30 The role of spiritual culture in shaping the socialist way of life
International symposium

Viewpoints

- Course against chauvinism*
- 40 Sri Lanka: the background of the conflict
P. Keuneman

- 44 India: in the name of the brotherhood of ordinary people
A.S. Malhotra
- 48 India: background of the problem of "foreign nationals" in Assam
P. Gogoi, P. Bora
- 51 Nationalization: in whose interest?
D. Sarlis (Greece)
- 57 Cuba: the loveliest blossom of the revolution
S. Tsukasov
- 64 Paving the way for the future
L.E. Veintimilla (Ecuador)

Book reviews

- 69 Class roots of the "woman question"
A. West

Facts and figures

- 73 Struggle in a "triangle of forces"
- 80 In memory of Ismail Bilen



Meeting the requirements of building the new society

Stoyan Mikhailov
CC Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party

The Bulgarian Communist Party's experience shows that only a two-fold process in which social practice is saturated with revolutionary theory, and scientific theory is enriched with revolutionary practice can ensure the working class struggle for socialism and communism. Our party has always reckoned with the fact that Marxism-Leninism is a system of ideas truly reflecting the laws of development in nature and social life, in other words, that it is a strict scientific theory and simultaneously the ideological expression of the historical interests of the working class and its ideology. The BCP's theoretical work is rooted in the past of the Bulgarian working class movement, with its great revolutionary and internationalist traditions.

In 1871, when the Paris Commune was drowned in blood, Christo Botev, the great Bulgarian poet and revolutionary, addressed these words to the Paris Communards from the bottom of his heart. They have become the credo of the Bulgarian commune:

"I believe in the one and only power of the human race to do good on the globe.

"And in the one and only communist social order, the savior of all the peoples from their age-long sufferings and torments through fraternal labor, freedom and equality.

"And in the radiant and life-giving spirit of reason, which fortifies the hearts and souls of all people for achieving the triumph of communism through revolution.

"And in the one and indivisible homeland of all the people and the common possession of all property.

"I profess the one and only radiant communism, the healer of all the ills of the society.

"I hope for the awakening of the peoples and for the coming of the future communist system throughout the world."¹

These fiery words have become an expression of the bonds between the Bulgarian people's national liberation struggle and its struggle for socialism and communism.

Dimitr Blagoev, also known as the "Grandfather," founder and leader of the Bulgarian proletariat's party for three decades, bequeathed to us models of the Marxist economic,

sociological and historical analysis of capitalist development, the class struggle and the prerequisites for building socialism in Bulgaria. Some of Blagoev's articles on the problems of dialectical materialism and the theory of cognition, which reflect his loyalty to Marx's doctrine, and his implacable attitude to bourgeois ideology and opportunism, are akin in approach and spirit to Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. He also left us some outstanding writings in literary criticism and the fine arts.

Georgi Dimitrov, the immortal son of the Bulgarian people, was a profound theorist and an outstanding revolutionary practitioner. A creative Marxist, a leader of the new, Leninist type, he had the capability to lead our party through the hardest trials. A series of his articles on united proletarian and popular fronts was issued on the eve of the world's first anti-fascist uprising, which flared up in Bulgaria in September 1923. The ideas they contained were later filled out with an analysis of new experience and were reflected in Dimitrov's report to the seventh congress of the Comintern, which ushered in the strategy of the united popular and patriotic anti-fascist fronts, marking a new stage in the international communist movement's struggle and development. The comprehensive analysis of the substance of our socialist revolution, the substantiation of the political system of people's democracy, and the original approach to the problems of socialist construction, especially to problems in transforming the Bulgarian countryside, everything that we now call the Dimitrov general line of socialist construction in Bulgaria, constitutes the BCP's ideological capital. "Georgi Dimitrov always strove to achieve a dialectical unity between the general uniformities of the revolutionary struggle and their concrete historical and national specifics."²

Every new stage in social development poses before the communists ever more complicated tasks. There is now a growing need to have the policy of the ruling communist party rest more reliably on scientific theory. Our experience also confirms that "any underestimation of the role of the Marxist-Leninist science and its crea-

tive development, any narrowly pragmatic interpretation of its tasks, any neglect of the fundamental problems of theory and the prevalence of time-serving or scholastic theorizing are fraught with grave political and ideological consequences."³

After the April 1956 plenary meeting of the BCP CC, our country entered upon a new historical stage which marked the end of the transition period, and the gradual start of building a developed socialist society. This stage is marked by exceptional intensity of the party's theoretical and political-organization work, and direct and immediate use of the results of scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis in social practice. In socialist Bulgaria's history this is known as the April period. Its characteristic feature is the BCP's constant concern for creative growth, the reciprocal influence of the party's ideological, theoretical and practical everyday work and the activity of the masses. There is good ground to assert that over the almost 28 years the style of the BCP's work has been brought as close as possible to the style in which theory is constantly combined with practice, when "theoretical and practical work merge into one" coherent effort.⁴

The April line signifies an important turning point in the development of the party's theoretical thinking and the whole of the society's spiritual life. The consistent struggle against dogmatism and revisionism in the sphere of theory has prevented the petty-bourgeois opportunists from distorting the Marxist-Leninist ideology in Bulgaria. In the struggle on these two fronts, the party has always adhered to Leninist principles. Consequently, the April line has not only continued and deepened but also further developed the BCP's tradition of giving unflagging attention to theory, to its Marxist-Leninist purity. Science has turned to bringing out the problems of actual life, giving up those which were imposed on it subjectively. This has helped to produce highly important theoretical generalizations and to work out the socio-political strategy for building mature socialism in Bulgaria which was written into the party program adopted by its 10th congress in 1971.

Our country's experience shows that in the transition period a society cannot solve the main tasks which properly belong to the first phase of the communist socio-economic formation or to create the necessary material and spiritual conditions for gradually moving on to its higher phase. On the strength of this, the party formulated its standpoint on the stages of socialist construction, a controversial question in the 1960s. Always adhering to the doctrine

of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the communist formation, using the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, and analyzing its own experience of political leadership in building the new society, the BCP reached the conclusion that concrete conditions could cause the need for two, three or more stages in this revolutionary process. But the most important thing in this case is that, whatever the number and nature of these stages, the building of mature socialism — the stage completing the first phase of the communist formation — is an absolutely necessary one.

This key theoretical proposition of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice is written into the BCP program, which considers the building of developed socialism "as a more or less protracted period in which creation of the material and technical basis of socialism is completed, socialist social relations are perfected, spiritual culture is enriched, the people's well-being is raised, unevenness in the development of the social system is overcome, and the all-round development of the individual is achieved. The socialist society enters upon the stage of its maturity."⁵

Of special importance are the programmatic propositions concerning the development of socialist property. The view has been expressed in our country (and elsewhere) that the cooperative form of socialist property is inferior. It was asserted that the way to its improvement has to run through its immediate etatization. The BCP program holds that the new, whole people's property will be created in a continuous dialectical process of reciprocal influence by both forms of socialist property, with "ever broader participation by state property in the development and perfection of cooperative property and, conversely, by cooperative property in the development of state property."⁶ It is not only the cooperative economy that will borrow the best traditions of centralism, discipline and one-person management responsibility from state property, but state property will also be enriched with such valuable aspects of socialist cooperation as absence of subsidies, close dependence of individual incomes on the end-results of labor, strengthening of the social element in managing production, election of managerial personnel, etc.

This is based on the conclusion drawn by BCP CC General Secretary Todor Zhivkov, who says that "the cooperative form of property has far from worked out its economic potentialities," and that it "has a definite historical place and role to play in the process of building socialism further in our country."⁷

Clarification of the question concerning the

future of socialist property has helped to elaborate the programmatic proposition on the trend in the development of the social-class structure. It was emphasized in the report to the 10th congress of the BCP that social-class distinctions are overcome in the period of construction of mature socialism "on the basis of the historical goals of the working class," while the course of this process depends on the extent "to which the interests of the various social groups are brought closer to and merged with the vital interests of the working class."⁸

An idea elaborated in the BCP program is that under mature socialism "the distinctions between social classes and groups are obliterated to a point at which, in social structure, the socialist society approaches the threshold of its social homogeneity."⁹ In the process, some social phenomena acquire an increasingly whole people's character. The socialist state develops from the state of the proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people, socialist democracy is continuously extended, and the role of social organizations in social administration and management is enhanced.

The BCP program is of invaluable national importance because it charts the way of building developed socialism in our country and expresses the vital interests and requirements of all the working people. But it is also of international significance because its theoretical and political propositions confirm the universal validity of the basic uniformities of transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of mature socialism. In realizing their party's program, the Bulgarian communists fulfil a responsible duty to world socialism and to the international revolutionary movement. The BCP program does not, of course, deal with all the complexities in building a developed socialist society in our country. On the contrary, while giving generalized answers to the cardinal problems, it allows wide scope for further perfecting the theory and practice of socialist construction.

The April line's beneficial influence on the state of our social science has already been noted. The incorrect views that all these sciences only serve the purposes of propaganda and are merely designed to popularize party decisions were overcome. The BCP program recorded the demand that "the results of sociological and other social studies should be used in administrative activity."¹⁰ The Marxist-Leninist methodology and dialectical and historical materialism provide a sound basis for the development of the social sciences. Bulgarian social science has been enriched with a number of new scientific disciplines. Sociolo-

gy, social psychology, ethics, the theory of management, and others have taken shape as relatively independent disciplines. Major works have been written on the history of the party and the general history of the country.

The development of Marxist-Leninist sociology in Bulgaria is a highly characteristic example. Even before the 10th congress of the BCP — in 1967 — the CC Political Bureau adopted a decision on instituting sociological studies, and in 1982, on introducing the staff posts of psychologist and sociologist at industrial enterprises and in economic organizations. A sociological group was set up under the BCP CC, and this subsequently grew into the Sociological Information Center; the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has set up an Institute of Sociology. The post of sociologist has been introduced into the apparatus of all the BCP district committees. A number of sociological centers and departmental institutions have been opened; the training of specialist sociologists has been started in the higher schools, sociological journals have been published, and so on. The results of sociological studies are being constantly used for the adoption of decisions by party organs and by state and social organizations.

Bulgarian scientists have markedly extended their international activity. The first thing to note is their cooperation with social scientists in the USSR and other socialist community countries.

The party's line of developing the social sciences in every way has had a very positive effect on the state of theoretical thinking in our country, converting it into an active and important factor in building the new society.

In the 1970s, the party did a great deal to concretize the socio-economic, political and ideological tasks in socialist construction. For the first time, national party conferences were held in-between congresses to deal with key problems, such as raising labor productivity (1974) and improving socialist labor organization (1978).¹¹ Since the BCP's 12th congress in 1981, scientists have intensified their attention to the pressing problems of social life. Among these are: creation of the material and technical basis of a developed socialist society; development of economic relations and forms of property; introduction of the economic approach and its economic mechanism; perfection of the political system of mature socialism; shaping of the full socialist personality.

The intense theoretical work since the 12th congress has already yielded important results, and this should be credited to the whole party, to its Central Committee, and to the Political

Bureau of the Central Committee. The main contribution and key propositions have come from Todor Zhivkov, and are the result of his vigorous theoretical and organizational activity.

Consideration of the main theoretical problems at the stage of building developed socialism and related practical approaches have produced the need to formulate the most general principles and requirements of the dialectico-materialist and general sociological analysis of Bulgarian reality. We believe that its methodological nucleus consists of the substance, character and modes of resolving contradictions under socialism.

For example, the contradiction connected with the present state of our material and technical basis is expressed in the fact that its contemporary level still falls short of enabling the full development of the social relations of mature socialism, and the all-round demonstration of its advantages, and having social labor productivity surpass the social labor productivity of contemporary capitalism. As a result, the people's growing material, social and spiritual requirements are not yet being fully satisfied.

Marx wrote that as large-scale industry is developed, the creation of real wealth and the powerful effectiveness of the agents set in motion in the course of working time "are nowhere near in accord with the direct working time required for their production, but rather depend on the general level of science and technical progress, or on the application of this science to production."¹² He also remarked that "the development of fixed capital is an indication of the extent to which universal social knowledge (Wissen) has been transformed into a *direct productive force*, and so an indication of the extent to which the conditions of the social process itself are subject to the control of the universal vital intellect and are transformed in accordance with it."¹³

Practice confirms that the development of the material and technical basis of the mature socialist society is a problem that can no longer be solved through quantitative growth. In order to attain this goal, mature socialism requires a greater involvement of intellectual factors so as to rise to the level determined by the current scientific and technological revolution.

The party has laid down the guidelines for building up the material and technical basis of a mature socialist society in the country. These include complex automation through the installation of automated cybernetic systems in production and in other social spheres; the development of electronics, robotics, micro-

processor technology, biotechnologies, etc. They also include extensive reconstruction and modernization of existing lines of production and, finally, more intensive use of Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience.

Another group of problems which are now central to the BCP's theoretical work is connected with socio-economic relations and the administration of the national economy.

There is, first of all, the problem of the whole people's socialist property and the relations between the owner, that is, the state, and the master, that is, the work collective.¹⁴ As it develops, the functions of the work collectives are increased. The main efforts of the party and the socialist state are now aimed to extend in every way the role, rights and responsibilities of the work collectives, which act as the sovereign masters of socialist property. They display concern for internal self-discipline, self-control and socialist organization of labor, ensure optimal conditions for effective work of the economic manager as the representative of the state (that is, the owner) in the work collective, influence local communal organs, which are masters on their territory of the system of populated localities that are turned into full-fledged territorial units where problems in work and everyday life are effectively tackled.

Social creativity is exemplified by the elaboration and introduction of the new economic mechanism, which was made possible by the large-scale experiments staged over a period of nearly 20 years. The main purpose here is to make economic instruments the main force in intensifying social production, and "commodity-money relations and the law of value, a powerful stimulus in developing socialist property, increasing the social wealth and raising the people's living standards."¹⁵ The economic approach is an "integral system of economic methods, means of influence and regulation, and forms of organization,"¹⁶ and comprises economic calculus and no-subsidy operations, profit and prices, credit and taxes, and new planning technologies — the state plan and the upwardly adjusted plan — the investment process, and social control over production, administration and management.

The party has also displayed its creative approach in working out the program for improving social administration. A qualitatively new attitude to social administration has been adopted and is being asserted, taking into account the cohesion, system of ties and law-governed interaction of the elements and functions of the social organism. This approach has been most fully expressed in the propositions of the 12th congress of the BCP for improving

the political system of mature socialism. The party has taken a new approach to the complicated problem of expanding and enriching socialist democracy by elaborating and introducing non-state forms of administration. The social-state principle has been adopted as the guiding one in the administration of culture. It has subsequently been applied to the system of education and in the National Agro-Industrial Complex, the first social-state form of administration in the sphere of material production. The BCP has taken a creative approach to tackling the formidable problem of creating prerequisites for the communist social self-administration of the future.

The party has given exceptional attention to linking up scientific research and administrative decisions. It has been creating ever more favorable conditions for the social sciences' full-fledged participation in improving administration and management in every sphere of social life. Structural systems, complex, goal-oriented programs and multiplication approaches and methods have been widely adopted. Executive personnel and all the other working people now realize the need to provide theoretical back-up for administrative and managerial decisions.

A scientific analysis of the social, labor, intellectual and psychological changes in the "man — production," "man — technology" and "individual — work collective" relations at the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution has helped to frame an extensive program for developing the system of education which was adopted at a BCP CC plenary meeting in 1979.

Foreign policy matters are also an important aspect of the party's work. Central to its foreign policy activity is the steady pursuit of the line of ever closer integration, and the deepening and constant strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and between Bulgaria and the USSR. That is the party's tangible contribution to the further enrichment and practice of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Addressing an international conference to mark the centenary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, Todor Zhivkov said that our party believes that peace is the paramount problem both for humankind and for the communist movement, a problem that cannot be resolved without, let alone against, existing socialism. He elaborated the idea of the new character and content of anti-imperialist and anti-war fronts, so enriching Dimitrov's theoretical propositions on anti-fascist fronts. He said, in particular, that it

is now not necessary for all those taking part in these fronts and movements to have a common political platform. This makes it clear that such fronts cannot have a single governing structure. Nor should one, in our view, also regard all the anti-war fronts and movements as opposition to their countries' governments on other issues as well. What is important is that the participants in these movements should be aware that there is no alternative to the policy of international peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The broad democratic character and diversity of the anti-war movements call for a consistent struggle against any attempts to break through their front and weaken their pressure.

There has been a manifold increase in the importance of mass social initiative in building the developed socialist society. A characteristic feature of the BCP's activity since its foundation is unflagging concern for the communist education of the working class and of all the other working people. This tradition of the party's theoretical and ideological work is expressed in the systematic study and assimilation of Marxist theory by the communists and the spread of Marxist ideas among the workers and all the other working people. The party leadership has always taken an uncompromising stand in combating bourgeois-capitalist and petty-bourgeois ideology and social mentality.

The core of socialist consciousness consists of class-and-party criteria, class-and-party thinking, which cannot be shaped under the influence of the socialist social environment alone, and must be coupled with systematic study of the dynamic and constantly developing Marxist-Leninist theory. Every working person develops a class world view as the individual is socialized in the course of his participation in socialist construction. The assertion of socialist morality is inconceivable without tireless struggle against the survivals of the private-property mentality which distort the individual mind, and against anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and revisionism. The BCP works to educate people in a high sense of principle, deep loyalty to the common cause of socialism, and an attitude of criticism and self-criticism.

The system of the Marxist-Leninist training of the working people is now geared mainly to the fulfillment of the three basic tasks in theoretical and ideological activity, as formulated by the 12th congress of the BCP: to make it more vigorous and militant, to develop its creative character, and to assert it as the main form of constant spiritual ties between the party and the people. The party's abiding attention to

strengthening its ties with the masses is indicated by the slogan "Closer to the People, Closer to Life!" — which was formulated soon after the April 1956 plenary meeting of the BCP CC. One could say that party and state leaders have almost daily meetings and close contacts with various sections of society. Discussion of the most important draft documents and state laws by the broadest masses of people is now established practice. Todor Zhivkov's traditional meetings with enterprise collectives, with workers in agriculture and with representatives of various contingents of the socialist intelligentsia provide a vivid example of direct dialogue with thousands of working people.

Important positive shifts in social and individual consciousness have taken place as a result of the deep qualitative changes in the objective economic, production and class structures, the working people's rising living standards, and the marked improvement of educational work under the guidance of party organizations. A new, socialist type of individual — now the predominant one in our country — has gradually taken shape. That is a major success for the party's theoretical and ideological activity.

Our party has constantly fought any departures from the Marxist-Leninist theory, being guided by the view that genuine creativity in the theory and practice of the working class revolutionary movement is possible only on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

An important feature of the struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionism over the past two decades is that the problems on which our ideological adversaries speculate are being ever more successfully tackled in practice and theoretically explained. It is becoming clear that the crisis phenomena which did occur in some periods and in some of the countries building socialism did not stem from the nature or substance of existing socialism, but from infringements of its nature and departures from its laws and principles. The effectiveness of our ideological struggle since the April plenary meeting has been due precisely to the positive theoretical elaboration and practical solution of the actual problems of socialist development. As a result, bourgeois propaganda can no longer speculate and mislead the citizens of socialist society.

The BCP has consistently fought against bourgeois ideologists' and revisionists' attempts to bring about a theoretical and political split in the communist movement by urging repudiation of Leninism and deliberately contrasting the theoretical and revolutionary

legacy of Lenin and the doctrine of Marx and Engels, or by calling for a "return" to Marx. In the epoch of imperialism, Lenin raised Marxism to the level of the new historical tasks of the proletarian revolution, creatively developed every aspect of scientific communism, and formed a new type of party capable of leading the proletariat in a victorious revolution and construction of a socialist and communist society. That is why, Todor Zhivkov says, the present generation of communists must "treat Marx and Lenin as Lenin treated Marx." Far from setting any limitations on us, the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin in fact gives us creative freedom, which is the spirit and meaning of Marxism-Leninism. Life today does not require "any partial or complete repudiation of it — which is the same thing — but its development and enrichment in the new situation, in the new conditions."¹⁷

The BCP's theoretical work, like its political leadership in building a developed socialist society, is proceeding on the basis of a creative application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in Bulgaria's conditions. We seek scrupulously to abide by the requirement that in order to elevate spontaneity to the level of consciousness, the communists have to solve all the theoretical, political, tactical and organizational questions of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction ahead of everyone else.¹⁸

The BCP seeks to foster among the communists and all the other working people a sense of dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, the capacity to take a sober view of the results, and to give them a realistic assessment, and the ability to make an in-depth study of the experience of the international revolutionary movement and the historic gains of existing socialism. No vanguard party of the working class can develop without a serious comprehension of its own experience and also of the experience of the other parties, which is not to say that one can simply copy the resolutions passed by others. Both in the past and today, our party has used the rich theoretical ideas and experience of the CPSU, the other fraternal parties and the world communist movement, but taking care to consider these theoretical achievements and experience in the light of our country's specific conditions.

1. Christo Botev, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, Sofia, 1979, p. 5 (in Bulgarian).

2. Todor Zhivkov, *12th Congress of the BCP and the Start of Building Mature Socialism. Problems, Tasks, Approaches*, Sofia, 1982, p. 387 (in Bulgarian).

3. Yuri Andropov, *Selected Speeches and Articles*, Moscow, 1983, p. 247 (in Russian).

4. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 298.

5. BCP Program, Sofia, 1971, p. 41 (in Bulgarian).
6. Ibid., pp. 58-59.
7. Todor Zhivkov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 548 (in Bulgarian).
8. Ibid., pp. 552-553.
9. BCP Program, p. 44.
10. Ibid., p. 101.
11. On Todor Zhivkov's proposal, a national party conference is to meet in March 1984 to consider the problem of quality, which is of key importance for socialist construction in Bulgaria.

12. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, Part II, p. 213 (in Russian).
13. Ibid., p. 215.
14. For details see WMR, No. 12, 1983 — Ed.
15. Todor Zhivkov, *The Development of Socio-Economic Relations and the Administration of the National Economy*, Sofia, 1983, p. 22 (in Bulgarian).
16. Ibid., p. 23.
17. Todor Zhivkov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 234 (in Bulgarian).
18. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 316.

The efficiency of the vanguard rests on its bonds with the masses

Mikulas Beno
Secretary,

CC Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz)

Czechoslovak society has entered the historically long period of building a developed socialist society. The relevant program was adopted by the 14th congress of the CPCz and specified by the 15th and 16th congresses. On the strength of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the requirements and prospects of social progress, the program sets the aim of mobilizing the creative potential of society with a view to making full use of the possibilities and indisputable advantages of the new system in the interest of the prosperity of our country and its peoples. "The good of man has been and remains the highest purpose of our aspirations," said Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz, speaking of the main line of CPCz policy from the rostrum of the 16th party congress.¹

This fundamental task determines the content and forms of the party's sustained effort to build up the communists' efficiency and make the leadership of social processes more fruitful. We consider that in a society in which people are increasingly enabled to make their own history "with full consciousness,"² the role of the vanguard force guided by an advanced theory and capable of cognizing and using the objective laws of development and of organizing the conscious constructive effort of the masses has a natural tendency to grow.

The experience gained by the CPCz leaves no doubt that only a party equipped with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism can play the role of vanguard in the revolutionary struggle of the working class and other working people for the triumph of socialism and lead socialist society along the road of social, economic and cultural progress; a party whose policy expresses communist ideals and the fundamental interests of the working class,

cooperative peasantry, socialist intelligentsia and other working people; a party advancing to goals set in close contact with the masses and with their active participation.

In our country, existing socialism is a result of effort by millions. The Czechoslovak people are well aware that the Leninist road to socialism implies steady and all-round social progress, rising living and cultural standards and social security, and that work for the good of society benefits its every member. This is indicated by the results achieved to date. The national income of the CSSR is six times as large as in 1948. The high quality of life is virtually universal. In 35 years we have built nearly three million new modern apartments for more than half the population. In socialist Czechoslovakia, as in other fraternal countries, the right to work, education, rest, free medical care and social benefits in case of illness or in old age — in short, to what the individual needs for his all-round development — is guaranteed in practice.

To achieve this, we had to overcome many difficulties, including the solving of problems engendered by the subversive activities of right opportunists in the second half of the 1960s, when departure from a class policy caused a deep crisis in the party and society. The restoration of Marxist-Leninist standards and principles in every sphere of party activity provided a solid basis for further advance. But as life never stands still, we come up, now as in the past, against new, often unforeseen problems and difficult tasks in building a developed socialist society.

We regard the economy as the main field in which the battle for the present and future is being fought. The transition from extensive to

intensive development necessitates radical qualitative changes in the productive forces, further steps to perfect production relations, and deep changes in the people's thinking and behavior. The CC CPCz, the government and other central bodies as well as the mass organizations are steadfastly applying a long-term economic strategy, which requires a far-reaching restructuring of the economy and the mobilization of more and more new reserves. This means utilizing the production potential still more wisely, seeking maximum efficiency in every field, perfecting the planning system and making greater use of the potentialities of socialist economic integration and international division of labor. The first three years of the seventh five-year plan period (1981-1985) showed convincingly that coordinated effort by party, government and economic bodies from top to bottom plus encouragement of the working people's initiative and emphasis on everybody's responsibility for the common cause create favorable conditions for the fulfillment of the tasks set.

We are compelled to do this in a complicated international situation. Imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, has launched a "crusade" against socialism. It uses various methods of pressure and discrimination more and more openly and resorts to gross provocation. The declining social system is trying to resolve its inherent contradictions through a global strategy of aggression intended to turn back the historical process of revolutionary transformation of the world. Washington wants to attain military superiority over the socialist countries at all costs so as to implement its hegemonist plans for world domination, even at the risk of dragging humankind into a nuclear holocaust.

But growing along with the war menace is a counter-trend. People on all continents realize more and more who stands for peace and progress and who is laying dangerous militarist plans and trying to implement them. The widespread anti-war movement is exposing step by step the designs of imperialism, which poses a direct threat to the very existence of civilization. In step with the struggle for humanist goals, for the salvation and progress of humankind, the strength of the international proletariat is growing and so is interest in communist ideals, which offer the prospect of a peaceful and happy life for all people on our planet.

The present international situation calls for a further strengthening of existing socialism, the main force defending peace. Our party sees a guarantee of progress along this road in creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in its own

practice, cognizing and using social development laws, ensuring steady growth of the leading role of the working class and its communist vanguard and leaning on the working people's consciousness and initiative for support.

The scope and complexity of the task of building socialist society make high demands of our theoretical, organizing, political and educational activity. Big problems confront the social sciences, whose conclusions enable the party to work out fundamental concepts and solutions, react promptly and correctly to new phenomena and specify its policy at any given stage. In 1977 we adopted an Integrated Program for the Development of the Social Sciences; subsequently we complemented it on the basis of the decisions of the 16th CPCz congress and the conclusions drawn by the congresses of other fraternal parties. We make a point of investigating current problems of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia on the following main lines:

- further development of the productive forces and production relations; problems of the changing character of labor in the context of the scientific and technological revolution;

- changes in the class and social composition of our society; perfecting our statehood and extending socialist democracy; problems of molding the new person;

- a wide spectrum of problems of the ideological struggle in the international arena, the world revolutionary process and socialist integration;

- theoretical work on the whole set of problems of deepening the party's leading role and the problems of party building.

In directing the effort of research centers toward bringing about close unity between theory and practice in fulfilling the above tasks, the CPCz sees to it that they steer clear of barren academism and short-sighted empiricism, which the multitude of facts prevents from seeing the main laws and trends of social development. We devote special attention to the economic sciences, mainly the political economy of socialism, proceeding from Lenin's concept of politics as a concentrated expression of economy. We attach great importance to a deeper theoretical comprehension of the starting point for improving our everyday practices. This is the purpose of the work now under way on the main lines of our social and economic strategy for the coming 10 to 15 years and on forecasts of the development of our society for the next 20 years.

The party is working to greatly improve research in the social sciences, so that they can help it more effectively. However, even high-

standard theoretical activity is not enough in itself; science operates as a motive power of social progress only when its conclusions translate into activity of the masses.

The program for building a developed socialist society approved by the CPCz is a scientific expression of the working people's interests. This is perfectly natural, for as far as Marxists are concerned, the leading role of the party is not a passing tactic but a tested, permanent and increasingly necessary instrument of the historic struggle of the working class and its allies to transform society.

The party's growing role as leader is inseparable from closer unity between the party and the people. Realization of the need for and promotion of this interconnection are decisive for success in building socialism. Therefore we see the increasing social and labor commitment of all population groups as a most important criterion of efficiency of party work. Organizationally, politically and ideologically, the CPCz does its utmost for the working people's efforts toward attaining goals set by it to be entirely purposeful. As a result, people see that problems of building socialist society, intensifying the economy, accelerating scientific and technological progress and rationalizing labor are not solved at the workers' expense but in their interest. This approach accords with the very nature of socialism and is decisive for stronger unity between the party and the people and for the encouragement of the people's creative energy.

The essence of socialist democracy consists in steadfastly extending the working people's participation in production management, government and control over all public affairs. Experience has shown that combination of the party's efforts with the initiative of the masses is a powerful factor for social and economic progress and benefits every aspect of society's life.

We see real prerequisites of such combination in the growing scope and comprehensiveness of the tasks involved in socialist construction, the rising level of the working people's education and qualifications, the increasing role of science and technology, the early introduction of their achievements into production and other spheres, and the ever more imperative need to solve problems collectively.

However, these prerequisites and factors do not operate automatically. To make them effective, we must learn to lead people still better, to foster their initiative and social activity, doing this, moreover, according to plan and ever more fruitfully. What we regard as the main

criterion of efficiency of the party's entire policy is the results of conscious and honest collective work by the masses for socialism.

The principal method used by communists in carrying on their policy is persuasion, the force of example in labor and in public and private life. In applying this method, the party relies on the high level of organization of our society, and uses a ramified system of trade union, youth and other mass organizations. It is through them that communists spell out the party line and that people join more and more actively in the management of economic and other public affairs in enterprises, offices and cooperatives, in urban and other communities.

The seven-million strong Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has a large number of elected officers. As many as 400,000 people have been elected to its shop and factory committees and another 700,000 to commissions. The two-million strong Socialist Youth League has over 300,000 committee members and the Czechoslovak Union of Women, about 140,000 elected activists. On the national committees, 196,000 deputies manage local affairs in town and countryside with help from 247,000 members of diverse commissions. In this way workers, cooperative peasants and intellectuals participate directly in and organize fulfillment of the tasks facing society. The experience of existing socialism has shown that in carrying on this activity, the working people are in a position to make full use of their abilities and to really exercise their civil rights and freedoms.

Party and government bodies and the leadership of mass organizations must encourage creative initiative everywhere and help work collectives raise their production efficiency, put out high-quality products in quantities meeting the requirements of the country, make judicious use of resources, above all the achievements of scientific and technological progress, and strengthen discipline. The working people's commitment and social consciousness find expression in the socialist emulation movement, which encompasses 85 per cent of the workforce engaged in the economy, or two million members of socialist work teams, 186,000 workers, engineers and managerial employees who belong to complex rationalization teams, and 243,000 innovators and inventors whose contribution to the economy exceeds 10 billion korunas a year.

In improving planning and management, the party sees to it that the principle of material incentive, or remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work, is respected everywhere. Along with this, moral incentives play an ever bigger role; they induce people to

work creatively, take an active part in the life of their collectives and proceed as real masters at their workplaces. The early experience of introducing team forms of labor organization and remuneration is encouraging. Comradely relations in collectives are improving, with everybody assuming greater responsibility for everybody else, with the workers feeling more responsible for their work, the interests of their team, and what is more, for the whole of society, and showing an increasing desire to learn and to improve their skills.

Much is done to bring more working people into economic management. The methods used to this end include the working out of upwardly-adjusted plans, collective bargaining, permanent control over the fulfillment of the agreements signed and regular public forums in enterprises. Work collectives held two million production meetings in 1982 alone; over 84 per cent of the nearly 1.5 million proposals that came in were subsequently put into effect. Yet only a year has passed, and, moreover, not all recommendations could be acted on at once.

This work is permanent. However, we encounter problems in this respect as well. Proposals and criticisms aimed at helping reach or exceed plan targets are not fully used everywhere. This may cause disappointment and discourage initiative. The CC CPCz insists that party organizations should cooperate with the trade unions and management in combating such phenomena while at the same time encouraging and giving every support to people who want to help bring about improvements.

The working people show greater interest in the accomplishment of economic and social tasks when our society copes successfully with its non-antagonistic contradictions between production relations and the productive forces, between an equal status in relation to the means of production and a certain inequality in distribution on the socialist principle of remuneration according to one's work. In helping overcome these contradictions, we also strive to ensure that distinctions between physical and mental labor and between town and countryside disappear in a planned way and that relations of cooperation and mutual confidence between classes and social groups, between society and the individual, assert themselves everywhere. A great advantage of socialism is that it resolves its contradictions in the interest of the people, of further social progress.

Socialist construction encounters many problems due to the established way of think-

ing and working methods. Among the problems that we come up against are habits left from the period of extensive development, when we had enough raw materials and energy and our output sold without difficulty on the world market. These habits now hold back the intensification of our economy and occasionally prevent greater use of the vast potentialities of socialist society. This is why the party urges communists to resolutely combat parochialism, formalism, red tape, lack of discipline and disregard of the public interest, all of which are negative manifestations of the spirit of the past. We want everybody not only to work conscientiously but also to do his job in a well-considered manner, to work as efficiently as possible, save raw materials, energy and other resources and promote socialist democracy from top to bottom. Our class enemies abroad describe this policy as too severe and accuse us of imposing "barrack discipline." But bourgeois propaganda cannot mislead our people, for they know by experience that the road charted by the CPCz is leading to economic achievement and a higher standard of living. Life itself refutes the allegations of socialism's enemies about Czechoslovak reality.

Our high demands in regard to the ideological schooling and political maturity of our people are prompted by the vast scope and complexity of the tasks of socialist development on the one hand, and, on the other, by the exacerbation of the class struggle in the world. The 16th CPCz congress stressed the need to remember that "we are building socialism, a new society, in conditions of a stubborn struggle between two opposed social systems, two irreconcilable ideologies."³ It is from this that our party proceeds in working to improve the content and increase the militancy of propaganda and agitation, of political education as a whole, and to make them more specific. What we seek in this respect is, above all else, that the party line should be fully and deeply understood and that advanced ideas should become people's personal convictions and a guide to action.

Operating as the vanguard force of a developed socialist society under construction, our party improves its work according to the exigencies of the times and the nature of the problems being solved. With due regard to these exigencies, we are strengthening the ideological and organizational unity of the party and its bonds with the masses and improving the forms and methods of party leadership to bring them more into line with

the mission of the leading political force of society.

We are introducing everywhere a special-purpose programmatic approach, which finds expression in united action plans for party, government and economic bodies and mass organizations. It guarantees a better conception of party work and makes it possible to focus everybody's attention on the main lines, to coordinate efforts, heighten the cadre's sense of personal responsibility and verify specifically the fulfillment of assignments. Proper relations between the party and the economic leadership are important if these activities are to be fruitful. Party organizations can play their role in the solution of social and economic problems successfully only when they actually proceed as befits the political vanguard. Lenin considered that a revolutionary organization performs its leading role "not by virtue of having the power . . . but by virtue of prestige, energy, greater experience, greater versatility, and greater talent."⁴ Therefore the CC CPCz urges communists to achieve concrete results in every sphere of work concerned with political organization, personnel and ideological education in order to mobilize the masses for the fulfillment of plans for further socialist construction.

Our practice has fully confirmed the validity and relevance of Lenin's thesis that the ability of the party to play the role of a leading political force depends directly on its concern to improve the qualitative composition of its ranks. "We communists," Gustav Husak said, "neither want, nor have a right to differ from other working people in anything but a keener sense of responsibility, greater political consciousness, industry and selflessness."⁵ The party concentrates on fostering these high qualities, which determine our approach to the task of reinforcing the party.

Over the past decade the social and age composition of the CPCz has been formed in organized fashion and has shown a favorable trend. Today it meets the requirements that must be made of a party leading the construction of a new society. The working class core of the party is stronger now. Between the 15th and 16th CPCz congresses, 61 per cent of the 321,000 people admitted to its ranks as candidate members were workers, 7.8 per cent, peasants and 22.1 per cent, intellectuals. Over 90 per cent of the new members are under 35 years of age. The share of women went up to 27.5 per cent. These trends have persisted since the 16th congress. This is a gratifying development but we always remember that to improve the composition of the party qualitatively, it is not

enough just to admit new members in an orderly manner and that we must step up the ideological education of young communists.

This offers party branches — the basis of the party and the political core of work collectives — ample opportunities for action. A conference of secretaries of the central committees of the communist and workers' parties of socialist countries in charge of organizing work (Prague, 1982) stressed that the branches play the leading role in the implementation of the political line of the party, directly and constantly linking the party with the masses. We know by experience that the character of a work collective as master and organizer of production depends to a decisive extent on the efficiency of party organizations, on the communists' commitment and educational work.

The more than 46,000 CPCz branches, which number 300,000 elected activists, are a dynamically developing organism. Leading party committees consider it their duty always to follow the heartbeat of the branches and maintain direct ties with them. At the same time we root out administration by fiat, formalism and other shortcomings hampering progress. "Fewer directives, less paper work and more direct contacts with people — this is what should guide us in party work," the 16th CPCz congress emphasized.⁶

The ninth plenary meeting of the CC CPCz (November 1983), which discussed the tasks of the party in the new complicated international situation, called on all communists to set an example for people. The Central Committee, says the resolution adopted by it, "expects of all party bodies and branches, all full and candidate members of the CPCz steadfast effort to bring it home to every citizen of the CSSR that by doing his job conscientiously and competently and by engaging in public activities, he contributes to the rapid and effective development of the national economy, the maintenance of the attained living standard and social gains of the people, the consolidation of the socialist system and the preservation of world peace."⁷

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regards construction of a developed socialist society as its contribution to the internationalist struggle of fraternal parties for peace, social progress and the triumph of communism. The goals we have set ourselves demand further effort to perfect the party's leading role, strengthen its Marxist-Leninist unity and its bonds with the masses and steadily heighten the efficiency of the communist vanguard.

1. Sbornik hlavních dokumentů XVI. sjezdu KSČ, Prague, 1981, p. 17.

2. Frederic Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, p. 391.

3. Sbornik, p. 36.

4. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 242.

5. Sbornik, p. 45.

6. Ibid., p. 43.

7. *Rude pravo*, November 25, 1983.

U.S. missiles in Europe. Resistance grows

Ib Norlund

CC Executive Committee and Secretariat member,
Communist Party of Denmark,
CPD representative on WMR

COMMENTARY

The year 1984 began in an atmosphere of uneasiness. American Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles have made their appearance on the European continent against the will of the majority of the people and the protests from international opinion. This imperialist provocation — there is hardly any other name for the deployment of nuclear first-strike weapons in Europe aimed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries — has sharply worsened the atmosphere worldwide. A new and extremely serious situation has arisen. There is now a greater threat than ever that imperialist reaction's militarist course will bring a nuclear catastrophe.

For several years the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries, the communists, and the anti-war movements had been consistently and urgently pointing to the danger that such a situation would arise if the Reagan administration continued its aggressive policies. The USSR offered the USA and its allies having nuclear arms to come to agreement on a radical cutback of medium-range systems — both missiles and bombers — on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security, declaring that it was prepared to have Europe free of all, including tactical, nuclear weapons.

In its efforts to reach agreement the Soviet Union undertook some unilateral commitments and put forward concrete proposals for reducing the threat of war in Europe and the world as a whole. However, all these proposals were ignored or turned down. The principle of equality and equal security insisted upon by the Soviet Union was counterposed by Washington with a striving to achieve military superiority. In practical terms this posture is reflected in the start of the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Europe, and this has eliminated the very subject-matter of the negotiations. Even right-wing bourgeois

analysts have had, in this context, to acknowledge that the USA, to quote a Danish conservative newspaper, had conducted "false talks" in Geneva.

In the face of the new dangerous situation the USSR was forced to revoke its unilateral commitments, made earlier, to put a moratorium on the deployment of its own medium-range missiles in the European part of its territory, and take some other steps to protect its own security and that of its allies. Playing on the natural desire of the Europeans to see their continent free of nuclear weapons bourgeois propaganda lost no time to misrepresent these responses, particularly the preparations for stationing longer-range tactical missiles in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. It is not hard to see that these are precisely the measures that will not permit imperialism to upset the military-strategic parity that is today the key condition for the preservation of peace. They will be put into effect, Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in his Statement of November 24, 1983, strictly within the limits dictated by the actions of the NATO countries. The Soviet Union is not seeking military superiority; it will only do what is absolutely necessary to maintain the military balance.

In the same statement the Soviet leader showed the way out of the complicated situation created by the Reagan administration's aggressive policy: "If the USA and the other NATO countries show a willingness to return to the situation which existed before U.S. medium-range missiles began to be deployed in Europe, the Soviet Union will be prepared to do the same. The proposals we had made earlier on limiting and reducing nuclear armaments in Europe could then come into force again. In that case, i.e., provided the former situation is restored, all of the Soviet Union's

unilateral commitments in this sphere would also come into effect again."²

Contrary to the assertions of the NATO propagandists, the Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles have not diminished but seriously increased the threat of a nuclear war that can turn the world into a lifeless desert. Little wonder, therefore, that the deployment of U.S. Euromissiles has precipitated a storm of indignation among the masses. Neither police batons, nor arrests, nor the unprecedented anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign conducted by the imperialist mass media have been able to mute this indignation.

The attempts to depict the deployment of Euromissiles merely as a necessary measure designed "not to leave Europe unarmed" in the face of alleged "Soviet military superiority," and present the anti-missile movement as an "instrument in the hands of the communists" did not yield the "dividends" expected by the imperialist forces. True, the reactionary majority in the parliaments of the FRG, Britain and Italy gave their consent to turning these countries into nuclear emplacements of the Pentagon. But in Bonn, London, Rome, and other West European cities hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated in the streets and squares to declare their opposition to the policies of their own parliaments and governments. More, hundreds of cities, districts, and other population centers have declared their territories nuclear-free zones. The social democrats in the FRG and Denmark and the Labourites in Britain, who had formerly supported the plans for the siting of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles, have had to rethink their attitude to the NATO nuclear build-up and take a stand against it. Moreover, this stand is shared by the leadership of the Socialist International. It must be noted that the further spread of the anti-war movement will probably help social democracy to adopt a more determined posture for general disarmament. Conversely, a decline in the anti-militarist campaigns of the masses might reinforce the pro-NATO tendencies of some social democratic leaders and harness them closer to the policies of the Washington administration.

It is indicative that even some professional military men who held high posts in the various NATO headquarters and units have openly declared that the statements of U.S. politicians and senior military officers about the USSR's military superiority and the allegations that the USA's moves are no more than counter-measures do not square with the facts. In a document they had jointly drawn up, 12 former NATO generals and admirals offer the conclusion that

the assertion about the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe being a response to the siting of Soviet SS-20 missiles is a lie. The USA had been preparing to deploy Pershing-2s in the FRG ever since May 1978, 18 months before the notorious "double-track decision" was adopted.

There is an overall approximate balance of strength between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization and an approximate equilibrium in medium-range systems. More, if the so-called tactical systems with a relatively short range are taken into account, it will be seen that NATO has 31,000 while the Warsaw Treaty has only 20,000 units of nuclear weapons. Thus, the generals write, the NATO "additional" arms build-up is totally unnecessary. In this situation it is only by juggling with the facts that Reagan and his henchmen can speak of the "weakness of the West."

The deployment of the U.S. missiles in Europe is a further dangerous step in the attempts to give effect to the plans of the most reactionary circles who want the 20th century to be the "Age of America." The seriousness of the situation is compounded by the fact that these plans are by no means confined to Europe. Their character is global. "The game that is being played in Europe," writes the French journal *Le Monde diplomatique* on this score, "is only part of a world strategy. What the Reagan administration is pursuing on all fronts is no longer a 'policy of containing' communism but a policy of collision: this is exemplified by the large-scale military exercises and shows of strength in Central America, Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East."³

The USA's military expenditures are growing at an unparalleled rate, and the program for deploying qualitatively new systems of strategic armaments and space weapons systems are being rapidly put into effect. The USA and some of its allies have speeded up their military preparations all along the line and in all the main regions of the world. At the close of last year the Pentagon was hourly spending 24 million dollars for these purposes.⁴ It has taken nearly 640 billion dollars out of taxpayers' pockets during the past three years, allocated 280 billion dollars for 1984, and in the next five years (1985-1989) its military appropriations are to add up to two trillion dollars, a sum almost as large as it spent during 35 post-war years.

What is U.S. imperialism out to achieve by spending such astronomical sums of money on enlarging its military machine?

First, it would like to overturn the military-strategic balance existing in Europe and the

world, attain military superiority over the USSR and the socialist world as a whole, and create favorable conditions for a policy of nuclear blackmail and, in the long run, for winning a nuclear war. The imperialist strategists believe that this will enable them to turn back the clock globally, consign, to use Reagan's words, communism "to the ash heap of history" and, as envisioned in the U.S. Defense Department's directive for 1984-1988, destroy socialism as a socio-political system.

Second, by intimidating West Europeans with the myth of a "Soviet threat," U.S. imperialism is trying to subordinate its NATO allies, to reduce them to puppets of its foreign policy, proponents of U.S. interests in their own countries, and hostages in the event of a nuclear conflict, and drag them into a new round of the nuclear and conventional arms race.

Lastly, imperialism regards military superiority over socialism as the condition giving it a totally free hand relative to the countries that have won liberation, the condition for an unhindered and unceremonious use of force to suppress revolutions and progressive movements. This is precisely the message of recent events when the U.S. administration intensified its reactionary political offensive in Central America, the Middle East, and some other regions of the world with the use of its economic, political and, in Grenada and Lebanon, military strength.

Reagan provocatively declares that it is the "right" of the USA "to defend its interests" by deposing objectionable political systems, interfering in the affairs of nations, and setting up puppet dictatorial regimes. This brings to mind Hitler who had likewise used arguments about the "right" of the Third Reich to justify the seizure of foreign territories, depose objectionable governments, and put in power Quislings ready to lick the boots of the aggressor. German fascism's adventurist policies cost humanity 50 million lives. In Washington today they are thinking in terms of billions of lives.

What is the place of the communists in this situation? In this connection I should like to recall the words of Yuri Andropov, who said that "the threat of a nuclear war hanging over the world is compelling a reassessment of the fundamental significance of the activity of the entire communist movement. The communists have always been fighters against oppression and exploitation of man by man, but today they are also fighting to preserve human civilization, the right of people to life."⁵ Indeed, the strategy of fighting for peace has now become an inseparable component of revolution-

ary strategy. The communists are being called upon by history to awaken the masses to the seriousness and inhumanity of the danger threatening them, expose imperialism's militarist policies and practices, and mobilize and unite the forces of peace, national independence and socialism. It is important that not only the vanguard of the working class but also the mass of working people should understand who is to blame for the deterioration of the international situation and why capitalism's historical decline is finding accentuated expression in the activation of extreme reaction and in the growth of the aggressiveness of the leading imperialist power.

It is, however, not enough for conscious peace fighters just to say that in the final count the blame for the arms race and the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe devolves on imperialism. Their answer must consist of vigorous contributions to actions that give the mass movements a profound consciousness, make them purposeful, and turn them into an insuperable force.

It was in this spirit that the November 1983 meeting of representatives of the communist parties of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland adopted a joint statement calling upon the population, parliaments, the trade union movement, and all the peace forces of their countries to do everything to prevent the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe and secure a reduction of nuclear arsenals. The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Board of the German Communist Party, and the Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin have appealed to the parties of the working class, trade unions, youth leagues, and all Europeans to use political activity, dialogues, parliamentary initiatives, and mass protests to prevent stationing of U.S. missiles.

Applying the Marxist dialectical method to evaluate the obtaining international situation, the communists see the class roots of the war threat and the realistic possibilities of removing it before imperialist capital disappears from the face of the earth in the course of historical development. Conscious peace fighters now have the concrete task of bridling the aggressive circles of imperialism, notably the imperialism of the USA and other NATO countries, whose policies are the cause of the immediate threat of a nuclear conflagration.

Is this a realistic aim? Yes, it is. The threat of war is now more serious than it has ever been, and partially because of this the present potentialities of the peace forces are unusually great. If these potentialities are combined and

used it will be possible to abort imperialism's plans and prevent another world war. The forces of peace include, above all, existing socialism, which has changed the face of the world and, in the decades since the war, advanced impressively in its economic, social and cultural development and in ensuring its defense capability, and it is increasingly influencing international relations. The Prague meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee held a year ago and then the Moscow summit of the European socialist countries have demonstrated that there has been a further coordination of the actions of the socialist community countries on the world scene.

Further, these forces include the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won liberation and become a major independent factor of world politics. Their role in international affairs has grown dramatically and continues to grow. The non-aligned movement, which is adopting an ever more pronounced anti-imperialist stand, enjoys growing prestige and influence.

Then there is the powerful modern working class, which, despite the crisis and the mounting offensive by capitalist reaction on its rights and interests, is acting in defense of peace with growing militancy and organization. The working class is an insuperable force of peace and progress.

Further, there are the international communist movement and the revolutionary-democratic parties, which together constitute the most progressive, vanguard political force of our time.

There is the unprecedented mass anti-war movement. The close of last year and the beginning of 1984 have seen a demonstration of its potentialities. This unparalleled direct intervention by the masses in world politics has served a stern warning to those who are playing with the destinies of Europe and the world in defiance of the will of the peoples.

Lastly, there are sober-thinking bourgeois quarters who have a realistic view of the national and regional interests of their respective countries and understand that the policy of confrontation is suicidal.

The present situation is demanding further common and vigorous actions by all the peace forces. Peace can be won only in hard struggles.

Imperialism and its special agencies and propaganda machine are doing all they can to fragment and confuse the anti-war movement, to make people believe that this movement is only "preventing statesmen from settling the problems of peace."

The USA's leaders and some of their most zealous allies are already now peddling the lie that the "anti-war movement has lost the battle against U.S. missiles in Europe" and that the movement cannot prevent wars anyway; they even estimate that some 25 million people died in the wars that have been fought during the 38 years since World War II and use arguments of this kind in order to persuade the masses that the cause of peace is futile.

But let us look at things soberly. Of course, in the years since the end of World War II there has been no dearth of imperialist provocations that could have erupted into a global catastrophe. Local wars broke out and continue to break out in various parts of the world. However, had there been no massive peace movement, the USA would have gone ahead with its plans to use nuclear weapons in Korea and in Vietnam. Had there been no peace forces the imperialists would most likely have long ago started a cataclysmic global war in their bid to halt humankind's progress toward freedom, democracy and socialism.

Of course, the anti-war movement is still not omnipotent. But this does not signify that it is weak. In Denmark, for example, the peace fighters were unable to prevent the nation from being drawn into the North Atlantic bloc in 1949, but they did prevent the Danish government from participating in the adoption of some NATO decisions that conflict with the interests of peace and our national interests. The peace movement has prevented the stationing of foreign troops on Danish territory, limited the building of military bases, and blocked the appearance of nuclear weapons on our soil. Although the Danish government voted for the NATO "two-track decision" in 1979, the militancy of the peace movement changed the situation in the country. This compelled the majority in the Folketing not only to pass a resolution making it binding upon the government to consider any preparations for and the actual deployment of Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles impermissible as long as the Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe were going on regardless of their duration, but also to deny the NATO demand for a time limit on these talks. This resolution stressed that an agreement on nuclear systems in Europe had to take into account the British and French nuclear weapons and also the need to freeze all nuclear arsenals.

In early December 1983 the Folketing reiterated its categorical denunciation of the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe and demanded that in NATO the Danish government should dissociate itself

from this deployment. Denmark thus lined up with Greece, which had likewise declared its opposition to having U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe. Moreover, the Folketing obligated the Danish delegation at the UN General Assembly to vote for the resolution urging nuclear disarmament even if it were opposed by the other NATO countries, while in mid-December it ceased financing that section of the joint NATO program that related to the deployment of U.S. missiles.

These resolutions of the Danish parliament were fully consonant with the will of the majority of the country's population and were sharply at variance with the political line pursued by the government, which supported the USA's military plans. The differences with the parliament compelled the government to resign.

The results of the voting in the Folketing reflected the rising tide of the anti-war movement, which is now nation-wide. The unprecedentedly massive national demonstration against the deployment of U.S. missiles was followed up by a drive for signatures under the similar demand. In the course of the first three weeks more than 300,000 people had signed their names.

Of course, with Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles having appeared in Western Europe, the slogans of the anti-missile movement are being updated. The focus is now obviously on demanding a halt to the deployment of more missiles and the removal of the missile systems already deployed. If this is achieved there will be no need for counter-measures by the Warsaw Treaty and the climate will be created for the resumption of talks.

The anti-missile movement in Western Europe is now looking for the most effective ways and means of continuing the struggle. Projects are being developed for nation-wide polls and referendums at factories and educational institutions and also in population centers. Steps are being planned to vitalize anti-war actions by the trade unions. Peace fighters in the FRG, Britain and Sicily are acting effectively by their non-violent blockade of the bases where the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles has been started.

More emphatic demands for the freezing of nuclear arsenals and the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe as a whole, in individual parts of Europe and in other regions of the world would also be a boost for the anti-missile struggle. It is important to give every encouragement to the popular campaign in support of and for constructive results at the Stockholm conference on measures to rein-

force confidence and security and achieve disarmament in Europe.

The peace forces should not underestimate the fact that the struggle for peace has entered a new stage at which the situation is more strained and dangerous. We must be prepared for a hardening of actions on the part of the forces of war. The preparations for war are not limited to the military sphere. The peace movement has come face to face with the reactionary forces deliberately pursuing an adventurist course in policy and ideology, of which the principal components are provocations, lies and slander.

Imperialism is trying to poison the minds of the people and discredit the very idea that it is possible to resolve basic international problems by political means. It spares no effort to brainwash the masses ideologically in order to undermine their resistance. We must once again recall Lenin's well-known proposition that every war is born in deep secrecy and that the central task of the struggle against it is precisely to "expose all the sophistries that are being advanced at the present time in justification of war."⁶

Reagan and his allies expected that the deployment of missiles would be a victory for them, a step toward world supremacy. But they neither have been nor will be able to catch either the socialist countries or the mass anti-war movement on the nuclear hook. Although the NATO circles in Western Europe linked to Washington see the start of the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles as a major political victory, one does not have to be particularly perspicacious to call this a Pyrrhic victory. It is not only the fact that the Soviet Union's counter-measures in the military field will not permit the USA to achieve its main objective, that of winning strategic superiority over the socialist community. There is also the fact that the approach to the deployment of Euromissiles is very sharply underscoring the hypocrisy of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and the anti-humane essence of imperialism's political system.

Missiles are being deployed against the will of the peoples. But the apologists of the "additional" arms build-up assert that this is being done in the name of so-called "democracy" and "by democratic means." Actions of this kind by the NATO "democrats" are opening people's eyes to the fact, carefully concealed by the capitalists, that bourgeois "democracy" does not in fact express the interests and aspirations of the working masses. Clearly, the struggle for genuine democracy will develop into a struggle against these so-called "democrats." People

cannot help pondering the worth of a political system that is prepared to sacrifice millions of lives to the interests of the moneybags. The link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social justice has become more visible than ever before.

Of course, the Reagan administration and, with it, those West European politicians who have opened the doors of their countries to new U.S. missiles have placed themselves in the position of accomplices in a conspiracy against European peace and peace generally. Their disgraceful role cannot be struck out of history. But humankind merits a better lot than to live in a conflict-torn world and suffocate under the burden of lethal weaponry. There is no doubt

that the tide of protest will keep rising despite the fact that the first of these missiles have already appeared in Europe. This protest has long ago crossed the boundaries of Europe and is gradually involving ever larger sections of the population of both hemispheres. The determination of the peoples to protect peace is growing stronger, and it is the peoples who have the decisive say.

In this lies the assurance of the triumph of the forces of peace over the forces of war.

1. B.T., November 26, 1983.
2. Pravda, November 25, 1983.
3. *Le Monde diplomatique*, October 1983.
4. *The Washington Post*, November 6, 1983.
5. Pravda, June 16, 1983.
6. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 448.



For peace, jobs, and equality

John Pittman
CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of the USA

CPUSA 23rd NATIONAL CONVENTION

The travellers rushing to board planes, trains, buses and automobiles were not the usual throng of delegates leaving Cleveland's massive convention center. They were headed in different directions toward their homes in most of the country's 50 states. In age, sex, color, dress, and other outward characteristics they were a cross-section of the U.S. population.

Yet a passerby, hearing their conversations and observing their demeanor, may have noticed certain distinctive attributes. Most were intensely serious, as if burdened with a difficult and weighty mission. This contrasted with the customary frivolity and banter of most departing delegations of politicians and business people.

Moreover, the ideas they exchanged were more in accord with those which most people wishfully if wrongly imagine to be uppermost in the minds of the country's lawmakers and rulers.

These travellers, contrariwise, were ordinary men and women, except that the large buttons many wore in their lapels identified them as members of the Communist Party of the United States of America and, like their conversation,

indicated the objects of their concern to be peace, jobs and equality.

The indications were symbolic. The significance of the 23rd national convention of the CPUSA, held on November 10-13, 1983, is now, months later, clearly evident. The delegates and thousands of their communist comrades and many more thousands of their fellow-citizens are actively working in shops, offices, neighborhoods and organizations, helping to attain the goals proclaimed by the convention.

Their mission has short-term and long-term objectives, both kinds requiring maximum efforts from everyone commensurate with the capabilities of each. To the degree these efforts will influence the course of developments, their mission can be said to have vital and immeasurable importance, with life-or-death implications for the U.S. population (and possibly also for all living things on the planet Earth).

For organizing the peace majority

"We must deal with questions and forces that will determine whether there will be a future of war or peace, nuclear arms race or disarmament."

ment," CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall told the convention delegates. "In fact, we are literally forced to deal with the most basic of all questions any society has ever had to face: whether human societies will make a qualitative leap forward on the road to socialism, or a leap backward into the abyss of nuclear oblivion."

The delegates had rejected illusions and wishful thinking about survivability following a nuclear exchange or the possibility of a limited nuclear war with victory for one or the other of the combatants. They agreed with Gus Hall that "the Reagan administration is hell-bent on pursuing its disastrous nuclear confrontation course," and that "to reverse this insane U.S. imperialist course is the main task facing the world and the American people."

Indeed, reversing Reagan's suicidal policies was the paramount objective adopted by the convention. As proclaimed in the convention's basic document, it commits the party to help mobilize the people and organize the peace majority, reckoned at three-fourths of the population, to return the United States to the path of détente and disarmament.

Without a dissenting voice, the delegates had vowed to utilize every opportunity during the months before the crucial national elections of November 1984 to help the people defeat Reagan and junk his insane drive for a first-strike capability with which to destroy existing socialism. The delegates had listened intently as Gus Hall warned of the danger of provocations as the election date approached. They had taken into account the rallying cry, now sweeping the country: "Ronald Reagan, he's no good, send him back to Hollywood!" They had assessed the recent anti-Reagan successes of people's coalitions at the ballot-box which had helped to organize broad people's forces in preparation for the November 1984 showdown.

The convention itself was a microcosm of such forces.

The 426 delegates elected by party organizations included 135 trade union members of 20 international unions; 183 were members of racial and ethnic minorities, including 74 Afro-Americans and 30 Chicano-Mexicano and Puerto-Ricans; a youth and young adult contingent (32 per cent were from 18 to 34 in age); "senior citizens" still active in the struggles of the people (25 per cent were over 65); cadre in the prime of life (35 to 64 years of age) numbering nearly half of the delegates. Eighty-eight were party members for less than five years, 47 for more than 40 years. Women accounted for 43 per cent.

There were 66 guests, and also delegates rep-

resenting the communist parties of Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Greece, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, West Berlin, Lebanon, Poland and Portugal. Representatives of some fraternal parties were unable to attend because of the denial or delayed issuance of visas by the State Department.

Contributions of the fraternal delegations were highly assessed and received standing ovations. At an International Night in their honor, Gus Hall called for unity of all communists in the struggle against Reagan's policies of nuclear escalation. "No people alone can stop the threat of nuclear war," he said, emphasizing that a demonstration of world communist unity has become an "historic necessity" to save the peace. CPUSA National Chairman Henry Winston hailed the fraternal delegates as "representatives of the peace movement of the world . . . who represent everything noble and decent on our globe."

At a special panel of the convention devoted to the struggle for peace, 20 delegates addressed the gathering. Emphasis was given to ways and means of improving the effectiveness of communists in overcoming difficulties of helping to organize the peace majority.

Delegates from California called for the labor movement to expose the Reaganites' demagoguery about "peace through strength" as a baited trap used by the Hitlerites to ensnare the German people. They stressed that Reagan's arms build-up is being paid for by the working class. It was noted that a referendum on a nuclear arms freeze showed that 52 per cent of California voters favored the measures, and in the Afro-American and Chicano-Mexicano communities the favoring vote was 70 per cent.

A delegate from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, proposed popularizing a slogan to impeach Reagan. One of the Ohio delegates reported efforts to influence Congress by unannounced visits to offices of members of Congress during their recess.

Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism were found to be serious obstacles to organizing the peace majority. Several speakers suggested ways of overcoming them. A comrade from Colorado described the outrage and anger at the anti-communists by women who had assembled to map out a strategy for peace work. "They were more outraged than we communists," he said.

The necessity for boldness and initiative in confronting the big lie of anti-Sovietism was emphasized. The panel adopted a summary which set the goal of establishing peace committees in every state not later than June 1984.

The convention registered the delegates' resolve to help mobilize resistance to U.S. imperialism's interventions, undeclared wars, and covert actions to destabilize states pursuing democratic and progressive policies, viz., Cuba, Angola, Mozambique and Nicaragua. It expressed solidarity with the peoples of these countries, condemned the Reagan administration's support of and aid to fascist, militarist and racist dictatorships such as those in Chile, South Africa, El Salvador and Guatemala, and stigmatized the piratical aggression against the people of Grenada. It condemned the military collaboration of U.S. imperialism and its Zionist surrogate in Israel in creating a new major flashpoint of war in the Middle East, with the U.S. preparing bases in the Sinai, Lebanon and Egypt.

Aware that Reagan's so-called "peace" proposals are only a cover for his arms build-up, the delegates left the convention convinced of the necessity of intensifying the struggle against Reagan's war program on a round-the-clock basis. Some thought it would be necessary to work for such manifestations of protest and resistance as the mammoth march and rally of more than a million in New York City in June 1982, or the 400,000 who marched in Washington in August 1983, or the hundreds of thousands who demonstrated against the placing of missiles in Europe.

The triple-layered economic crisis

Besides their consideration of efforts to overcome the imminent threat of a nuclear exchange, the delegates took account of the state of the economy and the monopoly-Reaganite onslaught on the living standards of the working people. The mass media and the paid pundits of the corporations persist in magnifying every slight upturn in the business cycle into the harbinger of a new and boundless boom. U.S. communists, however, advanced a different view.

While taking note of certain indicators of a slight upturn in the cycle, delegates reported to the convention certain harsh and bitter facts, which exposed the real nature of the "recovery": 20 million unemployed and underemployed; a 14.3 per cent decline in real wages (an AFL-CIO estimate) since 1977; the return and widespread growth of sweatshops; an epidemic of strike-breaking, union-busting attacks by small and large corporations; a sharp rise in the number of families living in poverty, and an incredibly rapid increase in the number of homeless, destitute people; the continuously growing mountainous burden of debt — one trillion 300 billion dollars owed by the national

government, 350 billion dollars owed by consumers, 900 billion dollars of mortgage owed by home and building owners.

Such unpalatable realities are ignored or glossed over by a majority of U.S. economists. Their focus is the expectation of profits, which the escalating military expenditures and the depressed wage levels of the workforce promise. The conventional "establishment" analysis sees the manifestations of slumps and declining consumer purchasing as temporary leftovers of the "recession," which they allege affected all countries, socialist as well as capitalist. They see an approaching era of capitalist stabilization and unprecedented prosperity.

On the other hand, the convention delegates contributed facts and experiences substantiating a different analysis. The latest crisis, the seventh since the end of the Second World War, signalled the onset of a new phase of U.S. capitalist development, a phase of contraction and decline. Nor were the back-to-back crises attributable to deviant cyclical behavior. In Gus Hall's words, "the economic developments are the product of three layers of separate, but overlapping and inter-related crises — the general crisis, the structural crisis, and the on-again, off-again cyclical crisis."

Gus Hall explained that the general crisis of world capitalism "increasingly has a more direct and deepening impact on U.S. economic developments." The cyclical crises are a result of the anarchy of capitalist production characterized by "the gap between actual production, production capacity, and the buying power of the people." The structural crisis, a "newcomer" on the economic scene, is "a direct consequence of the fact that capitalism, in its period of decay and general crisis, is not willing or able to adjust to the new level of advanced technology." In consequence of this there is the export of basic industries to low-wage, higher-profit areas, and a long period of slowing down of capital investments in domestic basic industries. And, Gus Hall added, "there is no light at the end of the structural crisis tunnel."

What are some consequences of the interaction of these three crises? Plant closings, mass layoffs, deserted and deteriorating neighborhoods, and, of course, an increase in social pathology — crime, suicide, mental illness.

But there are other consequences, which the convention delegates reported: protest meetings, demonstrations, marches, picket lines and strikes.

An Illinois steelworker: "Our struggle at (U.S. Steel's) South Works to save the steel mill

is not just a fight to save 6,000 jobs. It is a struggle to save the means of building our cities' infrastructure. We have a plan — nationalization. Our local union at South Works was the first to elect an Afro-American president, an Hispanic president, and a woman president."

An Ohio party activist: "We worked first to build our press. Then we moved to voter registration as a preliminary to getting rid of Reaganism. Now we have a 'Dump Reagan' committee."

A Detroit auto worker: "We aren't going to help the workers move by accusing Reagan of violating the United Nations Charter. What moves them is showing that Reagan is attempting to create a climate in Latin America and elsewhere favorable for U.S. monopolies to set up plants and close plants in the United States."

A California worker: "We can best fight for unity of workers in the shops by showing the international consequences of Reagan's policies — his trying to make the world safe for U.S. transnationals."

An unemployed worker: "The whole party needs to mobilize to help the unemployed. We have to see that demands to Congress call for legislation to protect the unemployed."

The delegates painted a grim picture of the country's industrial decline, the loss of millions of jobs in steel, rubber, automobile, glass and shipbuilding industries. Most affected are the areas of the industrial middle-east, the heartland of U.S. heavy industry. For instance, jobs in the iron and steel industry fell to 653,000 in 1982 from 952,000 in 1957; in auto to 716,000 in 1982 from 1,080,000 in 1978; and similar declines in chemicals and others. More than 3,700 plants, each employing more than 100 workers on December 31, 1969, had shut down six years later with the loss of 15 million jobs.

Actually, the venue of the party's national convention exemplifies the impact of the interaction of the three crises, and particularly that of the structural crisis. The state of Ohio is a case in point of the growing de-industrialization of America, the decline and disappearance of so-called "smokestack" or basic industries.

Until a short time ago Ohio ranked as third after New York and California in manufacturing output, while its coal and coke production and oil refineries established it as a leading center of the mid-west heart of U.S. industry. The Rockefellers founded their petroleum empire there, and Thomas Edison launched his career as scientist and inventor in the state.

From the outset an arena of the fiercest class struggles, its working class has inherited illustrious traditions of progressive struggle. The movement for women's liberation and the Abolitionist movement began in Ohio, where a section of the Underground Railway transported slaves from bondage to freedom. It gave the Union its two foremost generals in the war against the slaveowners' counter-revolution: Ulysses Grant and William T. Sherman. The American Federation of Labor was founded there, as was the United Mine Workers of America. Charles Ruthenburg, the first General Secretary of the Communist Party, was born in Ohio, and Gus Hall, the present General Secretary of the CPUSA, was a steel organizer and Communist Party leader during the founding days of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in Ohio.

Cleveland is the largest city in the state and the biggest city on Lake Erie. It is a major ore and shipping port with more corporate headquarters than any U.S. city its size, and within 600 miles of its center there are 55 per cent of the U.S. population, 64 per cent of U.S. manufacturing plants, and 74 per cent of the headquarters of the top 1,000 industrial corporations. It was called "an industrial powerhouse," a leading iron and steel center, a major producer of metal products, machine tools, chemicals, oil refining and electrical goods.

Today, however, the picture is different. The corporate rulers of Ohio and Cleveland have attempted to make the workers bear the full brunt of the triple-layered crisis. They have launched a full-scale assault on the workers' wages and working conditions. Typical of conditions throughout the country, employers in Ohio have demanded concessions from the workers, threatening to close their plants or transfer their operations abroad, or contract out the bulk of their operations to other firms unless their demands on the workers are met. This happened to General Motors workers in Dayton and Lordstown, to rubber workers in Akron, and to U.S. Steel workers in Youngstown and Cleveland. In 1970-1980, Ohio lost 547,000 people in search of work elsewhere; metropolitan Cleveland's population fell from 2,067,000 to 1,898,000.

How to help the workers resist and defeat the employers' "take-back, give-back" demands was a major focus of convention deliberations. In a detailed exposition of doctrines of the class struggle and the historic mission of the working class, Gus Hall urged the delegates to keep always in mind the basic premise of a class approach to all social phenomena: "We must always keep in mind: What gives the working

class as a whole a sense of oneness; what moves it toward class unity; what gives it class consciousness; what forces it to move to the head of the line of march and what propels it to consider, as a class, revolutionary action, is the class exploitation at the point of production. It is an understanding and recognition of this basic premise that must become the starting point and framework for the consideration of all questions relating to the working class and the class struggle."

CPUSA National Chairman Henry Winston further elaborated the supreme importance of a class orientation in his discussion of the essence of patriotism and the true interests of the nation. "Patriotism is equated by Reagan not with love of country, but with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism," he declared. "The ruling class claims the national 'vital interest' exists everywhere in the world, that is, everywhere except here in the United States. The truth is, however, that the working class is the defender and guarantor of the true national interest."

The convention adopted resolutions embodying programs for helping to prevent the shutdown of U.S. Steel's South Works plant in Chicago; to support the striking copper workers at Phelps-Dodge plants in Arizona; to support the striking Greyhound bus workers; to expand the organization of the unemployed; in support of legislation outlawing plant closures; for intensifying the party's concentration on helping industrial workers in shops and neighborhoods defend their standards and unions.

Equality and working class unity

In assessing the prospects for defeating the monopolies' offensive against the working people, the delegates focused on capitalism's practice of fomenting and aggravating workers' differences in age, sex, color, race and ethnic characteristics, in order to divide them and prevent their organization in unions. The main targets of this corporate strategy are the many ethnic components of the workforce, and particularly the 50 million colored racial minorities, with the nearly 30 million Afro-Americans in the first place.

"The sharpest edge of racism is that which is directed against the Afro-American community," says the basic document adopted by the convention. "The other manifestations of racial and national oppression are fed by the racism against Afro-Americans. Therefore, in the struggle against racism and national oppression and all forms of discrimination, ethnic prejudices and chauvinism, the struggle against the racism directed against Black Americans is decisive to the unity of all the

racially and nationally oppressed and their unity with the working class."

Winning unanimous approval of other insights on this question were the propositions that the struggle for equality is central in the development of class unity, that the greatest inequalities originate in the workplace, and that the working class must learn that to be able to fight for the interests of the whole class it must take on the struggle against all the inequalities faced by the different components of the class. Thus, the report delivered by Gus Hall emphasized: "The placing of the question and problems of the different components of our multiracial, multinational, male-female, young-old working class is not only a guide, but a strong argument for raising our sights in the struggle against racial and national oppression."

The convention considered the question of the coming November elections. There was agreement with the Central Committee's conclusion that all the forces of the broad all-people's anti-Reagan coalition were ready for action. "The challenge is to find the path of unity, the forms of mobilization, and the issues that will bring the people to the ballot-box on November 6th."

Recent shifts in electoral matters received close attention. A comparatively new feature is the growth of the coalitions of labor, racial and ethnic minorities, and other disaffected segments of the population. These include organizations of farmers, the unemployed, women's movements, youth and senior citizens movements, and a growing peace movement. A recent addition to the anti-Reagan forces are influential religious groups, including the Catholic bishops and the multi-million adherents of Afro-American denominations.

The delegates noted that the upcoming national elections afforded the opportunity to present the party's position to tens of millions of people. There was enthusiasm for the prospect of fielding a communist slate for the elections, including nominees for President and Vice-President, and state, county and municipal offices as well. The decision to do this, however, was left to the incoming Central Committee.

The unprecedented decision of the AFL-CIO leadership to endorse a candidate was viewed positively as a move toward independent political action, away from the grip of the two-party system.

Likewise, the decision of the Reverend Jesse Jackson to enter the primary election campaign of the Democratic Party was seen as a new dimension of political independence, forcing

all the candidates to deal with some of the real issues and influencing the party platforms.

Although the delegates understood the immensity of the tasks involved in the election campaigns, they considered that the urgent need to drive the Reaganites out of power superseded all reservations and difficulties. In the next few months grueling efforts will be required to register voters, to mobilize them for the election day, and to get them to the polls. Besides, millions of voters must be seen and asked to sign petitions to give communist candidates ballot status.

The convention's panels, workshops and

plenary sessions registered new levels of the communists' political and ideological maturity. The fraternal delegates were most impressed, it was said, by the facility and boldness with which the younger comrades, some representing detachments of the recently established Young Communist League, spoke without notes and addressed highly complex and difficult matters.

The convention re-elected Henry Winston as CPUSA National Chairman and Gus Hall as its General Secretary. It elected a Central Committee, a National Council, and a Central Review Commission.

Vindicate the people's choice with deeds

Gisele Rabesahala
General Secretary,
Madagascar Independence Congress Party
(AKFM-KDRSM)

10th CONGRESS OF THE MADAGASCAR INDEPENDENCE CONGRESS PARTY

The Madagascar Independence Congress Party held its 10th congress at the end of October 1983. The congress was of special significance to us, for the party was marking a quarter-century of its existence and its struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for economic independence and social progress, for the socialist orientation proclaimed by the national revolutionary power in 1975 and supported by the people. The main stages of this struggle were described in sufficient detail in reports submitted to the congress and in delegates' speeches. But attention focused above all on the period since the ninth congress (August 1980). It was in that period that developments abroad and particularly at home showed very clearly the need for the progressive forces to concentrate still more on defending and furthering social, economic and political changes.

Indeed, recent years in Madagascar have witnessed an increase in the negative impact of the economic crisis in industrial capitalist countries. This finds expression in worsened conditions of trade, a devaluation of the Malagasy franc, a bigger foreign debt and a shortage or even the absence of some consumer goods. Reaction exploits economic difficulties, which are due in large measure to the still

necessary ties with the word capitalist system, in an effort to discredit the road mapped out by the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution (CMSR).

We must admit that this effort is not entirely futile in the present socio-political situation. There is no denying the existence of latent discontent and concern among the masses. Hence the importance of a deep scientific analysis of the situation that is shaping up and of the weaknesses and shortcomings of the revolutionary power apparatus. This analysis, which is needed to resist the enemies of socialist choice with sound arguments, was made at the AKFM congress.

Main issue

As it cannot be presented at length in one article, we will confine ourselves to its more important points. Outwardly heterogeneous, they may be said to have a common denominator. We mean problems bearing directly on the chief political issue, that of the further development trend of our society.

The economy and politics. The experience of numerous developing countries has shown that the economy is an important instrument which imperialism and reaction use for fomenting anti-socialist sentiments among the masses. How do matters stand in our country from this point of view?

Let us take the countryside. One of the most dramatic aspects of the situation there is years-

long, chronic underproduction of rice, the Malagasies' chief food staple. Given wise utilization, the size of the cultivated and cultivable lands would make it possible to end the shortage before long. But the lack of proper security in the countryside, where stealing of cattle and banditry are widespread, prevents effective organization of the production of rice and other crops. Undernourishment forces many peasants into the cities, where they come up against the lack of work and housing and a high cost of living, and so fall readily for anti-government propaganda.

These circumstances plus rather frequent cases of inter-village hostility and a shortage of competent personnel, credits and technical facilities are a serious obstacle to the formation of peasant cooperatives and, consequently, to increasing production. Unless this state of affairs is changed there are bound to be substantial economic, political and moral losses.

The situation in the cities is equally disturbing. Job opportunities are far below demand. The scarcity of foreign exchange is keeping to a minimum imports needed for at least the normal operation of existing enterprises, to say nothing of the construction of new ones. Some enterprises are running at half capacity and management is less than satisfactory. The result is diminishing output, a deterioration of the workers' mood and the trade unions' indifference to the problem of improving production.

Due to the passivity of management, elected officials and even law-enforcement bodies, there is a growing number of profiteers who take advantage of shortcomings to enrich themselves quickly and by every imaginable means. Goods shortages have a disastrous effect on the political and social climate in urban areas. They lead to impermissible price increases, corruption, stealing and vandalism. All this greatly facilitates the activity of reactionaries, who have an understandable stake in a further aggravation of the crisis.

The situation is particularly disturbing in state enterprises, intended to operate as the main lever of economic growth in a country which has opted for socialism. Many of them are managed by people lacking an adequate ideological grounding and petty-bourgeois in outlook. Some put their personal interests first, regarding public property as merely a means of meeting them, and follow a policy differing from that defined by the revolutionary power.

Politically and economically faulty methods and mismanagement make enterprises chronically unprofitable. Yet economic executives retain unwarrantedly high incomes while losses

are made up for year after year with government subsidies, a practice adding to overall financial tension. The petty-bourgeois mentality and behavior of leading economic executives prevent the workers, who are virtually denied a role in management, from raising their political consciousness. All this has compelled the state to desist for a time from setting up new enterprises of its own, which is undoubtedly a serious if forced political step backward.

Our party considers that putting things in order, defining the role of state enterprises in precise terms, planning and carrying out organizational and other measures designed to make nationalized production effective and radically change the socio-political climate in and outside this production sphere are tasks long overdue. Unless they are accomplished the country can make no further progress, nor can the intrigues of imperialism and home reaction be really foiled.

Education and information. We are convinced that our people's socialist choice demands a corresponding education of the rising generation. The AKFM congress pointed out that the situation in the educational sphere is far from normal.

It is particularly disquieting that some people responsible for the education of youth hold political views at variance with the position of our revolutionary organizations. There are attempts to "adapt" socialism to an individualistic outlook, ignore realities and bring in false concepts. Occasionally the objectives of education defined by the CMSR are disregarded. Socialist principles are treated as being opposed to specifically Malagasy "ideas" and nationalism is fostered to the detriment of socialism and internationalism. Some go as far as to reject values which the Charter defines as assets of real socialist democracy and to extol the bourgeois democracy of the colonial period.

Furthermore, discipline is unsatisfactory, some teachers lack a sense of professional responsibility, some officials abuse their powers, and there are cases of bribery and fraud at examinations.

This situation tells necessarily on politics. It may have still more negative consequences unless the trends in question are stopped. We must defeat attempts to inculcate anti-socialist ideas in students. Our party is willing to contribute its share to a better educational system, to its transformation into an effective lever of advance to a new life.

The above is also true of information. The CMSR points out that the media, being "a most important means of educating the people, organizing the masses and disseminating

ideas," must "help achieve the fundamental goals of the revolution . . . foster a revolutionary spirit, civic responsibility and dynamism among the population, publicize and spell out the laws and directives of the revolutionary power . . . urge the people to carry out the measures approved by the authorities in the interest of the masses."

However, reality is a far cry from these guidelines. It shows that the political trend of information, which is in principle a responsibility of the Ministry of Information and Ideological Orientation, differs from the goals of the revolution and that the information services tend to demobilize the masses instead of inducing them to commit themselves more. Roughly two-thirds of radio and television broadcasts offer nothing but entertainment pure and simple, often of a very doubtful nature. As for the press, it occasionally carries frankly counter-revolutionary stuff. There is obvious discrimination as to coverage of the activity of different member parties of the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution (NFDR).

The administrative apparatus. This kind of information is one of the many indications of the activity of overt and covert enemies of socialism who hold definite positions in various echelons of the state apparatus. The situation is made worse by the tenacity of the traditional view on administration inherited from the colonial past and treating it as something paternalist in regard to the masses. This also accounts for the tenacity of corruption in various forms. Corruption also thrives on rivalries between organizations during the formation of administrative bodies, rivalries which make coordination of their work difficult.

The AKFM condemns all preconception or discrimination against administrative personnel on account of party allegiance. On all levels, the criterion to go by in selecting and placing people should be dedication to the goals of the revolution. Respect for it would help remove weaknesses and shortcomings in work and substantially improve the administrative apparatus in the interest of the peoples and the revolution.

Unity of action. Before the latest presidential elections (November 1982), reactionaries tried to provoke a contest between President Didier Ratsiraka, who at the beginning of the year announced his intention to run for a second seven-year term, and the AKFM, which they urged to put forward its own candidate. They expected to completely destroy the revolution in that way. However, our party exposed the reactionaries' demagogical ploy. We declared that since President Ratsiraka remained loyal to

the program adopted in 1975, it was the duty of all patriotic forces wishing to end the national crisis to vote for him. Our party was prompted by the imperative need to preserve and strengthen national unity at the stage of the national democratic revolution, through which Madagascar is passing.

Regrettably, this unity was shaken to a considerable extent by the electoral moves of certain NFDR member parties, especially by the MONIMA Socialist Organization nominating its own presidential candidate and advancing a program that had little in common with the objectives of the CMSR, to put it mildly.

The resultant problem is not, of course, that the MONIMA candidate was backed by a substantial number of votes, which is easy to explain in view of current economic difficulties. The actual problem is, what should the NFDR be like? The fact that not all Front parties supported Ratsiraka amounted to a change in the character of the Front and posed the following questions: Which of the Front organizations are still ready to work in accordance with the goals set in 1975? What methods should be used in leading the nation and the state?

The AKFM congress answered both questions in no uncertain terms. What is needed among other things is the following:

- drawing up a clear-cut joint Front program for the next five years;
- extending Front activities to *fokontany*s;¹
- keeping strict self-discipline in cooperating at all Front levels; expelling from the Front any party engaged in activity incompatible with the Front's goals.

Negative phenomena of this nature also occurred during the 1983 local and general elections. The AKFM congress called on the Front parties to desist from mutual attacks and stressed that the rather frequent attacks on our party were, in effect, directed against socialist ideas and helped the imperialists plot against Madagascar more easily.

The party is growing

The 10th AKFM congress coincided with the party's 25th anniversary, as we noted at the beginning. Without going into historical detail,² it is fair to say that the activity and struggle of our party, Madagascar's oldest, has always been in deeping with the exigencies of peace, national independence and national unity and the aspiration of the masses for economic, social and political progress. It is only logical that the party's influence goes on growing.

Ill-wishers claim with reference to the results of diverse elections (meaning Antananarivo only) that the AKFM is "declining." We wish to

cite some figures in reply. First, the results of local elections (throughout Madagascar), in which all NFDR parties joined, each with its own list. This indicator is reliable because the vote was universal and direct. The number of those elected on the AKFM list increased from 5,344 in 1977 to 8,630 in 1983. Of these, 7,027 members of our party were elected to *fokontany* executive committees and 1,259 to *firaisam* people's councils; 150 won election in *fivondronas* and 14 in *faritanys*. AKFM members are chairmen of Executive Committees in 692 *fokontanys* and of people's councils in 33 *firaisams* and *fivondrons*. The party holds nine seats in the People's National Assembly.

As regards the development of the party itself, the period after the ninth congress (three years) saw the number of party sections go up from 1,600 to 2,093. Speaking of the entire period of existence of the party, from 10 to 20 new sections were formed annually between 1958 and 1973; from 1972, when the Tsiranana regime was overthrown and the AKFM gained greater freedom of action, to 1976, the number of newly formed sections averaged 30 a year; since 1976, when the AKFM entered the government,³ from 150 to 200 new sections have been set up annually.

These figures speak for themselves. Our party's numerical strength and influence are increasing. This also applies to the trade union, women's, youth and Young Pioneers' organizations associated with it. The party has a durable social composition: peasants make up from 65 to 70 per cent of its membership; workers 8; handicraftsmen and small and medium traders, 15; and intellectuals, 6 or 7 per cent. Women likewise account for 6 or 7 per cent of the membership.

The foregoing is not to say, of course, that there are no problems or difficulties. One of these arises from the special importance of the ideological struggle today. Imperialism and its lackeys in our country, who are motivated by hatred for socialism and communism, have made the AKFM the primary target of their attacks. As for the progressive forces of the country, including our party, they do not yet resist subversion and slander vigorously enough. It follows that we must steadily improve the work of the party and strengthen it organizationally and politically if the revolution is to be carried forward more actively. A factor in this will be the new rules adopted by the 10th congress and due to become effective this year, as well as the projected formation of party committees in all *fivondronas* where there is more than one section.

To step up the activity of the AKFM, we must

also solve some other problems. For instance, the rapid numerical growth of the party and the inadequate political grounding of the majority of new members have produced some contradictions between "old" and new members. There are indications of insufficient appreciation of the role and place of our youth association in respect of the party and a general underestimation of the role of women and youth in the revolution and national life.

This situation made it absolutely necessary what had been planned long before but put off for various reasons, namely, the establishment of a party school to improve the political, ideological and overall education of the party cadre at all levels. The 10th congress adopted a relevant decision. *Fivondrona* (regional) party committees will hold seminars to the same end. The political education of party members elected to local government bodies must be given special attention.

The congress instructed the Political Bureau to hasten publication of a party weekly in addition to the newspaper *Imongo Vaovao* and discuss preparations for other publications, in particular a book on party history.

The congress stressed the need to strengthen the party's positions in Antananarivo. Opponents of the AKFM are doing all in their power to undermine its influence in the capital and have scored some gains of late. To remedy the situation, it was decided to form party sections in every urban *fokontany* (neighborhood).

In line with the principles of proletarian internationalism

Our party has always taken account of the impact of external factors on social developments. It is natural, therefore, that the congress made a point of analyzing international problems of both a global and a regional nature.

The congress pointed out that, more than ever before, the aggressive hegemonist policy of world imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, has confronted humanity with a choice between peace and war, life and self-annihilation in a nuclear holocaust. A real threat of nuclear catastrophe comes from the arms race being whipped up by the more reactionary U.S. imperialist forces. The Reagan administration, which has announced a "crusade" against socialism aimed at "destroying" it, refuses to reckon with humanity's desire for lasting peace, with the realistic, constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries intended to check the build-up of military arsenals, bring about disarmament and strengthen international security as a result. The deployment of new U.S. nuclear medium-

range missiles in several West European countries now under way is one of the latest manifestations of the aggressiveness of the United States and the NATO bloc as a whole.

Washington is talking all the time about the possibility of a "local," territorially "limited" nuclear war. Yet peace is indivisible today and we Malagasies, like peoples in other Asian, African and Latin American countries, cannot but feel increasingly concerned. Indeed, how can we feel safe, well knowing about the existence of the U.S. rapid deployment force, which may land some day in Madagascar as well? How can we feel safe at a time when the Indian Ocean, which washes our shores, bristles with U.S. warships and there is a powerful U.S. naval and air base in its center, at Diego Garcia, set up by no means for defense purposes? We are understandably outraged by the sustained attacks of the U.S.-backed South African racist regime on Angola and Mozambique, by U.S.-backed Israel's crimes against the people of Palestine, by the imperialist powers' support for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, the U.S. stooges' acts of aggression against Nicaragua and the shameless occupation of Grenada. We never forget the imperialist policy of undermining in developing countries whatever is out of keeping with the "ideals" of the so-called free world.⁴

It is increasingly evident that the old structures of international economic relations make this kind of policy easier to pursue. They enable imperialism to put greater pressure on developing countries, primarily those that have declared socialism their goal, in order to make them abandon their chosen path.

Unfailing vigilance in view of the intrigues of imperialism and its agents is also needed because the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign, which has lately assumed unprecedented proportions, regrettably finds a measure of response in developing countries. Some Madagascan newspapers, even among those published by the official information service, take the liberty of reproducing anti-Soviet falsehoods of imperialist propaganda. Thereby, consciously or unconsciously, they become accomplices in ideological subversion, in attempts to drive a wedge between the national liberation forces and their natural allies in the anti-imperialist struggle, the socialist countries. Noting that this state of affairs is impermissible, the AKFM congress stressed at the same time that the party must take account of this in working to consolidate national independence and in fighting for peace and socialism.

We consider the policy of non-alignment

which Madagascar has been following to be as valid as ever. But we are convinced that non-alignment does not imply neutrality toward imperialism, hegemonism or racism. We can tell our enemies from our friends and allies, with whom our party has always maintained its relations on the principles of proletarian internationalism evolved by the founders of Marxism.

Hence our invariable solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are carrying on an anti-imperialist liberation struggle, our effort to contribute to the extension of the non-aligned movement. Hence also our insistence on making the Indian Ocean a demilitarized, nuclear-free zone and seeking general disarmament at an early date, and our firm support for the universally recognized principles of territorial integrity, national unity and non-interference.

While supporting to the best of its ability all who are championing a just cause, the AKFM notes with satisfaction and gratitude that its own struggle, the struggle of the Malgasy people against imperialism, for peace, greater national independence and socialism, evokes widespread international solidarity. This was exemplified by the presence at our congress of delegations from the fraternal parties and liberation movements of many countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America and by the messages of greetings which they delivered. This solidarity is invaluable to us.

The deliberations of the 10th AKFM congress were marked by keen awareness of the gravity of the present domestic situation, the most diverse difficulties, which have increased of late due in particular to a worsening international political and economic situation and imperialist pressure on developing countries, and as a result of the intrigues of home reaction and certain shortcomings in the activity of the revolutionary forces. But realization of this did not dishearten us, did not put us in a pessimistic mood. On the contrary, it is a source of our determination to do all we can in order to unite the healthy forces of the nation and mobilize them in resisting the enemies of socialism and fighting on for the goals of our revolution. We are certain that the people's socialist choice can and must be maintained, defended and put into practice. To vindicate it with deeds is the chief task of all who really seek a new and just society in Madagascar.

1. The *fokontany*, which is the smallest administrative division, encompasses one or several villages or urban neighborhoods. Several *fokontanys* constitute a *firaisam*, or district, then come the *fivondrona*, or department, and

the faritany, or province. In 1980 Madagascar was divided into 11,400 fokontany, 1,250 firaisams, 100 fivondronas and 6 faritanys. — Ed.

2. For general information on the rise and development of the AKFM, see WMR, No. 1, 1981. — Ed.

3. At present AKFM members head the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications and the Ministry of Culture and Revolutionary Art. — Ed.

4. The recent hearings of a military court on the abortive coup in Madagascar revealed the conspirators' plan for an attempt against President Ratsiraka and other "undesirable" persons, including leaders of our party. Characteristically, the putschists were in contact with the clandestine New Organization for a Free Africa whose aim is to destabilize progressive regimes or rather to eliminate them.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

WHEN THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IS ON THE RISE

Bill Andersen

Chairman, Socialist Unity Party
(New Zealand)

Q. New Zealand is often called an insular country at the edge of the world. How does its geographical location affect the peace movement in it? What are the features and specifics characterizing that movement?

The peace movement in New Zealand, which has lately been characterized by a visible growth, is chiefly a response to the increased military activities of the USA in the Pacific. Now that public attention the world over is understandably focused above all on Europe, the Middle East, and Central America, the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism in other regions are occasionally underestimated. In the meantime, the USA is making wide use of the South Pacific as well for military purposes, seeing Australia and the Philippines as key links of the giant chain of bases and strong-points it is creating in the region extending from Japan across Diego Garcia to the Middle East and Africa. U.S. warships are constantly cruising in the Pacific. Lastly, the imperialist states have been and still are testing nuclear weapons in Pacific islands and atolls, such as Mururoa.¹

That is why the main current of the peace movement in New Zealand has been around the need for a South Pacific nuclear-free zone and the question of the visits of American nuclear warships.

Altogether we have over 30 anti-war groups and coalitions. These include the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, some church organizations, groups set up in factories and neighborhoods. The forms of their activities are diverse. Peace marches have become very widespread. In Auckland, for instance, there was a recent peace march by 15,000 people.² Some big demonstrations have been held by the women's movement. Peace fighters often have recourse

to direct actions of protest against the use of our ports by U.S. warships.

The anti-nuclear movement has achieved some concrete results. For instance, the city councils of the largest cities — Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch — have declared these cities nuclear-free.

Q. What actions is your party taking in the process of the radicalization of the peace movement?

While mobilizing the population for militant actions, the party does much to refute the so-called "superpowers theory," which has become quite widespread in the anti-nuclear movement, especially among the middle classes, church people and academics. That "theory" is that the USA and the USSR are equally responsible for the arms race and the present aggravation of tension in the world. We have been perseveringly and patiently fighting this delusion, refuting it with concrete examples and facts. After all, it is American and not Soviet nuclear warships that come to our country. And it is by no means the Soviet Union that is testing nuclear weapons in the South Pacific. People are gradually coming round to see the realities of the epoch. More and more people in the peace movement are identifying the USA's aggressive preparations as the cause of the growing threat of war, a threat that is being felt also in our region.

The party seeks to use every possibility to acquaint New Zealanders with its stand and foster anti-war feeling. We do not confine ourselves to circulating our newspaper. We make every effort to get time on radio and television. In two cases our comrades have used the opportunity to take part in interviews that were televised nation-wide. We were able to state our proposals and demands and also our view about Soviet foreign policy.

Q. New Zealand is known to have a strong trade union movement. Would you say a few words about its contribution to the struggle for peace?

This contribution is very large, indeed. The New Zealand Federation of Labor, which is the main union center, pursues a consistent and

effective policy aimed at promoting the peace movement in and outside our country. It is constantly involved in preparing and convening anti-war trade union conferences on the scale of the entire South Pacific region. Their history goes back to 1968 when a conference in protest against nuclear weapons was held in Sydney. The most recent conference of this kind was held in 1982 in New Caledonia.

These conferences are also attended as a rule by representatives of the Pacific islands peoples. They justifiably regard actions against U.S. military activity as a key component of the struggle to consolidate national independence. Nations like Fiji and Vanuatu have already refused permission to U.S. nuclear warships to enter their ports. The Vanuatu constitution forbids nuclear weapons on the islands. We see the opposition of the island peoples to the USA's attempts to entrench itself on their territories and use them for military bases as highly significant for the consolidation of regional security.

I should like to point out that the policy pursued by the New Zealand Federation of Labor is causing growing anxiety in the USA, which is trying to use pressure chiefly through the AFL-CIO. I have read the briefings on this score by a U.S. National Security Council member. These make it clear why the AFL-CIO is so eager to expand its contacts with the Federation of Labor: while formerly not more than five or six trade union officials of New Zealand were invited to the USA, in 1983 invitations were extended to 30 officials. The U.S. State Department is also assisting in this.

The U.S. ruling circles believe that by pressuring the Federation of Labor they will weaken the stand of the Labor Party, which is the main opposition political force, especially in view of the fact that elections are to be held soon, next November.

Q. How would you assess the stand of the New Zealand Labor Party?

The Labor Party is quite progressive on peace. At its last year's conference it voted against New Zealand's membership in ANZUS.³ Labor Party branches and municipal council members often appear at peace demonstrations. The party leadership is against American nuclear warships using our ports. At the recent municipal elections all the Labor candidates urged the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific.

True, the Labor Party is still withholding its official support for the peace movement on a national scale. But possibilities for joint action do exist and they are growing.

Q. What is your evaluation of the prospects

of the peace movement and of its aims in New Zealand?

The most important thing at present is to break away from the Muldoon government's American connection, build up the peace movement jointly with the peace forces in the trade unions and the Labor Party, and help to turn the South Pacific into a nuclear-free zone. We feel that in the present situation, with a widespread mass movement against war under way in our country, the attainment of these aims would be assisted by a Labor victory at the forthcoming elections. A Labor government could mean the beginning of a consistent policy of peace by New Zealand and give muscle to the anti-war and other democratic currents. Moreover, this would be of positive significance for the cause of world peace.

1. Nuclear tests on Mururoa are conducted by France. — Ed.

2. New Zealand's total population numbers 3,200,000 — Ed.

3. Military-political alliance formed by Australia, New Zealand and the USA in 1951. — Ed.

PUBLISHED BY AVANTE

Francisco Melo

Director, Avante Publishers

Q. Could you tell us about your publishing house? What are its main objectives and the main themes covered by its publications?

Avante is owned by the Portuguese Communist Party. It is an autonomous enterprise having an internal structure of its own. Its legal status has been recognized by the state. As regards the specifics of Avante, I wish to stress that it does not see its chief objective in making profit but in spelling out various aspects of the political struggle of the Communist Party to the Portuguese reader, to the masses, and primarily to all PCP members.

The Communist Party has been engaged in publishing for decades. Many pamphlets and books marked Avante were brought out underground. The current stage of activity began after the April Revolution. The first publication to come out in conditions of legality, in May 1974, was the PCP program. Since then we have produced over 300 titles.

The main line of our activity is publication of the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, records of PCP congresses and conferences, works by PCP leaders and books on Portuguese realities. Making a special effort to spread truthful information about countries of existing socialism and their steadfast struggle for the preservation of world peace, we also publish records of con-

gresses of the fraternal parties of socialist countries, as well as works by their statesmen and party leaders.

Many of the books published by us criticize bourgeois and reformist ideology and cover the experience of the international communist movement and the struggle of peoples against imperialism and for social and national liberation. Among the series in which we publish our books are "Political Documents of PCP History", "Toward Socialism", "Agrarian Reform", "Leniniana", "Fundamentals of Scientific Communism", "Roads of the Revolution" and "Problems of the Contemporary World."

Besides books, *Avante* publishes *O Militante*, a PCP monthly on organizational problems, the journal *Problemas de Paz e do Socialismo*, *Boletim d'Informacao* and the journal *Ciencias sociais*.

Q. What kind of problems does *Avante* come up against? What would you describe as its main achievements?

The most acute problem is the growing price of paper and the costs of printing equipment and services. Unlike dailies, which the state grants a reduction of newsprint prices, book publishers enjoy no such privilege. As a result, we are compelled to bring out smaller editions and fix higher prices for our books. Two or three years ago, we published books in at least 5,000 copies and occasionally as many as 10,000 or 15,000 copies, but today no publisher ventures beyond the 3,000 limit. Besides, the deep economic crisis, which has swept the country through the fault of reactionary governments, has substantially reduced real incomes and so restricted the opportunities of selling literature still more. This has made books all but a luxury which many readers cannot afford.

Speaking of literature, I must point out that book publishing in Portugal involves commercial hazards because nobody can guarantee that this or that book will be sought after. There is no national agency to study demand. This means that publishers bring out books without being sure that the edition will pay off.

However, even in these unfavorable conditions, *Avante* produces an annual average of 40 titles. Many of them have proved to be a success and are in constant demand. They are, first and foremost, *See You Tomorrow, Comrade*, a novel by Manuel Tiago that has already come out in a fourth edition. It tells about the hard life of underground workers, of our people's fight against the fascist dictatorship. The novel has become a classic and has won recognition

abroad — it has been translated in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

Another popular title is John Reed's famous *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Its latest edition sold out last year. It is interesting to note that we owe this in no small measure to the highly successful biographical film about John Reed shown in Lisbon in 1982.* We also scored what we see as a major achievement with *Sixty Years of Struggle for the Interests of the People and Country*, a copiously illustrated and well-documented book published in 12,000 copies on the occasion of the Portuguese Communist Party jubilee.

Q. Could you tell us a few words about the sale of your publications? How do they reach your readership?

In the early years following the overthrow of the dictatorship, competition on the market of political literature was very strong. The reason is simple — in the 48 years of fascist rule and rigid censorship, people were starved of this kind of literature. This explains why in the new situation all bourgeois publishers hastened to start publication of political books, including the writings of Marx and Lenin.

The situation has become stabilized now and competition has fallen off. Even so, we sell only 20 to 25 per cent of the edition of most books through bookshops. As for the rest, we sell it by getting in direct contact with the reader. We look for additional, untraditional ways of selling our output. We tried, for example, to establish direct contacts with readers by offering them books right in residential neighborhoods or workplaces. The experiment proved successful. We believe this method will enable us to reach a reasonably large number of potential readers who for various reasons do not often visit libraries or PCP centers where our literature is on sale. *Avante* needs support for the success of this initiative. We count on help from party activists, particularly those working in large enterprises.

The annual festivals of the daily *Avante* are another important channel for the sale of our literature. They are the biggest cultural and political event in Portugal. Hundreds of thousands join in them. Many people make a point of walking into the huge Book and Record Center and buying something.²

The explicitness of the political line of our publishing house assures it a permanent and very wide readership. Nor is it only among PCP members and supporters that *Avante* enjoys

**Reds*, directed by Warren Beatty (USA). — Ed.

prestige. We owe it to the qualities of the books we publish. Any buyer of an *Avante* book can rest assured that he will find in it an in-depth analysis of the problem concerned, a compe-

tent translation and detailed historical and scientific references. All this has earned us a good reputation on both the domestic and the foreign market.



The role of spiritual culture in shaping the socialist way of life

WMR and the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) held an international symposium in Ulan Bator to discuss problems of the shaping of the socialist way of life and the role of spiritual culture in this process. It was attended by L. Dimitrov, Dr. Sc. Paedagog. (Bulgaria); Professor I. Toth, Cand. Sc. Hist. (Hungary); Ho Chi Bang, member of the *WMR* Editorial Council from the CP Vietnam; Professor L. Parade, Dr. Sc. Philos. (GDR); R. Valdez Vivo, CC member, CP Cuba; Ch. Tumendelger, head of the Ideological Department of the MPRP CC; T. Basansuren, head of the Culture Sector, MPRP CC; S. Luvsanvandan, Dr. Sc. Philol., D. Ariunbold, Cand.Sc. Philos., S. Dashdava, Cand.Sc. Philos., H. Nyambu, Cand.Sc. Philos., B. Sumya, Cand. Sc. Hist. (Mongolia); J. Waszczuk, *WMR* Editorial Board member from the Polish United Workers' Party; Professor J. Ladyka, Dr.Sc. Philos. (Poland); Professor Yuri Lukin, Dr.Sc. Philos., Professor E. Strukov, Dr.Sc. Philos. (USSR); M. Ticha, Cand.Sc. Sociol. (Czechoslovakia).

Below is a summary of what they said at the symposium.

Two aspects of a single process

The shaping of the socialist way of life and the formation of the new person, a hard working, creative, socially active and fully-fledged individual, with a progressive world view, a humanist imbued with historical optimism and a spirit of collectivism, are two aspects of one and the same process, said G. Adya, Secretary of the MPRP CC, in his opening speech at the symposium. In establishing the new way of life, socialism provides an answer to the question which has long faced human civilization: how is one to live if one is to be worthy of the lofty

mission of carrying on the torch of reason on this planet of ours?

There are profound reasons why earlier socio-economic formations were unable to provide a satisfactory solution to this problem. Every historical type of way of life is shaped on the basis of definite relations of production. Thus, capitalism, which is based on private property in the means of production, inevitably divides people into antagonistic classes, produces class and national oppression, proliferates bourgeois individualism, and savage rivalry among individuals for a place in the sun. The capitalist world develops uncontrollably, and social consciousness, which science helps to perceive the uniformities of the historical process and which guides its course, has a very small role to play. All of this will be seen in the character of the capitalist way of life.

The socialist way of life emerged and is being asserted on the basis of social property in the means of production without any exploitation of man by man, and with planned and balanced improvement of the society. This creates the prerequisites for eliminating social and national antagonisms and all types of oppression and for asserting collectivism as the paramount principle of social relations. The formation of the new system proceeds under the guidance of the communist parties, whose policy is based on Marxism-Leninism, the advanced science of the world and society.

The deep antithesis between the old and the new way of life is manifested in acute ideological struggle between the two socio-political systems. The advocates of capitalist values strive to present them as an everlasting standard and to impose and establish their way of life everywhere, through the use of a whole range of propaganda instruments, from philosophy to cheap entertainment. The social-

ist way of life has been wresting one position after another from the old way of life, but it is still in the process of formation and development and attains different stages in the various countries, depending on the stage of socialist construction. This process has its own difficulties, for the values of the new way of life exist alongside survivals of the past and negative phenomena which arise in the course of overcoming development contradictions when this is not done promptly. Propagandists of the bourgeois way of life hamper the establishment of the socialist order and seek to erode its foundations and distort it.

For that reason our communist parties are faced with a two-fold task: assertion of the new way of life in struggle against the past, and guidance of its formation and creation of favorable conditions for its steady consolidation and improvement. This task can be solved only through reliance on the fraternal parties' experience, which gave much attention to this problem at their recent congresses. They have formulated extensive programs for consolidating the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and educating the new citizen. The symposium in Ulan Bator is working in the light of these programs. It is dealing with a pressing matter, because spiritual culture, with the key components of the new way of life — political, moral and aesthetic culture, science and education — is an effective factor in shaping the advanced consciousness and giving people the right value orientation. The material foundations of the way of life also largely determine the mentality of the members of society, but on the level of mass consciousness in turn depend the character and pace of social progress. Lenin wrote: "A state is strong when the people are politically conscious. It is strong when the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything, and do everything consciously."¹

The general uniformities underlying the formation of the socialist way of life in the various countries are manifested in various concrete ways which are determined by historical and national peculiarities. That is why it is necessary to analyze the whole range of our experience, giving special attention to the phenomena which bring the fraternal countries united by their common goal still closer together.

Mutual influence of culture and way of life

On the whole, the participants in the symposium took a similar view of the content of way of life, a socio-philosophical category. L. Dimitrov proposed the following definition: way of life

may be regarded as a concentrated characterization of the people's everyday life, conditions, and specific features in which it proceeds in the sphere of labor, everyday and human relations, forms of development and satisfaction of material and spiritual requirements, both during working and leisure time. One could say that way of life is one of the most synthetic indicators of social and labor behavior, both with respect to every individual and with respect to individual social strata, and to the whole people in the non-antagonistic society with its growing homogeneity.

M. Ticha spoke of the influence exerted on the way of life by culture as a whole, and by spiritual culture in particular. Culture is the result of human labor activity in transforming both nature and the material conditions of life, and man himself and his consciousness. That is why it is possible to consider two basic forms of culture — material and spiritual — constituting a dialectical unity.

Spiritual culture, said Yuri Lukin, could be regarded as an aggregation of spiritual and aesthetic values, ideas and accomplishments of a society in the sphere of ideology, science, education and art, which is historically determined by the corresponding mode of material production, and also as the process itself, creative activity designed for the production, consolidation, supply, perception and consumption of these values. The higher the level of such activity in a society, the higher is the level of its spiritual culture and the more perfect its way of life.

By exerting an influence on the way of life, spiritual culture performs a normative function: it lays down definite norms of intercourse and behavior, and criteria of man's level of knowledge and aesthetic development. At the same time, it also transforms both the society as a whole and each individual. In assimilating the values of advanced spiritual culture, man is perfected, his notions of the world are expanded and deepened, and this enables him more effectively to influence nature and society, creative capabilities of men and women are opening up and their feelings and behavior are ennobled.

However, in capitalist society culture itself is heterogeneous and its development is contradictory. The culture of the proletariat and the culture of the bourgeoisie are antagonistic to each other. Lenin wrote that under capitalism "the elements of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in every national culture, since in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the

ideology of democracy and socialism. But every nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form, not merely of 'elements,' but of the dominant culture."²

The ruling class under capitalism uses its own culture as an instrument for subordinating the working people to its influence, and with some success here and there despite the fact that the development of bourgeois culture ever more clearly reveals disproportions and growing signs of decline and decay. *J. Ladyka* said that there are two substantial disproportions in the present stage of bourgeois culture: first, that between the level of its development and the degree of its democracy, and second, that between the growing volume of spreading culture and its quality. In other words, high cultural values tend to become ever less accessible to broad strata of the working people, upon whom a so-called mass culture is foisted.

With the modern mass media in the capitalist countries, the participation of various social strata in the consumption of culture tends to be evened out to some extent, but with the absolute prevalence of private commercial institutions, this is done at a low level of the values being offered. There is a development of so-called consumer culture, all kinds of vulgar entertainment are popularized, so that the very substance of culture is negated. The content of many bourgeois works of literature and art cuts across the natural human urge to make human relations more humane. There is a spread of various forms of irrationalism and nihilism, and a cult of wealth, egoism and violence.

The features of bourgeois culture are also manifested in the capitalist society's way of life, under which people's status is not determined by labor, although workers have to toil with the utmost intensity, but ultimately by the money-bag.

The disproportions and contradictions in the development of culture can be eliminated only under socialism, for it provides all the necessary prerequisites for doing so. There is above all the fact that, as it carries out the socialist revolution, the working class frees culture from bourgeois influence, which is expressed, in particular, in its subordination to the interests of commerce, when preference is given to that which directly benefits the businessman, instead of elevating people.

The working class and socialist society remain true to the principles of humanism. One of the goals of the proletariat's revolution is to change life, whose cultural content has been emasculated by the bourgeoisie, and to put all

the genuine spiritual values at the people's disposal.

However, *J. Ladyka* emphasized, this cannot occur of itself. The goals set by the working class in the sphere of culture are attained through the pursuit of the correct cultural policy by its party based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and meeting the vital interests of the working class and all the other working people.

Contemporary aspects of the cultural revolution

One of the key propositions of the Marxist-Leninist conception of cultural policy is that socialist culture constitutes another and higher stage in the continuity of human culture as a whole. Socialist culture absorbs all the best elements of the earlier layers and creates a new content which is created by the working people themselves.

The transition from the lower to the higher stage is effected in the form of a socialist cultural revolution, which, said *E. Strukov*, is a necessary condition for shaping the new spiritual culture and a new way of life.

The many tasks tackled at the early stages of the socialist cultural revolution are still meaningful for fraternal countries which began their rise to the new society from a low level of socio-economic development. This applies to Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam. Let us note that they have achieved considerable successes in solving the primary problems of the cultural revolution, notably in raising the people's educational standards.

Before the revolution, *R. Valdez Vivo* said, one million of Cuba's six million population was illiterate. Today, the minimum education in the country is six years, and the goal of attaining the nine-year education is a realistic one. When the revolution won out, the country had 6,000 doctors, but one-half of them followed their bourgeois patients to the United States. Cuba now has 19,000 doctors, and by the year 2000 it will have 65,000. Impelled by their noble sense of internationalism, a characteristic feature of the socialist way of life, 1,500 of them work in developing countries.

Pre-revolutionary bourgeois propaganda in Cuba claimed that the workers had all the leisure they wanted. But what did it amount to in fact? Following the cane-cutting and sugar-refining season, proletarians were left without work for 8-9 months a year and with the low level of spiritual requirements at the time this forced "leisure" led to the spread of gambling, drinking and prostitution in the working-class slum areas.

In socialist conditions leisure is filled with a new content, which accords with the high requirements of humanism. The workers have been given ample opportunities for continuing their education, taking up sport, amateur arts and crafts.

Ho Chi Bang said that in Vietnam the revolutions in the sphere of relations of production and scientific and technical development were paralleled by a cultural and ideological revolution making for fundamental changes in the working people's spiritual life, in their consciousness. The cultural and ideological revolution is an important component of the policy of socialist construction proclaimed by the fourth and fifth congresses of the Communist Party of Vietnam. In the course of it, all children in some parts of the country have been assured the possibility to obtain a secondary education, and conditions for this are being created throughout the republic. The material facilities for culture are being enlarged by the efforts of the state and population. There is massive construction of theaters, clubs, libraries and memorials. The new Vietnam's socialist culture includes the best spiritual values which our people have produced over their more than 4,000-year history.

Ho Chi Bang considered the inner connection between the building of the material and technical basis of socialism and the shaping of the new way of life, and the people's spiritual progress. Vietnam is now at the first stage of socialist construction, the material and technical basis of the new society is still weak, and there are deep differences in level of development between the South and the North. Suffice it to say that in the North the economy is much more homogeneous: it has three sectors (state, collective and individual), whereas the South still has five (in addition to these three, also the state-private and private capitalist sectors). That being so, it would be a voluntaristic mistake to claim that the cultural revolution has been completed, and that a socialist way of life has been shaped. But then it would also be an unforgivable attitude of passiveness to fail to give due attention to these processes pending the consolidation of the material and technical basis of the new society. The only correct solution — and it is being pursued by the CP Vietnam — is to work to tie in the two processes, thereby accelerating their pace. That is why alongside the transformation of the economy in the country, there is a spreading movement for a new way of life, for steadily raising the level of culture. Tens of thousands of families involved in the movement have

been awarded the title of "New Culture Family."

Bypassing the capitalist stage

Problems arising in the formation of the new way of life and the influence of spiritual culture on it in the Mongolian People's Republic were analyzed in detail at the symposium. C. Tumendelger, S. Dashdava, T. Basansuren, H. Nyambu and B. Sumya analyzed the course of the cultural revolution in the country guided by the MPRP and some of the contradictory phenomena arising in the rapid restructuring of life.

Everyone has heard of the main feature of building the new society in the country: Mongolia strode into socialism from feudalism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development. The MPRP relied on the toiling peasantry and assistance from the Soviet Union's victorious proletariat. The Republic had no working class of its own as the vehicle of the new way of life. The working class took shape in the course of major transformations which proceeded in every sphere of the Mongolian people's life.

Mongolia's spiritual culture before the revolution was shot through with Lamaist ideology, which held that aloofness from everything secular was the main purpose of life. Indeed, that was one of the causes of the Mongolian people's backwardness. The cultural revolution brought about a radical change in the orientation of the social consciousness, and the old spurious spiritual values gave way to those which roused the people to action and inspired them to remodel their life in accordance with progressive socialist ideals.

In view of the complexities of the tasks, the cultural revolution in the country has taken a long time, but one must note that its impact on the shaping of the socialist way of life has been steadily growing.

The modern Mongol has an urge for knowledge and its application, said S. Dashdava. Just now 25 per cent of the population is studying. Among the CMEA countries, Mongolia ranks third in the number of students per 10,000 of the population. The average level of education has risen to seven years, and the country is preparing to go on to universal 10-year secondary education. Together with the development of education and the general intellectualization of spiritual life, much importance is attached to the steadily growing access to cultural values, and the process in which masses of people are transformed into their active creators.³

However, we do not want to idealize the present state of the socialist way of life in Mongolia

and of the influence of spiritual culture on it, said C. Tumendelger. One could say that it is in the process of establishment. Mongolia faces a number of important problems which other socialist countries have already solved, such as making working and living conditions for various classes and social groups similar: the differentiation here is still great; there is a shortage of well-appointed housing for the population. If the role of spiritual culture in shaping the way of life is to be enhanced, the material conditions of work and everyday life need to be steadily improved.

Mongolia, once an agrarian country, is now an agrarian-industrial country, with new industrial cities and an industry developing rapidly as a result of socialist economic integration. The national working class has grown. All of this is having a positive effect on the expansion of the people's spiritual requirements. But the peculiarities of agricultural production, in which cattle-breeding is the main sector, still often involve the movement of the cattle breeders from one pastureland to another, and their long absence from the team and cooperative centers, all of which hampers their access to the values of the new culture.

The Mongolian peasant today is, of course, a different person from what he was 30 and even 20 years ago: 200,000 peasants — arats — are now members of 300 agricultural associations. Their children attend school (the average level of education in rural localities is 5.5 years, but many receive a 10-year education), agricultural science has been introduced into cattle-breeding, and living conditions are being improved. Still, studies show that only 18 per cent of the cattle-breeders believe that they need an education for their activity, the rest hold that experience and skills are the main thing. Educational work is being further hampered by the fact that the population is scattered across the country's territory. Our party is tackling the task of raising the level of culture among the rural population in two interconnected ways: improvement of forms, which help to give the people access to new spiritual values (improvement of school education at the agricultural association centers, increase in the number of mobile cultural institutions: libraries, film projectors, and theaters; and improvement in the quality of their work) and at the same time, a gradual change in the arats' working and living conditions. This is a very difficult task, but the prerequisites for its fulfillment are being created by the development of agriculture and the construction of cattle-breeding farms and agricultural settlements.

B. Sumya spoke of the emergent problem of

adapting a sizable part of the population to the new conditions. Over the past 20 years, the urban population has increased from 21 per cent to 51 per cent of the total. Although the movement from the countryside is proceeding mainly in a planned and balanced manner, with most of the migrants receiving the necessary educational and cultural training, many of them lack the habit of working in industry and find themselves at odds with the different structure of working and leisure time, urban housing, and the unusual ecological atmosphere. The problem of their adaptation can be solved through the elaboration of a system of economic, cultural, educational and juridical measures designed consistently to orient the individual toward new life values and better assimilation of the principles of socialist community living.

New problems also tend to arise from the changes in the country's social structure. There is a more rapid growth of towns and enterprises than of the cadre of specialists who are to live and work there. That is why, besides the pressing question of adapting the rural migrants, there is also a pressing question of how a society just entering upon the stage of the scientific and technological revolution is to educate its rising generation, which at the turn of the century will have at its disposal productive forces on an immensely higher level than has the present one.

The participants in the symposium believe that the answer lies in using the socialist countries' joint experience and in organizing continuous education going beyond the secondary school or college course, and, the main thing, in educating men and women capable of constant self-improvement.

That, incidentally, is a vital task not only for Mongolia, but also for the socialist community as a whole.

Bring out the creative potential of the masses to a greater extent

The main goal in developing the socialist way of life and the new spiritual culture is to perfect people so as to bring out all their creative potentialities and to help them shed all the petty and mean concerns, to help them more fully reveal their substance as the vehicle of reason on the Earth.

Our ideological adversaries have wasted much ink and paper to distort that goal, said Yuri Lukin. They have tried in vain to prove that socialism fails to create the conditions for self-development as the outlet for creative energy, and that opportunities for doing so are provided only by the "free enterprise" society

with its competition and private initiative. In actual fact, however, in the money-grubbing world, the individual is exploited for the benefit of capital, and the creative initiative of broad masses of people is suppressed. A man from the people finds it exceptionally hard to show his mettle, the working people's influence on production and social life is limited, while the ruling classes have complete freedom of action.

By contrast, the whole mass of the population under socialism is involved in creative labor, growing into the crucial factor which builds the new life; free labor becomes the whole people's endeavor resulting from the creative activity of every segment of society as the vast and natural aptitudes of the workers and peasants are emancipated.

Lenin used to say that the creative element is inseparable from the development of mass consciousness, which are two aspects of the same process of the people's revolutionary transformative activity. The formation of social consciousness and one's active attitude to life is a task which is being fulfilled continuously, because every stage in the formation of the new system makes ever greater demands on the people. At the stages of building and further improving developed socialism, when the economic strategy of the fraternal parties and states is determined by their policy of organically blending its advantages with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, the solution of the most complicated economic and social problems to a great extent depends on every working person's professional, ideological, moral and cultural standards. All these aspects of life are inter-related and influence each other, while a low level of culture is bound to have a negative effect on the individual's moral and professional make-up.

The June 1983 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) once again indicated the close inter-connection between the strategic tasks of economic development and the working people's communist education. General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov said at the plenary meeting that it is now necessary to have people educated in our country not just as repositories of a definite stock of knowledge, but above all as citizens of a socialist society and active builders of communism, with the appropriate ideological attitudes, morality and interests, and a high standard of culture in work and everyday behavior.⁴

Ideological attitudes, world view are the key component part of spiritual culture determining a person's value orientation and so also way

of life. Participants in the symposium stressed that world view is not just a definite synthesis of theoretical knowledge and practical experience; its key function is to convert this knowledge and experience into motivation for human activity. The advanced world view helps a person to comprehend correctly his requirements and interests.

The extent to which the socialist way of life is developed and established will be seen from the way in which convictions are realized in concrete acts and endeavors, said *D. Ariunbold*. Today, many Mongolian citizens display a characteristic interest in the experience of other socialist countries, notably the USSR, and want to apply it in every sphere of life. That is a visual manifestation of internationalism, which is an organic part of the Marxist-Leninist world view. Internationalism constitutes a dialectical unity with socialist patriotism, because strengthening the socialist community also means displaying concern for the well-being of one's own nation.

Marxist-Leninist ideology has an internationalist orientation which is opposed to bourgeois ideology that pits the interests of various nations against each other and fans hostility among them. It is this ideology which even today enables the imperialist powers to act on the colonialists' age-old principle of "divide and rule," so maintaining their domination over many developing countries in covert form.

The core of the new person's political culture is the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist science, *E. Strukov* stressed. Only by mastering the fundamentals of the advanced social doctrine is it possible to find one's bearings in the processes of social development, consciously to build a new life and correctly understand the diverse and frequently contradictory phenomena arising in the construction of the new society.

A complex approach to development problems

One such phenomenon was considered by *M. Ticha*, as he analyzed the experience of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia. The one-sided orientation of social efforts to increase the stock of material goods, which is a kind of pragmatism, leads people to develop a consumer attitude to life, to their environment and society. These people display a characteristic urge to take more and give less; the cult of things, whose acquisition becomes the main purpose of existence; enrichment at any price, including breaches of socialist legality and ethical norms. These people see the growing

satisfaction of requirements under socialism as satisfaction of purely material requirements, and regard culture, art and literature only as a means of entertainment. Such views help elements of bourgeois culture to penetrate into socialist society.

These phenomena are rooted in the lagging growth of consciousness behind the growth of material well-being. R. Valdez Vivo recalled what Fidel Castro said in this context: "The development of the communist society is a process in which the growth of wealth and material facilities must go hand in hand with a simultaneous growth of consciousness, because it is quite possible to increase wealth with a simultaneous decline in the level of consciousness."⁵

But it is impossible to combat the consumer attitude to life only through the "enlightenment approach," M. Ticha said. Problems in the development of culture need to be tackled in a complex manner, by creating the material conditions, which ensure progress in all its areas: the culture of labor, the culture of human intercourse, protection of the environment, etc. These are problems that need to be tackled not only by the ministries concerned, but also by society as a whole, by all the state and party bodies, social organizations, institutions and enterprises. The 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia stressed the need to create a state-wide system of aesthetic education in the country, ranging over every sphere of life and age group of the population.

Many fraternal parties take the complex approach to problems in the development of culture. L. Dimitrov said that a program for the whole people's aesthetic education has been worked out in Bulgaria. The theses of the 12th congress of the BCP require that "the organization of the system through which aesthetic values are spread and exert their influence should be improved and its effectiveness enhanced."⁶

The Soviet participants in the symposium dealt in detail with the new aspects of the complex approach to problems in shaping the socialist way of life and developing culture which were discussed at the June 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC. First of all there is the tasks of deepening the *socialist state of civilization*, which, Yuri Andropov says, includes a model social order, healthy rational diets, a high standard of services for the population, and the use of leisure time that is fully valid from the moral and aesthetic standpoint. This also implies above all the growth of the people's consciousness and their cultural standards, including the *culture of rational consumption*, which is shaped in accordance with

the law of rising requirements: with the growth of well-being, the center of gravity is switched to spiritual, cultural requirements which are complexified and ennobled, while the development of the individual is harmonized.⁶

The communists of the GDR draw special attention to the "active reciprocal effect" which the socialist way of life and spiritual culture have on economic reality.⁸ One of the main purposes of culture, as we see it in our country, L. Parade said in this context, is to help spread the conscientious and honest attitude to socially useful work.

Indeed, under the socialist way of life, it is only a person's labor contribution to the common endeavor that determines his material and social condition in the society. This is epitomized in the formula: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work. But, participants in the symposium said, this principle is not yet being adequately translated into life. Up to now we have given attention chiefly to the latter half of the formula: "to each according to his work," but have not yet done enough to realize the requirement of "from each according to his abilities," said E. Strukov and Yuri Lukin, with an eye to the practice of socialist construction in the USSR. A high standard of spiritual culture is an effective means for bringing out a person's creative capabilities.

J. Ladyka pointed in this context to the two-fold character of the interest which the socialist society has in the use of culture. First, there is its interest in culture as a means which helps to attain this or that social goal. That, he said, is the instrumental use of culture. But, second, the new society also has an interest in the autonomous value of culture as such, that is, without having any utilitarian considerations, because it serves to enrich people's intellectual, aesthetic and moral experience. The Polish scientist said that a critical analysis of the development of present-day bourgeois culture shows that within it the spheres which most fully reflect its autonomous substance tend gradually to be pushed into the background, whereas under socialism they are being steadily brought to the fore, because the system has a stake in deepening genuine spiritual human values.

Way of life: general and particular

Consequently, the general tendency indicates (despite the contradictory phenomena considered above) a rising role for spiritual culture in shaping the socialist way of life. But one can hardly be content with such a statement. Effective guidance of this process depends on how

deeply its differentiation, depending on national or social environment or age group, has been studied.

There was a lively exchange of views at the symposium precisely on the problem of differentiation of way of life (and consequently of the role of spiritual culture in shaping it). E. Strukov said that there is evidence of a trend toward the establishment of an undifferentiated way of life among the various social strata which has an exceptionally rich content, with highly developed capabilities and requirements among men and women.

In Hungary, however, I. Toth said, it is still too early to speak of one way of life. There are so many variants of it that it is hard to designate one way of life as being entirely socialist and another as being entirely bourgeois, or petty-bourgeois. Ways of life need to be classified through concrete analysis of socio-economic development.

How a single way of life characteristic of the socio-economic formation as a whole is differentiated in the various social strata, how the trend toward a drawing closer of the ways of life of these strata is manifested, and what kind of distinctions between them are or will be preserved, that question has evidently not yet been adequately analyzed by our science. Nor was anything like an adequate answer to it provided at the symposium.

However, the scientists who held somewhat differing views on this problem had some common standpoints. I. Toth stressed that the way of life in Hungarian society as a whole tends ever more vividly to display the features which make it akin to the other socialist states: in the spiritual sphere, the materialist consciousness is pushing out the religious consciousness, internationalism is gaining the upper hand over nationalism. All of these are features of the common socialist way of life.

In a sense, the socialist way of life is a normative category, that is, a code of the values (which are, of course, in a process of dynamic change and perfection) toward which the development of the socio-economic formation as a whole is oriented. These values are ever more fully embodied in the ways of life of classes, social groups and individuals. There is a tendency for these to draw closer to each other. But distinctions do remain, if only in the level of development and potentialities for satisfying spiritual requirements among the various strata of society. And if we want to take not only a bird's eye view of way of life, I. Toth said, we must establish the existence of these differences in order to promote their disappearance.

For his part, E. Strukov is convinced that there is a need to proceed from the existence not of imaginary individuals but of actually existing people and their actual mode of activity which proceeds in definite conditions.

Consequently, the common features of the socialist way of life are realized in the various conditions of the different countries with varying degrees of fullness, to a lesser or greater degree existing side by side with survivals of the past and having professional and regional peculiarities. These peculiarities will hardly ever be obliterated altogether. Social homogenization, the Hungarian scientist suggested, will not result in a disappearance of distinctions in individual ways of life. He cited examples from the way of life of various categories of workers, those working at plants but living in the countryside (about one million in Hungary), living in one town and working in another (the so-called commuters), first-generation workers coming from peasant families, and finally proletarians, whose fathers and grandfathers before them were also workers.

The commuters and first-generation workers have lower cultural requirements and a lesser urge for education than do the hereditary proletarians. In the recent period, agricultural workers tend to develop the old peasant attitude to work: from dawn to dusk. This would appear to be all right, but what is one to do with the development of collective thinking and the craving for culture? The hereditary proletarians should apparently be taken as the reference point. Their living standards are fairly high, they remain industrious and rational in everyday life, they have respect for knowledge and an urge to raise their skill standards, steadiness in social relations, a sense of social certitude, and consciousness of being the masters of life.

In the light of studies conducted in the GDR, L. Parade took a different approach to the problem of differentiation, analyzing the changes in way of life depending on the peculiarities of territory, residential localities. He proposed a classification of spheres of cultural life: professional training, aesthetic education, entertainment, hobbies and amateur activity, and the shaping of the individual's historical consciousness. This classification may be controversial, but it helps to make a deeper analysis of culture. L. Parade has made a study to find out in which populated localities the various cultural opportunities are most fully realized, where the rural localities should be oriented toward the standards of the big city, and where they should not, and what peculiarities of rural culture should be preserved and

developed. On the whole, he said, attention to local peculiarities and the exclusion of any standard in the development of culture has a beneficial effect on the formation of the socialist way of life.

In guiding the processes in the shaping of way of life, there is a need both to understand the general uniformities and to study differentiated variants of its development. After all, one can learn to model these processes only by understanding the general laws and concrete forms of their manifestation, a point now reached by scientists in the socialist countries. The creation of such models in the future, and the prognostication of possible variants in the development of way of life and culture by means of computers will help to anticipate the emergence of contradictions, so preventing their appearance or suggesting ways of resolving them.

Cultivation of emotions

Aesthetic culture, literature and art have a special place in one's spiritual world above all because they are addressed not only to one's mind but also to one's heart. In art, Yuri Lukin emphasized, the reflection and generalization of the essential aspects of the reality and human notions are inseparable from expressions of the emotional attitude to what is being depicted, from its aesthetic evaluation (in the categories of the beautiful and the ugly, the lofty and the base, the tragic and the comic) and also from the embodiment of a definite socio-aesthetic ideal. Art is relatively independent and has the capacity of exerting a figurative influence on reality. At the same time it is a component part of society's social structure. All of this makes aesthetic culture a most important factor in shaping the individual's world view and moral convictions and satisfying his spiritual and aesthetic requirements. That is why the communist parties guiding the formation of the new way of life want to have active help from literature and the arts.

Socialist aesthetic culture, while inheriting the best democratic elements of the past, has also worked out its own aesthetics, its own view of the world and its own ideals. This aesthetics is based on Lenin's conception of mass creativity as the crucial factor in building the new life. The main content of the art of socialist realism is the depiction in depth of the creative labor effort of the masses, in the process of which every individual's capabilities and aptitudes are brought out. That is what makes the new art attractive to the working people, and that is also what alienates those whose world view is based on bourgeois indi-

vidualism and an urge to have success at any price.

Yuri Lukin analyzed the features of Soviet literature which are especially important for communist education. Among the gains of aesthetic culture in the socialist epoch are the following: concern for the working man and woman; depiction of the working person's sense of being master of social property, and responsibility for multiplying and preserving the whole people's property; attention to the new developments in life which need to be quickly discovered and their communist content brought out; ability to show vividly and convincingly the attractive power of collectivist principles and also the difficulties in asserting them.

Literature and the arts shun the schematic and conflict-free depiction of life (although in some periods these shortcomings were most extensively in evidence). In the light of the communist ideals, art opposes everything that contradicts the norms of socialist morality: bureaucratic practices and "communist arrogance," careerism, regionalism, parasitism and other anti-social phenomena.

At the same time, it was pointed out at the June 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC, "it is important that the understanding of the true value of Soviet society's historical achievements should not be obscured in people's consciousness, and that the proud sense of being a citizen of the new world should not be eroded, as Vladimir Mayakovsky put it, in the most terrible of amortizations, the amortization of heart and soul. The great attractive power of communist ideals should be more actively put in the service of our educational goals."⁹

Continuing the analysis of the specific features of socialist aesthetic culture, S. Luvsanvandan stressed the importance of relations between nations for its development. The creative interaction of national cultures under socialism, he said, is not a mechanical process of repetition or copying, it is not a transplantation of one culture into another, as critics of the new system claim. Interaction with another fraternal nation's culture gives an impetus for further developing national art and literature and is an element of its enrichment. That is precisely what Soviet art has become for us. It, and the Russian language, have put us in communion with world culture, and have brought the works of Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Goethe, Pushkin and Tolstoy into Mongolian homes. The importance of this phenomenon in shaping people's new consciousness and, consequently, also their new way of life can hardly be exaggerated.

Aesthetics, the ethics of the future

The responsibility of literature and art to the people for working out the right orientation in life and for providing a clear aesthetic range of interests is expressed above all in the responsibility of those who create aesthetic culture: writers, artists, composers and actors. At this point, there arises the problem of their working out the right ideological stand. Even in the capitalist countries, participants in the discussion said, the idea of "free creativity" has been abandoned. Virtually no one among our adversaries now claims that art has nothing to do with ideology or politics. What is more, the concept of de-ideologization has given way to the concept of re-ideologizing art. In conducting its ideological war, imperialism strives to muster every form of spiritual production to serve its purposes. That is why it is now exceptionally important for the artist to take a definite ideological stand, to show which side he is on.

Those who create works of art, J. Ladyka stressed, have the duty to tell the truth about life, without losing sight of the perspective of socialist development. The artist's responsibility is exceptionally great because modern culture provides a field for the sharp clash of ideological values. Such clashes can also occur in a socialist country, as they have in Poland, where an anti-socialist opposition, supported by the imperialist centers, is operating in the sphere of culture. In its wild statements, it relies on the nationalistic and bourgeois traditions of the past, which are marked by irrationalism, hostility to social progress, a tendency to self-admiration and anarchy, but also by adulation of the ideals of the contemporary consumer way of life in its most vulgar forms. In these conditions, the PUWP has taken a resolute stand against converting culture into a sphere for the activity of the enemies of socialism. The party has supported all the healthy creative forces and stands for a socialist culture, a culture of the working class determined by the universal principles of scientific socialism.

L. Dimitrov spoke of the prospects for the progress of socialist culture. It is our profound conviction, he said, that the further development and assertion of the socialist way of life imply an increasing manifestation of the *aesthetic component*. From this it follows that there is a need to promote the aestheticization of life, which means its purposeful change in accordance with the aesthetic ideal of communism. In Bulgaria, there is a growing movement to bring more beauty into work, everyday life and human relations, and into the environment as a whole.

L. Dimitrov analyzed how the various

spheres of activity can be aestheticized: industrial production, where design can do a great deal; and building, in which, he suggested, architecture can be blended with painting and sculpture, applied and decorative art, music and literature. Aestheticization also implies the bringing of more beauty into socialist everyday life. This should counter the mentality of "thing-ism," considered earlier by other speakers. There is ever more meaning, he said, in Maxim Gorky's idea that aesthetics is the ethics of the future. After all, in the society of developed socialism, there will be an ever fuller manifestation of the uniformity which the BCP program defines as follows: "As the society approaches communism, the artist will be ever more fully awakened in man, both in the appreciation and creation of beauty, and he will display a growing urge to transform reality also in accordance with the laws of beauty."¹⁰

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In his closing speech J. Waszczuk said: This symposium of ours has convincingly demonstrated many of the advantages of the socialist way of life, above all the fact that the orientation of its development is determined by the perfection of the human personality, bringing out its noble qualities and expanding and raising its spiritual requirements. Many difficulties and contradictions can and do arise in the shaping of the new way of life, but there is every indication that it is the prototype of life in the future, because the socialist system is incompatible with class and national strife, oppression and exploitation of the working people. But that is precisely why the advocates of the old order, which is shot through with these defects, strive to distort the truth by declaring socialism to be the focus of the world's "evil." This false concern for the human good is designed to cover egoistical class interests. Nor is this camouflage a new one at all. The record of history shows that on numerous occasions the exploiter classes, proclaiming lofty purposes, have started aggressive wars to establish their domination, oppress the peoples and keep the world moving in a vicious circle.

Today, as imperialism is being defeated in the struggle of ideas, in the debate over the perspective for humankind's development, which is determined above all by the building of the new society, the most reactionary circles are once again prepared to start a war — even a nuclear war — in "defense of democratic values", despite the fact that such a war would annihilate human civilization and turn it into a vast graveyard. This wild adventurism is also an extreme expression of the capitalist way of

life and a spiritual culture in which the egoistical interests of the ruling class are set over and above those of humankind as a whole.

By contrast, the socialist way of life is oriented toward the attainment of harmony in human relations. It carries to the people the triumph of reason, the possibility of consciously building up its life in a balanced manner in accordance with the laws of justice and beauty, in the light of the advanced social doctrine. It opens up for the whole human community prospects for a life in peace based on the principles of humanism. That is why the communists are firmly convinced that the future belongs to this way of life.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 256.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, p. 24.
3. The following data were cited at the symposium:

Mongolia now has one library per 2,000 persons, a film-projector per 3,000 persons, and a club per 4,000 persons. There are 21 professional stage companies and ensembles. The country has a national radio and TV network. TV programs are beamed in from the USSR and Intervention via the Orbita and Ekran satellite systems. One in six persons is involved in some form of amateur art activity.

4. CPSU CC Plenary Meeting. June 14-15, 1983, Moscow, 1983, p. 18 (in Russian).
5. Fidel Castro, *Discursos en tres congresos*, La Habana, 1982, p. 99.
6. *Theses of the 12th Congress of the BCP*, Sofia, 1981, p. 79 (in Bulgarian).
7. CPSU CC Plenary Meeting. June 14-15, 1983, Moscow, 1983.
8. *Thesen des Zentralkomitees der SED zum Karl-Marx-Jahr 1983*, Berlin, 1982.
9. CPSU CC Plenary Meeting. June 14-15, 1983, Moscow, 1983, p. 43.
10. *Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party*, Sofia, 1971, p. 88 (in Bulgarian).



Course against chauvinism

In recent years there repeatedly have been bitter ethnic and religious conflicts in some Asian and African countries. Regardless of whether they date from the colonial past or are a product of socio-economic developments of recent date, ethnic conflicts and separatist trends of any kind endanger the territorial integrity and sovereignty of newly free countries and are, wherever possible, exploited by the imperialists to promote their subversive policy of destabilization. The communists and other progressive and democratic forces steadfastly expose communal* intrigues and plots. They do all in their power to curb reaction and put an end to national discord and division along religious community lines. They all see their ideal in the brotherhood of working people irrespective of nationality.

A year ago *WMR* carried records of a symposium exemplifying a principled scientific approach to the national question in the context of present-day Afro-Asian realities. The

following articles deal with some concrete situations in which ethnic conflicts and religious community discord have taken extreme, destructive forms. What is the background of the events in Sri Lanka and the Indian states of the Punjab and Assam reported by the world press over the recent period? What have the communists been doing to stem communal reaction? What solutions do they propose? These questions are answered below by Sri Lankan and Indian leading communists.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT

Pieter Keuneman
Deputy Chairman and
CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of Sri Lanka

Q. Communal discord between Sri Lanka's two main nationalities, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, has repeatedly erupted into violence since 1948, when your country won independence. That was also the case last summer, when the disturbances assumed major proportions in Colombo and elsewhere. What causes these recurrent outbreaks of national strife?

*The terms *communal* and *communalism* are generally applied to a policy reflecting the position of a specific religious or ethnic community. This policy is marked by intolerance and chauvinism toward people belonging to a different nationality or professing a different religion.

A. To begin with, I wish to stress that, despite their distinct national identities and cultures, the Sinhalese and the Sri Lanka Tamils¹ have lived and worked together in the same country for over 2,000 years. Members of both communities took part in the independence struggle. They continue to work and fight together in the trade unions, left political parties and democratic movements.

This is paramount. Conflicts and violence between them are extraneous and secondary. Some of these conflicts date from the feudal past, when, in the course of dynastic disputes over succession, rival Sinhalese princes fought one another with the help of mercenary armies recruited from India. Inter-community friction has become permanent under foreign rule and was fomented and exploited by the colonialists, especially the British, whose policy was "divide and rule."

Nevertheless, there are political and economic reasons why Sri Lanka has not yet been able to shake off the negative legacy of its past. Take, for example, the fact that Sri Lanka's population has more than doubled since independence, while its economy has remained stagnant, due above all to increased dependence on the crisis-ridden capitalist world economy. Our economic woes stem chiefly from the fact that throughout the past decades all governments have tried, with diminishing success, to develop the country on capitalist lines.

Economic stagnation, coupled with the marked population growth, has made competition harsher in areas like employment in the public sector, the distribution of state land among the landless peasantry, and access to higher, scientific, technical and professional education. It has also aggravated rivalries in trade and industry for a bigger share in financial assistance from state banks. In step with this, competition for state power prerogatives opening opportunities for state patronage has intensified.

The bourgeoisie, the "élite" of both the Sinhalese and the Tamil communities, have used this situation to further their class economic and political interests, and sometimes their own, personal ends. By appealing to nationalistic sentiment and inciting communal prejudices, they have sought to win support from the petty bourgeoisie and the broad masses in their respective ethnic communities. This line of action has divided the workers of different nationalities and to some degree diverted the attention of the masses from the real causes of their problems.

The present government of the United Na-

tional Party (UNP) has made things much worse by its wholesale acceptance of the neo-colonialist economic program that imperialist-controlled financial agencies like the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, as well as Western commercial banks, insist upon as a precondition for loans and credits. In the six years of President Junius Jayawardene's term in office there have been four major outbreaks of communal violence. Each outbreak brought ever greater loss of life and vandalism. Last summer's violence was the worst in the history of independent Sri Lanka.

Q. How spontaneous, if at all, are these communal outbreaks?

A. There may be some degree of spontaneity. But what was striking in the dramatic events of July and August 1983 was that they were well-organized and politically motivated. This has been the case more than once. As far back as 1981, President Jayawardene himself admitted that leading members of his party had a big hand in communal violence.

Anti-Tamil violence virtually enjoyed the patronage and support of an influential group of cabinet ministers and MPs representing the most reactionary and chauvinist circles of the Sinhalese capitalist class. This group is both anti-left and anti-Tamil and has strong connections with the press, armed forces and police. Moreover, it controls special storm-trooper goon squads for the suppression of strikes and other democratic actions. These goons have killed workers on picket lines and beaten up distinguished academic and cultural personalities who disagreed with government policies. Intimidation is also practised against members of the Supreme Court committed to the defense of democratic rights. Goon squads played a leading part in the violence of the recent period, often moving from place to place in government vehicles.

State terrorism and violence against Tamils under the Jayawardene government are part and parcel of a general onslaught on the democratic rights and freedoms of the people of Sri Lanka as a whole. The present UNP regime has brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy, a fact admitted by the President himself and confirmed by the government's inability to pay the annual interest on its foreign borrowings or meet the ever increasing deficits in its budgets. Appeals by the government to the Reagan administration and its allies for more loans and grants have been met with counter-demands for even more humiliating concessions in the spheres of finance, trade, investment, and last but not least, foreign policy and involvement in

Washington's aggressive strategic plans. The regime's increasing shift from authoritarianism to more and more openly dictatorial and terroristic forms of rule, which strike down even the forms of bourgeois parliamentary democracy that Sri Lanka has had for nearly half a century, is prompted by its efforts to fulfil the preconditions insisted on from without and to prove its "stability" to hesitant foreign investors.

It is safe to say that under the present government inter-community relations have deteriorated to a point where the Tamils' basic national rights are flouted and there is a threat to their fundamental right to live and work in peace and security in any part of the country.

Q. What are the effects of the recent cases of communal violence? In what way do they differ from previous cases?

A. There is, above all, a difference in dimension. Even official statistics set the number of killed at 300, and there are indications of a much larger figure, ranging between 600 and 1,000. As many as 100,000 became homeless refugees. Numerous Tamil-owned small factories and shops were destroyed. Tens of thousands of workers lost their jobs.

In the 1950s, the violence was mainly against the Tamils, who have lived in Sri Lanka for centuries and are its citizens. Under the present government the violence has been extended to the descendants of nearly one million Tamils of Indian origin who arrived on the island much later and work on plantations in hilly, predominantly Sinhalese areas. Deprived of citizenship and franchise rights, they have lived as "stateless" persons for nearly four decades. Even so, they have never supported the demand for a separate Tamil state but have, instead, concentrated on regaining the rights which they lost under the first UNP government in 1948. Discrimination against this population group and attacks on Tamil plantation workers have been a major cause of tensions in the good-neighborly relations between Sri Lanka and India, which imperialism exploits to the utmost.

Attacks on the Tamils are now made in areas where they are a majority and have lived for centuries. This was made possible by the government's military occupation and virtual military control of these areas. The armed forces and police have been involved in anti-Tamil violence.

The main responsibility for the present situation rests undoubtedly with the government. The regime aimed not at redressing the Tamils' just grievances but at winning the support of the leaders of the Tamil community with the

view to forming a united reactionary front against the Left and democratic movement.

Q. What was the Tamil response to the violence?

A. The government's policy has only helped to fuel divisive tendencies and to boost the demand for a separate Tamil state which enjoys only limited support among the Tamils. State terrorism also provoked some sporadic, isolated retaliatory armed attacks by small groups of Tamil youth on government supporters and military patrols. Our party has pointed out that such methods are counter-productive and damaging to the unity of the masses irrespective of nationality and to their joint struggles against all forms of exploitation and oppression. True, these acts of individual terrorism, however negative, paled compared with the policy of state terrorism practised against the Tamils. The domestic situation was further compounded by the opportunism and vacillation of the bourgeois Tamil leaders.

Q. What was behind the regime's attempt to put the blame for the events on the Left? How were these events reported in the bourgeois press?

A. It said at first that a "powerful foreign nation," acting through three Left parties of Sri Lanka,² had "master-minded" these events with the view to overthrowing the government. Although the Soviet Union was not specifically named, the implication was unmistakable. In case anyone failed to get the message, the government followed this up by banning the Communist Party and detaining its General Secretary and several other members of our Political Bureau. The CPSL printing plant was closed. Pro-government newspapers went as far as to demand that diplomatic and other government-to-government relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries should be severed.

This propaganda pursued a two-fold purpose. First, to create a suitable political climate for further financial assistance from the USA. Secondly, to divert domestic and world attention from those really responsible for what happened and to find a scapegoat.

However, the anti-Soviet insinuations were so absurd that they were received with derision. This attempt to please the Reagan administration and give credibility to its propaganda about a "Soviet threat" was seen in Sri Lanka as dangerous and likely to have negative effects on the good relations between our country and the USSR, which has always been a staunch friend of our country and people. Significantly, it was not long before the government tried to back away from this clumsy prop-

aganda. In the autumn of 1983, strong public pressure forced the government to lift its ban on the CPSL and release the party's leaders, including, K.P. Silva, General Secretary of its CC.

Our people are deeply concerned about what is not an imaginary but a most real threat to the countries of the Indian Ocean by the policy of the Reagan administration, which is making every effort to militarize and nuclearize this vast region. The USA openly defies the appeal of the United Nations and the littoral states, which want the Indian Ocean to be a zone of peace. It is actively fomenting tensions and strife between neighboring nations, and seeking to encircle India with hostile countries in order to pressure it to abandon its independent policy of peace and denounce the Indian-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, which is a powerful factor for détente and peace and a barrier to U.S. imperialism's strategic plans.

Sri Lanka, which is situated in the center of the Indian Ocean, at the southern tip of India and a short distance from Diego Garcia, is given an important place in this strategy. The Reagan administration has been trying to impose its military presence on our country in return for financial assistance. What it seeks primarily is logistic facilities for its Seventh Fleet at Trincomalee and a communications center at Puttalam. It is true, however, that although the ruling quarters are more than favorable to these designs, public opposition has prevented them from accommodating Washington.

The imperialists tried to use the strained domestic situation last summer, the tensions which it generated in Indo-Sri Lankan relations and the protests it elicited in India. They painted a false picture of the state of affairs, alleging that military intervention by India was imminent and expecting that this would make Sri Lanka appeal to the USA, Britain, Pakistan, and Bangladesh for military aid. This ploy was exposed in time. However, there is growing evidence of more and more subtle attempts to exploit any internal tension to promote aggressive geopolitical plans.

Q. What is the communist program for countering the activities of chauvinist communal forces?

A. Our record in the fight against communalism, for friendship, equality and unity among the different ethnic communities of Sri Lanka, is well known in our country. The slander put out against our party during the recent events was entirely baseless. We have fought consistently against attempts to deal with the problem through military repression. Our principled approach to it was reaffirmed almost two

months before last summer's events, in a letter which our General Secretary, K.P. Silva, sent to the President of the Republic. The Central Committee of the CPSL, the letter said in part, "wishes to stress the need for fresh attempts to find satisfactory and permanent solutions to the many problems of the Tamil nationality in Sri Lanka. Failure to do so has been a major cause of internal tensions, repeated communal riots and states of emergency, and consequent disruptions of social peace, racial harmony, and the economy of the country. The country's image abroad has also been spoiled by such occurrences." And further the Central Committee pointed out that "our party has always condemned and opposed resort to individual terrorism as a means of solving political or social questions. But we are equally convinced that state terrorism is no answer to this state of affairs."

The same letter urged the early convocation of the conference of all Sri Lankan political parties, as well as the Sri Lanka Tamils' organizations, promised by the government to seek a political settlement through a democratic dialogue. Had the conference been convened as promised, much of what has happened could have been avoided. It is noteworthy that although the Left parties banned along with the CPSL have many differences on home and foreign policy, they all demand a settlement based on recognizing the Sri Lanka Tamils' right to self-determination.

Our approach to inter-community relations is based on the twin principles of (1) recognizing the territorial unity of Sri Lanka and (b) the Tamils' right to self-determination. It is our opinion that the solution lies in preserving a united Sri Lanka with regional autonomy for the Tamil areas.

As far as the "stateless" Tamil plantation workers of Indian origin are concerned, our party considers that all who wish to become citizens of Sri Lanka should be allowed to do so on a basis of equality with other citizens ruling out all discrimination. Suitable arrangements should be made with the government of India in regard to those who may wish to become Indian citizens and return to India.

However, official policy has so far blocked a just approach to the existing problems. A political settlement was prevented by a constitutional amendment outlawing the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), the main party of Sri Lanka's Tamils. Not surprisingly, the TULF was denied an invitation to the All-Parties Conference called last autumn, all negotiations with the Tamil leadership being made

conditional on their renunciation of the idea of a separate Tamil state.

The communists maintain that the Tamil problem cannot be discussed without the TULF and other recognized parties, including those that have been banned ever since last summer. It is highly important to resume the dialogue between the government and the opposition on a truly democratic basis. Only by meeting the just aspirations of the Tamil minority, restoring its national and political rights, and firmly discarding the chauvinist communal policy can the way be paved for inter-communal peace in Sri Lanka.

1. The Sinhalese make up 73 per cent of Sri Lanka's population and the Tamils of local or Indian origin, about 20 per cent. — Ed.

2. Meaning the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and the likewise banned People's Liberation Front and New Socialist Party of Sri Lanka. — Ed.

IN THE NAME OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF ORDINARY PEOPLE

Avtar Singh Malhotra

Central Executive Committee member,
Communist Party of India,
Secretary, CPI State Council of the Punjab

For more than 18 months there have been increasingly alarming reports from the Punjab: they tell of the religious discord being fomented in the state, of the assassinations and wrecking connived by extremist elements of Akali Dal, the local Sikh¹ party, and of terrorist actions also in Delhi. Presidential rule² was proclaimed in the state in the autumn of 1983 following one of the many massacres — the killing of the Hindu passengers of a bus by extremist communalists. Within a few weeks there was yet another terrorist act with a toll of human life.

What lies behind this eruption of religious communal conflicts? What is our party's policy in the face of this highly complex situation in the Punjab? What is it doing to prevent the threat of a split along communal lines? To answer these questions one needs to take a closer look at some specific landmarks of the state's history following British India's partition by the colonialists into India and Pakistan.

This northwestern frontier state was constituted 17 years ago in its present shape to include territories with a Punjabi-speaking population (however, some of these territories found themselves outside the state's boundaries). The Punjab is an agrarian state. Over 70 per cent of its population of nearly 17 million live in rural areas.

Farming (including stock-breeding) ac-

counts for about 45 per cent of the gross domestic product. Of the state's arable land 80 per cent is tilled, and the proportion of the irrigated land under cultivation is just as large. In and outside India the state is famous for its "green revolution," for the agrotechnical changes that proceeded vigorously throughout the 1960s and in the early 1970s. It was then that high-grade seeds, fertilizers, irrigation, farm machinery and, last but not least, the unique natural conditions enabled the Punjab to accomplish its definitive transition to highly intensive capitalist agriculture. Today two crops are harvested annually from 65 per cent of the cultivated area. During the "green revolution" the per hectare output of rice and wheat doubled and in some cases tripled. A state which imported grain at the time the British partitioned India, the Punjab has become the nation's breadbasket. Scientific innovations are more widely applied there than in other regions. In the period from 1975 to 1980 the number of tractors used by farmers increased from roughly 50,000 to 100,000.

Socio-economically, the Punjab differs from other states chiefly because here the development of bourgeois relations in agriculture has gone farthest. Capitalist development has been accompanied by what for India is a particularly high rate of differentiation among the bulk of the rural population. The following figures speak for themselves: in 1961 the proportion of owner-cultivators was 82.7 per cent and that of agricultural workers, 17.3 per cent; 10 years later, the respective percentages were 68 and 32, and by the early 1980s, 61.74 and 38.26.

The bourgeois agrarian reforms of the 1950s and then the changes that were put into effect during the "green revolution" drastically aggravated inequality on the land. Some surveys show that while 10 per cent of the peasants own 20 or more acres,³ over 38 per cent own less than 2 acres. The average plot of land has diminished considerably, while the big private capitalist farms employing wage labor have grown markedly.

The past few decades may be said to have seen far-reaching changes in the class composition of Punjabi society. It is the big rural bourgeoisie that has begun to call the tune. However, in parallel, the agricultural proletariat and other working people have become more active socially. An organization of Punjabi agricultural workers associated with the Communist Party has over 100,000 members, and the Communist Party (Marxist) has a similar if smaller organization. Punjabi rural workers have secured the highest earnings in the country and made some other important social

gains. Nowadays the rich farmers occasionally prefer to recruit labor outside the state. They ruthlessly exploit this labor and counterpose it to Punjabi workers in order to blunt the actions of the agricultural proletariat.

The communist-led movement of the masses has achieved a good deal since Independence. The workers are better organized, and considerable influence is enjoyed in the state by the branch of the All-India Trade Union Congress (linked with the CPI). The trade union federation of the CPI(M) and other working-class organizations are also active. Blue and white-collar workers and democratic intellectuals in the Punjab have time and again taken the initiative in major actions to demand higher pay and defend democratic rights. All these years the rural working people have been fighting against oppression by the rural rich and demanding fair prices for their produce.

At the same time, the social struggle going on throughout India (the processes in the Punjab are only part of it) bears the stamp of problems typical of the state; they are products of the contemporary and earlier history of the Punjab and involve a religious element. The strongest evidence of this is that the leadership of the Sikh community, namely, the Akali Dal, has stepped up its activities dramatically over the past two years.

The three main political forces in the Punjab are, now as in the past, the Indian National Congress (I),⁴ the communists, and Akali Dal. The first group normally wins about 45 per cent of the votes and the second (the CPI and the CPI(M) put together), about 10 per cent; some 25 per cent of the votes go to Akali Dal, a circumstance which makes it the biggest opposition party. While Congress (I) enjoys widespread support among the oppressed castes, businessmen, and other members of the Hindu community, Akali Dal is the party of well-to-do Sikh peasants, big capitalist farmers, and landowners, whose influence as we have noted, has increased greatly during the past two decades. The political ambitions of the Sikh party have grown accordingly; it now accentuates local religious communal and socio-economic demands.

The Akali Dal leadership would like to exploit even an objective factor like the numerical preponderance of the population professing Sikhism (nearly 56 per cent).

A campaign of mass disobedience, incited by extremists from Akali Dal has been going on for some years, alternately surging high and then subsiding for a time. It is generally accompanied by bloody clashes with the authorities. Akali Dal leaders are trying to win their reli-

gious and purely secular demands — both political and economic — linked to the state's problems.

There are several dozen religious and secular demands and they closely intertwine. What was claimed with particular vehemence until recently was the right to broadcast sermons (through the Sikhs' own transmitters) from Amritsar's Golden Temple, the chief Sikh shrine, and wear the kirpan (sacred Sikh dagger) on air flights. The same quarters insist on proclaiming Amritsar a holy city and the enactment of an All-India law on the functioning of Sikh gurdwaras (shrines). Demands aimed at winning a special status for the Sikh community and religion are coupled with demands such as an expansion of the Punjab territorially and the allotment to it of a bigger share of the water resources of rivers flowing through neighboring states. The Akali Dal leaders want Chandigarh, a city now serving as the capital of two states — the Punjab and Haryana — to belong to the former.

What makes the discontent fomented by some Akali Dal leaders particularly dangerous is that slogans undermining India's unity are being advanced. For instance, the communalists are advocating ideas formulated in the Anandapur Resolution of 1973. This resolution calls for granting the Sikh community the status of a separate nation and for revising the constitution to institutionalize a special status for the Sikhs and ensure their "supremacy" in the Punjab. It urges restricting the prerogatives of the central government to foreign affairs, finance, defense, and communications. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranawala, an extremist religious leader, makes statements amounting to a thinly veiled plea for a separatist state, Khalistan,⁵ in the Punjab.

Reactionary propaganda presenting the "Sikhs-a-nation" slogan is making the situation worse and this is exploited by communalists in the Hindu community, notably by parties of the extreme right adhering to this position, such as the Bharatiya Janata Party. The Hindu communalists insist on, among other things, the compulsory study of Sanskrit in the Punjab and on bilingualism putting two languages, Hindi and Punjabi, on an equal footing although the latter is the Punjabis' mother tongue. They are trying to revive the idea of Maha-Punjab (Great Punjab), incorporating the Punjabi-speaking Hindu population of some areas of neighboring states.

The talks between the central government and Akali Dal that began a year ago produced only partial results. A conciliatory commission examined the relations between the state and the center, the dispute over water resources,

and territorial issues. The Gandhi government met some religious demands. The All-India Radio station in the Punjab now allows time for broadcasting Sikh sermons; the Sikhs' religious ban on the sale of meat and tobacco in the vicinity of the Golden Temple is enforced and Sikhs are allowed to wear kirpans of a stated length on air flights. However, the campaign of Sikh disobedience engineered by "hawks" is going on unabated. The extremists are generally followed by moderate Akali Dal leaders even though the latter reject the Khalistan idea promoted by the former. Regrettably, this propaganda continues to poison the minds of the peasants and people of the middle strata, who see the assertion of Sikh supremacy as a way to improve their material and social condition.

The top leaders of the Sikh community — the big rural bourgeoisie and some fanatic religious leaders — are unquestionably playing on the Sikh peasants' mood of social protest, on the discontent of the oppressed section of the population. They usually put the blame for the people's hardships chiefly on the other community, while at the same time stressing the "exclusiveness" of their own community. They contrive to recruit supporters by fomenting chauvinism. Indeed, this is the purpose of appealing to religious sentiments. However, the Punjab does have real problems of its own. Akali Dal, primarily its extremist wing, is taking advantage of this as well.

The past year witnessed numerous acts of terrorism committed by extremists against members of the administration, police officers, and people belonging to the Hindu community seen as undesirable. Scores of people have been injured or killed in these clashes. Repression by the authorities leading to deaths has given the "hawks" further pretexts for communalist protests (picketing roads, terrorist assassinations, subversion and so on). In turn, their subversive activities gave rise to more repression, arbitrary action by the police and other brutalities, which we condemn and which are very often directed against innocent people. The result is a vicious circle of violence on both sides.

Progressive mass organizations and all CPI members are countering the preachings of the communalists and their separatist and chauvinistic ideas and aims with actions and slogans prompted by concern for the unity of India, the preservation of the nation's secular character, the brotherhood of people professing different religions, and national integration. In our work among the Sikhs and Hindus, the communist organization in the Punjab calls their attention to the fact that they speak one language, Punjabi, and have a common Punjabi

cultural heritage and common historical and economic links with the rest of India, of which the Punjab is an integral part. Those who use religious chauvinist propaganda as a cover and preach the "Sikhs-a-nation" slogan, to say nothing of the separatist slogan of Khalistan, are undermining not only the unity of the Punjabis but also the unity of the republic, spurring subversion by its enemies, primarily U.S. imperialism, with the aim of dismembering the country. Addressing believers, we underline that the Punjab has long been famed for its traditions of good-neighborly coexistence of diverse religious communities, a tradition that, incidentally, has never been really shaken although the danger of this coming about is far greater now. It will be remembered that recognized religious authorities of the Sikhs, such as Guru Nanak,⁶ have accentuated the importance of inter-communal peace, thereby expressing the innermost aspirations of the millions of followers of Sikhism. The Sikh movement has always been linked to the all-India liberation movement by the strong traditions of the anti-colonial struggle.

Such is our attitude to the destiny and future of the Punjabi nationality.

In implementing our party's general line directed courageously against the upsurge of communalism and revivalism,⁷ against actions of the extremists and the advocacy of religious intolerance, the communists of the Punjab are fulfilling their patriotic duty of defending the unity of India. They are making every effort to cut short reaction's sinister schemes for dividing the Punjabis, setting them upon one another, and fostering hostility for other Indian nationalities.

In collaboration with the CPI(M) and democratic intellectuals, the CPI has carried out several major mass actions exposing and condemning dangerous communalist plots. Last spring the CPI sponsored an impressive demonstration in Chandigarh. More than half of the participants were Sikhs. The demonstrators marched through the city, chanting "No Khalistan! Long live India!" and "He who wants Hindus and Sikhs to fight each other is an enemy of the nation." Thousands of people came out to hail the marchers and identify themselves with them.

On May Day, there was a demonstration by 10,000 members of the state's biggest trade union federations. The people of Chandigarh saw for themselves that the advanced section of our society is determined to repulse the communalists, separatists, and imperialists, defend the working people's ideals and unity, and prevent division on religious communalist lines.

"Workers, unite. Those who expect workers to come out against workers will be defeated." These and other calls came from the demonstrators.

The committees for communal amity now functioning in the state originally consisted of representatives of all the main parties (Akali Dal and the BJP were represented in the beginning). These committees have accumulated some experience of curbing resurgence of inter-communal strife. To provoke a clash, for example, a cow (sacred to Hindus) would be killed and the carcass left in front of a Hindu temple or a cigarette would be thrown into a Sikh gurdwara. The committees, wherever they exist, help to defuse the tensions. Ordinary people, even those who profess different religions, prefer to live in peace, to avoid quarrels.

Our party's Punjabi organization is urging the authorities to activate the inter-party committees for communal amity at the level of the state, districts and towns. The wide-range seven-point action plan that we recently put forward speaks of the need for such committees to be set up in localities where they are still non-existent, and formulates the basic directions of the work to be accomplished by the Punjabi communists.⁸

The communists are well aware, however, that the Punjabi problem is political and so requires solutions that are just in regard to the Punjab itself, do not prejudice the legitimate interests of the neighboring states, and at the same time serve the interests of national integration. Chandigarh, a city which has sprung up on Punjabi territory, must belong to the Punjab. This dispute could be settled if agreement were reached on helping Haryana financially and otherwise to build a capital. It is only by dialogue that territorial and some other outstanding issues can be settled.

The democratic forces undoubtedly made a breakthrough with the formation of a Sarkaria commission to examine the whole range of problems bearing on the relations between the central government and the states. It is important that the commission should be widely representative of the sides involved and that it should work in contact with all the parties represented in parliament and in state assemblies. The communists denounce confrontation, for it would have very dangerous consequences in a border state, especially as on

the other side of the border quarters hostile to India are trying to benefit by what is happening. The Punjab problem requires a political solution, and the way to such a solution lies through resumed negotiations between the central government and the Akali Dal leadership with the participation of opposition parties. The CPI Central Executive Committee urges the earliest possible convocation of such a tripartite meeting.

We emphatically condemn the terrorism by Sikh extremists and consider as impermissible a situation in which persons guilty of crimes and openly preaching the Khalistan slogan use Sikh gurdwaras as an asylum. The CPI Council is urging the religious leadership of the Sikhs and Akali Dal to call a halt to this. What is particularly alarming is that the Sikh and Hindu communalist extremists are recruiting "volunteers" for the *senas*, or armed gangs. This activity is fraught with the threat of more bloodshed and further victims.

In working together with other left democratic forces for the preservation of communal peace and brotherhood, the CPI feels confident that the working class, the agricultural proletariat, and public opinion of India can stop the communalist and separatist intrigues. This is now one of the cardinal tasks in the democratic and patriotic struggle unfolding in the Punjab and throughout India.

1. Sikhism, one of the religions professed in India, is based chiefly in the Punjab. Historically it is linked to Hinduism. It is characterized by worship of one deity and the equality of all Sikhs before that deity. — Ed.

2. The state is administered by a governor as the representative of the central government. The local legislative assembly has been temporarily suspended. — Ed.

3. One acre = 0.4047 hectare. — Ed.

4. India's ruling party headed by Indira Gandhi. — Ed.

5. This demand was made some years ago by J. Singh Chaukhan, a former minister of the Punjab now living abroad, who advocated the secession of the state. A handful of separatists receives material and other aid from the imperialists, chiefly the USA, which wants India's destabilization and fragmentation. — Ed.

6. Founder of Sikhism (1469-1539). He opposed the caste system and urged religious unity between Hindus and Mohammedans. — Ed.

7. Over the past few years there has been a reactivation of religious communal elements advocating the revival of conservative traditions. — Ed.

8. This plan provides for various actions with the participation of the CPI(M) and other left and democratic parties and mass organizations with the objective of isolating and curbing the communalist extremists, normalizing the situation in the state and repulsing the intrigues of the imperialists. — Ed.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM OF "FOREIGN NATIONALS" IN ASSAM

Promode Gogoi

Central Executive Committee member,
Communist Party of India,
Secretary, CPI Council of the State of Assam

Phani Bora

Central Executive Committee member, CPI

Situated in the extreme northeast of India, the border state of Assam has lately been attracting the attention of the press not only in India but also in the world at large. The reason for this is the wave of violence and ethnic and religious-communalist clashes that has swept across the state. The nationalistic agitation is directed by local bourgeois elements from the indigenous Assamese population, and the spokesmen and organizers of this agitation became the leaders of the All-Assam Students Union (AASU). These are the people who are calling the tune in a broader association of Assamese regionalist forces, the Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AGSP). During the local state elections a year ago there was an ethnic, religious-communalist motivated orgy of murders. The AASU and AGSP boycotted the elections, resorting to terror and paralyzing the state apparatus.

The boycott was willingly supported by extreme right-wing elements, notably the Bharatiya Janata Party and also some other bourgeois parties, like the Janata Party. For a number of years these have been assisting extremist chauvinistic elements, who are doing their utmost to compound the situation. All these forces are whipping up communalist hysteria and sowing the poisonous seeds of ethnic discord between the Assamese and the ethnic minorities inhabiting the state (Bengalis of Indian and Bangladesh origin, the Manipures, Nepalese, the many local tribes, and others).

The new aggravation of the situation has clearly played into the hands of hostile external forces. In their efforts to destabilize India, the imperialist intelligence services and Peking agents are conducting systematic subversive activities among a number of northeastern tribes and going to all lengths to provoke separatist tendencies. The same line, and not without success, is being pursued by external reaction relative to the movement of Assamese regionalist forces headed by the AASU and AGSP.

The elections of February 1983 led to the formation of a state assembly. The Indian National Congress (I) holds the lion's share of the seats (91 of the 109), with the rest distributed among some other parties and independents. However, the situation obtaining at the time

can be gauged accurately only by understanding the events that unfolded over the elections. The outcome of these events eclipsed everything seen hitherto. Even according to grossly understated official statistics, 150 people perished in the clashes between the police and the crowds boycotting the elections, and over 1,500 people died in the brutal inter-ethnic and religious-communal massacres. Hundreds of thousands of people, deprived of homes, property and kin, poured into the refugee camps. Enormous material damage was inflicted on the state. The number of burned bridges alone reached the figure of 1,500. That is how the opposition elements tried, by disorganizing traffic on the roads, to hinder the election campaign. The authorities were unable to curb the terror, to stop the sabotage and wrecking.

The most diverse groups suffered during the turmoil in early 1983. According to official figures more than half of the people in the immigrant camps are Mohammedans. These camps afforded temporary asylum to 74,000 Assamese, 51,000 Bengali Hindus, and more than 20,000 victimized people belonging to local tribes.

The campaign of violence and assassination was directed against those who were staunchly and consciously opposed to it, those who urged amity between the ethnic groups, among the working people. Many of our party comrades and supporters fell victim to the brutality of the Assamese extremists both before and during the elections.

The total number of registered voters was unprecedentedly small for a state with a population of 19 million (33 per cent as compared with 66 per cent during the 1979 elections). Less than two per cent of the Assamese went to the polls. Tea plantation workers and some tribes took no part at all in the elections. The stand was different on the part of people of linguistic and religious minorities (Bengalis, Mohammedans and Christians), who voted chiefly for the INC (I) that is traditionally predominant on the political scene in the state.

The dramatic developments revealed the roots of problems linked to the past and present of this border territory of India.

If one considers the extremely volatile problem of the rights of the state's indigenous Assamese population and its relations with the ethnic groups that settled there later, one will quite easily see that many present-day problems have a historical background. The Assamese have been fighting national discrimination ever since this land of green valleys, blue hills, and red rivers came under the rule of

foreign oppressors in the first half of the 19th century.

There, as in all other colonies, the traditional policy of "divide and rule" was the order of the day. Personnel brought by the British from neighboring Bengal was used to staff the administration, the judiciary and the educational institutions. The local Assamese language was forcibly replaced by Bengalese. Migration from Bengal was encouraged, and this gave the colonial authorities the services of educated personnel. On the other hand, local inhabitants were denied all opportunities for getting such training. In short, the Bengalese were deliberately set against the Assamese.

According to the 1931 census, 31.4 per cent of the state's inhabitants spoke Assamese and only 5 per cent fewer spoke Bengalese. By playing off migrants against the indigenous population, including the local tribes which supplied the workforce for the British-run tea plantations, the colonialists planted the seeds of future ethnic discord.

However, after independence an opposite process commenced — a drawing together and assimilation of the various ethnic communities, as was strikingly demonstrated by the 1971 census. Assamese was stated to be the mother tongue of 61 per cent of the state's population (with only 19.5 per cent declaring themselves Bengali-speakers).

True, because the Bengali minority continues to grow numerically (chiefly as a result of migration from East Pakistan), the demographic situation has been growing increasingly more complex, especially in view of the fact that in the past few decades Assam has shrunk territorially almost by half, while the population growth rate remains one of the highest in India. The population density is inordinately high: it is, in fact, half again as high as the nation-wide median. The problem of ensuring people with land, jobs and housing has become correspondingly acute.

Generally speaking, socio-economic problems have never been so pressing as in the context of the dramatic events of recent years. Capitalist development is accompanied by a sharpening of the contradictions and conflicts shaking the social organism. The imbalances implicit in this development are surfacing in economic construction (for instance, the swift progress of some regions with others remaining relatively backward). Such is the socio-economic background of some national processes, and Assam is by no means an exception. The northeast remains an underdeveloped, backward territory. More than 73 per cent of Assam's population lives below the poverty line.

The "green revolution" by-passed our state and to the Assamese peasant it suggests a fairy tale. The growing of a single crop — tea — has survived from colonial times; Assam accounts for 54 per cent of India's tea output. However, it must be noted that the responsible agency is based outside Assam, in Calcutta, West Bengal. Besides, the owners of the tea plantations also have their head offices in Calcutta. This reduces Assam's potential for receiving revenue from the sale of tea (income tax, trade dues, and so forth).

The slow industrial and agricultural growth is a hindrance to the Assamese taking a worthy place in labor and economic activity. Unemployment is growing steadily among the educated sections of the population and the rural masses. The state's natural resources are inadequately developed, and there is no follow-up to the steps that have been taken in that direction. India's first oilfields were built in Assam and these could be producing much more crude oil than today. Less than half of this crude oil is refined in Assam itself. The authorities have done nothing to reply to the demand that we and other people in the state have been making for the building of a large oil refinery near the oilfields. Oil refining could be a catalyst for the growth of other industries (say, synthetic fiber). Let us note that economic ventures of this size can only be undertaken by the public sector, for private capital is oriented on its own mercenary interests and is not at all inclined to invest in a distant border state. For the state, this is a different matter. By mobilizing resources for economic progress in our state it could play the decisive role in taking it out of backwardness and underdevelopment.

In view of the aforesaid, we would like to stress that the upheavals of recent years and the dimensions of anti-government nationalistic agitation are due to a number of reasons that have been identified time and again by the left and democratic parties, including the CPI. The principal reason is the ardent striving to defend the linguistic and cultural identity of the Assamese people, the apprehension felt by the Assamese that they may be pushed into the background in their own state. Another cause lies in the acute socio-economic problems (unemployment, the growing impoverishment of the masses), and backwardness that persists despite the existence of huge natural and other resources needed for vigorous economic development. Yet another cause is that the central government ignores these enormous potentials.

On the other hand, inter-communal peace, the processes of ethnic integration and, ulti-

mately, all-India unity are seriously threatened by the approach to Assam's problems that disregards all the others while accentuating one — the so-called problem of "foreign nationals." We are speaking of migrants, especially migrants of Bengali nationality. Openly extremist forces headed by the Assamese leaders of the opposition movement are seeking to deprive them of electoral rights and expel them from the state. At a conference back in July 1978 the All-Assam Students Union adopted a charter of demands, insisting on expelling all "foreign infiltrators" and giving 80 per cent of the jobs to the sons of the soil. Later this movement became anti-migrant generally, and the label "foreign national" was tagged to people who settled in our state not only in recent years but also much earlier.

But let us recall history, particularly relatively recent history. A very large proportion of the migrants have been assimilated, having adopted the Assamese language and culture. Our state has benefited greatly from their labor. And this is to say nothing of the fact that migrants from East Bengal and their descendants number millions. In other words, we are faced with an enormous problem that involves human destinies. To resolve it by extremist methods means to doom to suffering our own people as well, for as recent developments have demonstrated, nationalistic-chauvinistic agitation and the actions accompanying it receive an analogous response from people belonging to other communities. As a result, national discord is still further exacerbated.

The attempts to resolve this problem by negotiations between the central government and leaders of the Assamese opposition movement continued for three years. The sides even reached agreement on a number of issues, for example, recognizing that persons who had migrated to the state two or more decades ago, i.e., prior to 1961, should have the right to continue living there; this held out the promise of settling the destiny of about 700,000 migrants from Bangladesh who settled in Assam after the state of Bangladesh was formed.

The stumbling block was the issue of the future of yet another category of local inhabitants, also of Bangladesh origin, who arrived between 1961 and 1971 (roughly a million persons). The Indian government opposed their deportation, on which the AASU leaders insisted, demanding that 1961 should be taken as the cut-off year for settling the problem of "foreign nationals," deporting those who arrived after that year.

The vast majority of the state's population was shocked by the turmoil. The people were

outraged by the massacres and want the restoration of tranquility. It is indicative that under pressure from these widespread feelings the architects of the campaign of nationalistic agitation were subsequently compelled to adopt a more realistic stand on some issues. For instance, they had to agree to the opposition political parties being drawn in for consultation on how to resolve the problem of "foreign nationals." Earlier, the leaders of the Assamese regionalists held the view that the national political parties were irrelevant and should be barred from speaking on Assam's problems.

The view of the Communist Party is that the problem should be settled on the basis of the constitution, in accordance with its provisions and laws. There also are international acts that can be of real help: it would be right to accept 1971 as the cut-off year, for that was the year of the proclamation of the independent republic of Bangladesh, which under President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman signed an agreement with India setting up a barrier to illegal migration. To prevent such migration the frontier between Assam and Bangladesh must be reinforced.

The continuing tension in the state unquestionably plays into the hands of the forces spreading chauvinism, division, and communalist sentiments, and is fraught with danger for the left and democratic forces. The party denounces national-chauvinist and communalist violence, incitement and agitation, and calls for dialogue as the sole means for settling the existing difficulties. The initiative for resuming negotiations should come from the central authorities and everything should be done to avoid a stalemate. The communists have adopted a constructive stand also on the very acute problem of the future of people who settled in Assam in 1961-1971. Those who are in residence with the knowledge of the authorities and have their assistance in settling down — these should not be expelled. Nor should expulsion be applied to migrants who hold Indian citizenship. The others could, with assistance from the central government, be resettled outside the state.

We should like to emphasize that this is a major national problem whose settlement requires the participation of other states, of the entire country. In the opinion of the CPI, a way out of the situation can be found if sober account is taken of the actual substance of the problems that have arisen. A settlement is needed which would promote the country's territorial unity, national consolidation and integration, and inter-communal peace and brotherhood.

Nationalization: in whose interest?

Dimitris Sarlis

CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of Greece

With the Greek economy in a deep crisis, the problem of nationalization is particularly relevant. If lent a truly anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist content and coupled with other economic and political measures of a similar nature, it could become an important factor for ending the crisis in the interest of the masses and help pave the way for anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly people's democracy and subsequently for socialism.

Nationalization is a key issue in the sharp ideological and political struggle under way in our country, especially since the democratic forces' electoral victory in October 1981. The Greek monopolistic oligarchy and the imperialists, taking advantage of the vacillation and concessions of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) government, are doing their utmost to prevent nationalization or to restrict it to a minimum and impart to it, moreover, a character ultimately meeting their economic and political interests.

Dimensions and development of the public sector

Sharpening social problems compelled the Greek bourgeois state long ago to engage in a measure of economic activity. However, it is only during the past two decades that a public sector of the economy as the main form of interference in the sphere of production and circulation under state-monopoly capitalism has been brought into being, partly by nationalizing major capitalist companies and partly by setting up state enterprises.

In 1975, over 51 per cent of the shares of the Andreadis group became state property. This group, in which the second biggest bank of the country, the Commercial Bank of Greece, holds a central place, was composed of 17 enterprises and institutions. In the same period the Olympic Airways company of Onassis, the shipowner, was nationalized. In 1976 and 1977 the state took over urban transport and the Athens subway and somewhat later, the water supply and sewerage company. In 1982 and 1983 it nationalized some unprofitable major munitions plants and the mining industry. Their debts were transferred to state-controlled banks.

Recently the state purchased Esso-Pappas, a subsidiary of the Esso transnational company.

State enterprises have been set up over the past decade in the oil, mining, arms and other industries.

This process has been going on within the framework of the formation and development of state-monopoly capitalism. In terms of general objective laws, it certainly does not differ from a similar process in a number of other countries. Even so, its rise and evolution in Greece are due not only to domestic social, economic and political conditions but also to the influence and participation of foreign monopolies. This explains why Greek state-monopoly capitalism — an interlocking of the interests of the state, Greek monopolies and foreign-finance capital — is characterized above all by dependence. This peculiarity played a certain role in the selection of the industries that were nationalized.

Nationalization in our country has been influenced by several factors. First among them is undoubtedly the mass movement, with the communists in the vanguard. Most nationalizations took place in periods when the general political situation was favorable in one measure or another to the struggle for democratic change and the ruling class made certain concessions to stave off the danger of its regime being overthrown. This was the case in the early years after the downfall of the junta; the plutocratic oligarchy and its political spokesmen on the right carried out some democratic changes to ease the people's pressure. It was then that the most significant nationalizations took place.

To be sure, these steps came up in some cases against the narrow economic interests of this or that big capitalist or monopoly. However, the ruling class did not hesitate to encroach (each time to as small a degree as possible, of course) on the interests of some of its members to achieve general political and economic objectives. Incidentally, every nationalized enterprise began to serve the plutocratic oligarchy for the simple reason that the state is in its hands and that the economic sector owned by

the state serves the interests of this oligarchy as a whole.

Another factor — one linked with the first — was the economic calculations of foreign and Greek monopoly capital aimed at nationalizing insufficiently profitable or downright unprofitable enterprises or enterprises earmarked for creating the infrastructure needed by the monopolies. The state also took over some technically outdated industries which their owners had no interest in modernizing, preferring to give them up for a price in order to invest in other industries and make bigger profits. Lastly, there were cases (as with the oil refinery) in which the state bought up an unprofitable enterprise, then, after the changed economic situation or modernization had made it profitable, "denationalized" it and lastly, bought it for a second time because it had become unprofitable again.

As regards the terms of nationalization, they generally met the interests of the owners, who were paid full compensation, the amount occasionally exceeding the real value of the nationalized property.

It follows that all nationalizations were bourgeois in character despite the role which the mass movement played in their implementation; they were carried out on terms beneficial to the domestic and foreign monopolistic oligarchy. The nationalized enterprises passed into the hands of a state controlled by it and serve its interests, being left within the framework of state-monopoly capitalism.

This is not to say that the struggle for nationalization has in no way benefited the working people. Objectively, it is directed against private capitalist property and is a contribution to the preparation of the material prerequisites of socialism. Besides, the transfer of a number of enterprises to the public sector creates better conditions for the working class and other working people satisfying some of their immediate demands.

Speaking generally, our party looks on the problem of nationalization under state-monopoly capitalism in the same way as on the struggle for democratic reforms. This struggle must be carried on in every direction, not only because what the people can achieve today should not be put off till tomorrow, but also because the reforms in question are objectively aimed to one degree or another against monopolies and imperialism.

This struggle may help solve some problems of the people and the country and contribute to the revolutionary education of the working people, the strengthening of the positions of the revolutionary movement and the creation of

more favorable prerequisites for attaining its strategic goal. Reforms of this nature do not in themselves go beyond the monopoly system but they provide conditions for going beyond it. They are precarious in view of the domination of monopolies set on abolishing them given a definite alignment of forces. This is why our party, while fighting for democratic reforms feasible under the present system, regards it as its duty to awaken the working people to the need for fundamental, revolutionary changes and to show them the way to their realization.

Ascertaining the share of the public sector in the economy is a problem directly involved in the struggle for nationalization. Some politicians and economists deliberately exaggerate the dimensions of the sector, arguing that there is no need to nationalize anything else since the sector is too large already and the balance between it and the private sector is being upset.

To make a scientific assessment of these dimensions is not easy. This is due to the need to establish criteria by which this or that enterprise can be considered state-owned and its economic significance gauged. No doubts of this kind arise in regard to enterprises whose assets belong to the state entirely or almost entirely. But the matter is more complicated where the share of state capital is smaller.

We do not think it is right to approach the problem quantitatively alone, for this may lead to a wrong conclusion. It is essential to combine quantitative with qualitative analysis and ascertain whether the enterprise concerned is actually controlled by the state or private individuals. Obviously, it should be considered state-owned only in the former case.

As for ascertaining the dimensions of the public sector and its share of the economy, bourgeois statistics and some politicians often use unscientific criteria. What we mean is primarily the methods of calculating the share of the sector in the national product. They include in the national product both what is produced in the material production sphere and what is redistributed in non-productive sectors that are either socially useful, or parasitical. For instance, they class the salary of servicemen, policemen and others under "national income."

Some government officials, bourgeois political leaders and economists claim that the public sector produces half the national income while others set its share at 60 per cent. Recently Xenophon Zolotas, a bourgeois economist, affirmed that the share of the public sector in the GNP is close to 50 per cent. What he meant by "public sector," however, was state

finance and state expenditures.¹ Yet, speaking of state enterprises, he estimated their share in GNP at roughly 20 per cent.

A few bourgeois authors try to ascertain the dimensions of the public sector according to its contribution to the production of the national income. But even these indicators are not entirely trustworthy. They suggest that the development of the public sector is at a comparatively low level in Greece and that the sector is roughly half as large as in other EEC countries. But as the sector has expanded over the past four years, its share in the economy may be set at roughly 15 per cent. Indeed, the sector plays a decisive part in some industries. This applies to power engineering, in which the State Energy Corporation (DEI) combines the production and distribution of electricity throughout the country, and to telecommunications, controlled by the Greek Telecommunications Authority (OTE). The state controls the whole arms industry. It holds very strong positions in banking and in overland and air transport. It owns the whole sugar industry and some shipyards and controls through three banks many other enterprises, such as mineral fertilizer plants, shipyards and even hotels.

The stranglehold of monopoly

One of the problems directly concerning our subject is to establish who benefits from the operation of nationalized enterprises and enterprises set up by the state itself. There is no question that both categories of enterprises serve the class interests of the Greek monopolistic oligarchy and foreign monopolies, whose interests the public sector furthers in various ways, primarily through prices, deliveries and loans.

The main point is that the state purchases products from monopolies at a high price but sells them products at a low price. As for the working people, the opposite is true, for state enterprises often supply them with goods and services at higher prices than they supply these to monopolies. In regard to the employees of these enterprises, the state is pursuing the same policy of one-sided "austerity" in favor of the monopolies as toward all other working people.

We will give some facts to illustrate the pro-monopoly character of the public sector.

Take, for example, the price policy of DEI. Electricity consumption in households (29 per cent) provides 38 per cent of DEI's earnings while large-scale industry, which consumes as much, supplies a mere 13 per cent of the receipts. In other words, electricity costs the

working people roughly three times as much as the monopolies.

Government projects and orders for materials are a gold mine for big companies. The price of contracts and the equipment and materials purchased by DEI is generally 20 per cent higher than their real worth. It is estimated that in the 1975-1979 period DEI overspent 14.5 billion drachmas.

Much the same is the case with OTE. Scandals over its ties with monopolies gain publicity once in a while. One of them took place when, a few years ago, OTE had to purchase 225,000 telephones. The most advantageous offer came from Elektrotechnik (GDR) but after the ITT and Siemens monopolies had stepped in, part of the contract was transferred to them. As a result, OTE lost 180 million drachmas.

State banks grant monopolies credits on advantageous terms. The population's savings accumulate in these banks in a way making it possible to redistribute the national income to the detriment of the working people. While interest on deposits is 13 per cent a year, inflation ranges between 20 and 25 per cent, which means that every 100 drachmas on deposit lose about 10 drachmas annually — a direct gain for the banks. However, this gain, or at least its greater part, goes ultimately to the monopolies, which borrow at 10 or, at the most, 20 per cent annual interest.

Many of the loans are granted to big industrial enterprises "gratuitously." This takes place in two ways: either investments are financed and then part of the loan is not officially repaid, or the indebted enterprises are declared "unprofitable" because they have failed to repay the loan. In such cases the state orders a bank to grant them new loans or redeems them, committing itself to pay their debts. Yet this kind of debt is generally due not to the unprofitableness of an enterprise but to the fact that its owners use loans for a different purpose. Lavish sums for investment are granted and the debts of "unprofitable" enterprises repaid at the expense of the state budget, that is, the source of both expenditures is mainly indirect taxes paid by the working people.

Another device by which the monopolies pump funds out of the public sector is various frauds. A typical example was furnished by the AGET Iraklis cement company. The company is part of a monopoly comprising more than 30 enterprises, over 50 per cent of the monopoly's shares belonging to state banks and other institutions. In September 1983 it transpired that the company board had understated in account books the prices at which it had ex-

ported cement and overstated the cost of products purchased abroad. In this way it misappropriated over 10 billion drachmas (half of this amount belongs to the state).

It is for all the reasons listed above that state enterprises have a substantial deficit, which compels them to borrow from foreign and domestic finance capital at high interest and thus to incur new and growing losses. Characteristically, the greater part of the surplus value produced by DEI goes into paying back loans taken from foreign finance capital.

There is yet another negative circumstance — the political interference. The fact is that most key positions in the public sector are assigned to people serving monopoly directly or indirectly and that these appointments are made by the ruling parties as a favor to friends or with an eye to making political capital. It is a practice affecting the operation of state enterprises, which are run on bureaucratic lines.

Many bourgeois economists point to the poor condition of the public sector. They write about mismanagement, misused loans and other negative phenomena. Also, they suggest remedies some of which are sound in themselves. Xenophon Zolotas, the economist mentioned earlier, proposed to limit the granting of loans, debureaucratize state enterprises, stop political interference in their affairs and put financial activity and production on a healthy basis.

However, nobody admits — in fact, everybody is careful not to admit — that the present situation in the public sector is almost entirely a consequence of its subservience to monopoly interests. As the roots of the evil are not detected, and often cannot be, the proposals that are made either prove unrealizable, or lead at best to some modernization of the sector.

Bourgeois economists and politicians often assert that productivity in the public sector is low and use this argument against further nationalization. They allege that the transfer of major private enterprises to the state would lead to a general decline in the productivity of the economy and in its competitive capacity. In this case they deliberately confuse productivity with profitability, which is low, as we have noted, because the monopolies pump funds out of state enterprises. As for their productivity, it is wrong to claim that productivity is low in all of them even though in some it really is. The blame for its being low in a number of cases must again be put above all on the monopolies. First of all, by pumping funds out of state enterprises, they prevent them from updating their plant. Second, the monopolies, particularly foreign monopolies, prevent these enterprises from introducing up-to-date technology,

fearing that they may become competitive. Third, as a consequence of Greece's membership in NATO and enormous military spending, the losses suffered by the state budget and the economy as a whole due to the country's economic dependence and membership in the EEC, the state lacks funds for retooling its enterprises and setting up new industries. A fourth cause is unwise labor organization, the lack of precise criteria of employment and promotion, at least in regard to part of the personnel, and the formation of rigid, bureaucratic management structures.

Not a "third road" but real change

The PASOK government's concepts and practices are associated with the so-called "third road" to socialism. The socialist leadership sees this road in "public control," "citizens' participation," "democratic planning," "decentralization" and the formation of "agro-industrial entities." However, it completely ignores the decisive role of property forms and rejects the Marxist thesis of the need to do away with capitalist ownership of the main means of production. The PASOK leadership substitutes the social democratic concept of "public control" for this fundamental thesis.

The draft five-year plan submitted to parliament by the government says: "The issue of who owns the means of production is obsolete and misleading. The main point is who controls decision-making and in what direction the accumulation of capital is going on."²

During the parliamentary debate on an economic draft law the rapporteur, a socialist, made a similar statement, adding: "It is immaterial who owns modern monopoly enterprises. It is immaterial whether the owner is Skalistiris (head of a big mining monopoly. — D.S.). The important thing is who wields the power created by the owner."³

As PASOK expects "socialism" to be brought about without leadership on the part of the working class, it is obvious that capitalist exploitation will persist. What is really envisaged is merely an "improved" and updated capitalism.

In conformity with this "road" to socialism, PASOK has advanced the concept of "socialization" in both the public and the private sectors of the economy. This certainly has nothing to do with real socialization of the means of production, which is only possible under socialism. Real socialization implies not only the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and consumption by the working people of the wealth produced by society but real participation of the working man

in government and the management of public affairs, his socialist education, and rising educational and cultural standards.

Formerly, Greek socialists demanded the nationalization of a number of monopolies, such as the mining company; today the slogan of "socialization" that has replaced this demand has translated into the establishment of inspectors' councils in the private sector. These councils are set up in economic branches or regions and have no right to interfere in the management of enterprises. "Inspectors' councils," says the relevant decision of the 10th session of the PASOK CC, "are not an institution participating in the management or control of enterprises. They are formed in homogeneous industries possessing concrete production or geographical unity. They operate outside the enterprises in the sense that they exercise broad inspection of the strategic activity of enterprises according to industries or regions while everyday leadership is the responsibility of the management."⁴

As regards the councils' function, it consists mainly in coordinating the activity of capitalist enterprises with government plans. Speaking to an international conference of European and American economists and trade union leaders (Athens, June 1983), the Greek Prime Minister stressed that PASOK wanted to place the private sector of industry through the councils "in the service of society as a whole and to direct its efforts toward achieving the goals set by the socio-economic development program."⁵

The establishment of inspectors' councils is represented as a "socialist" measure. However, it has nothing whatever to do with socialism for the simple reason that the enterprises are left in capitalist hands and exploitation goes on as in the past. The monopolies are also left the possibility, now as in the past, to resort to fraudulent practices, for the councils have no power of control over the monopolies' everyday business activity.

Coordination of the operation of monopoly enterprises with the government's economic development program is not obligatory. The policy of an enterprise is shaped by its owner according to his interests. Where the provisions of the government program do not serve a capitalist's interest, he simply ignores the program.

The establishment of inspectors' councils will not at all make it possible to put monopoly enterprises "in the service of society as a whole," as the PASOK leadership affirms. The monopolies will go on exploiting the working people in a bid for bigger profits, and as for advertising the councils as socialist and their

powers, they merely breed reformist illusions and objectively encourage class collaboration.

PASOK's concepts are also embodied in a law proclaiming the "socialization of the public sector." What this means in reality is abolishing the right of the employees of state enterprises to strike. Under the law, the managing councils of state enterprises shall include representatives of the employees and local government bodies. What about their rights? How many working people are to be on these councils? The government position on this matter is illustrated by its rejection of the following demands of the CPG:

1. Employees' representatives on managing councils should constitute not less than one-third of the membership and have the right to veto decisions relating to the personnel's labor.

2. Delegates' meetings (control bodies) should be made up mostly of representatives of trade union and other mass organizations.

3. Set up commissions under general directorates to make decisions on labor.

4. Inform employees' representatives of all that concerns the activity of the enterprise and enable them to state their views and inform in turn the employees.

5. Employees' representatives should be elected on the understanding that they may be recalled.

The inclusion of employees' representatives in the managing councils of state enterprises was made out to be a "leap to socialism." "Our decision to proceed to the socialization of the public sector," says the decision of the 10th session of the PASOK CC, "is . . . a decisive leap toward altering production and social relations on our road to independent development in the name of socialist change." The decision points out that "the working people themselves and society itself are taking over . . . production, management, the distribution of products, the accumulation of capital and the distribution of surplus value."⁶

The words about "altering production relations" and "socialism" are worth no more than in the case of the private sector. Really, the inclusion of a few representatives of the employees in the managing councils ends neither the subservience of the public sector to foreign and domestic capital, nor monopoly exploitation.

Actually "socialization" of the public and private sectors as conceived and implemented by the PASOK leadership is merely a form of modernizing state-monopoly capital. It means putting into effect the social reformist idea which ignores the decisive role of ownership in the means of production in the sphere of distri-

bution, exchange and consumption.

The CPG declares, as its proposals suggest, for the participation of employees' representatives in decision-making. It considers, however, that their participation should constitute one of the fronts on which the workers and other working people fight for their immediate demands, the democratization of the economy and public life and the establishment of the power of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces, and subsequently for socialism. If this came about the working people's participation in the activity of the enterprises and decision-making on all important government and other public issues would acquire a real content and become the main, decisive aspect of socialist democracy.

In our country, no attempt to put the public sector on a healthy basis can yield tangible results today unless it is part of a set of measures pointing in an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist direction.

The CPG believes that this sector would begin serving the people to a degree following the establishment of the power of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly forces led by the working class and the nationalization of all foreign and domestic monopolies of national significance, and that it would do so in full measure under socialism.

At the same time, we communists consider that even now it is possible within the framework of a real change to loosen somewhat the monopolies' stranglehold on the public sector and ensure that this sector meets the working people's immediate demands.

What our party means by "real change" is the implementation of a program of immediate tasks of an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly nature. In the course of carrying out the provisions of the program, which is unthinkable without clashing with the monopolies and imperialism, it would be easier, as well as meeting the immediate demands of the masses, to bring these closer to revolutionary positions; given definite prerequisites, a transition could be effected to anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly people's democracy, which is the immediate strategic goal of our party.

This kind of change would make it possible to place the public sector on a healthy basis and transform it into the main lever of economic

development, striking bureaucratic practices a blow, democratizing the management of state enterprises, drawing the working people into it, ending lavish government subsidies and privileges to the monopolies, basing the activity of state enterprises on the principle of self-reliance and extending the public sector by both nationalizing definite companies and setting up new industries. At the same time it would be necessary to put curbs on monopoly profits, call a halt to the monopolies' arbitrary activities, put foreign trade under strict government control, take Greece out of the EEC, launch an offensive against the high cost of living and abolish the policy of one-sided "austerity," or, speaking generally, to embark on independent anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly economic development for the good of the people.

The program and extent of nationalization should be in keeping with the requirements of anti-monopoly development, the balance of forces and overall socio-economic conditions. Nationalization should begin with industries of strategic importance, such as mining, oil refining, shipbuilding or the cement industry, and with industries of importance to the population, such as fertilizer production or the pharmaceutical industry.

More and more working people support the demand for nationalizing the monopolies. One reason for this is the exposure of monopoly plunder. It is interesting to note that after the fraudulent practices of the AGET company mentioned earlier had come out, the workers demanded its complete nationalization. This is also true of other enterprises, in particular the Piraiki-Patraiki textile complex.

Influential forces in Greece are resisting the expansion of the public sector through nationalization but a struggle is unfolding for continued nationalization. There is no doubt that this struggle will become more effective as our people's general resistance to imperialism and monopoly grows.

1. See *Kathimerini*, September 4, 1983.

2. Greek Parliament. *Draft Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1983-1987*. Athens, 1983, p. 9 (in Greek).

3. *Rizospastis*, July 29, 1983.

4. *Exormisi*, August 6, 1983.

5. *Eleftheri Gnomi*, June 3, 1983.

6. *Exormisi*, August 6, 1983.

The loveliest blossom of the revolution

Sergei Tsukasov
WMR Executive Secretary

A POLITICAL REPORT

The airliner had crossed the Atlantic and now, as dawn broke, it was nearing Cuba. The enormous solar disc, illuminating a strip of land below it, was slowly emerging out of the darkness in orange-golden glory.

"Viva la patria, viva Cuba!" chanted the many Cubans aboard the plane.

The sense of motherland is sacred to everyone returning home. But if one ponders this, one will see that this sense is only part of the actuality of the Cuban revolution. This is how it was expressed by Fidel Castro at the latest congress of the Communist Party of Cuba: The motherland stands above the individual but humanity stands above the motherland.

As one comes to know the nation's life today one becomes aware that this close link between patriotism and internationalism forms the foundation of the people's revolutionary self-awareness. The dramatic chronicle of the formation of the Cuban nation contains pages giving the story of the centuries-long rule of the Spanish — in that period more than a million slaves were transported to the island from Africa; and of the long and bitter struggle for independence, in which many foreign volunteers participated with valor; and of events of the recent past — Asian workers, settlers from neighboring countries, and Europeans coming in search of happiness. History had sown the seeds of internationalist consciousness in the minds of the Cuban people. And these seeds have sprouted, but only after the nation itself, which had long been a pariah in its own country, had won freedom and the right to be the master in its own home. Small wonder that in Cuba internationalism is called the loveliest blossom of the revolution. It has given a new, more profound, and more effective content to Cuban solidarity with all who oppose imperialism, who are fighting for national and social liberation, for a happy life for working people.

The example of Cuba, as of other socialist countries, demonstrates that a revolutionary people led by the working class, which has won power and understands its mission of vanguard of social progress, a people led by the commu-

nists has a very special internationalist role to play. Columbus discovered the New World for Europeans, and America's modern history takes its count from that event; today Cuba has become the New World of a whole region, inaugurating the history of socialist international relations in the Western Hemisphere. The class adversary refuses to understand and accept this. For many imperialist politicians, notably right next door, in the USA, have been going to all lengths in their efforts to charge Cuba with "international terrorism," "threatening other countries," and "exporting revolution."

What, in political terms, does Cuba actually "export"?

Symbols of a new life

"The strength of a small country like Cuba does not lie in military or economic might. It is a moral strength." (From materials of the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba)

In the breath-taking panorama of forest-clad mountains and cultivated lowlands, with lemon, grapefruit, and banana plantations extending into the distance, one suddenly spies here and there, as though they were ships on an endless sea of green, houses of a modern architecture. Each towers over the surrounding countryside and, reminiscent of an ocean-going decked liner, is girdled by tiers of airy balconies. These are schools on the Isle of Youth, the second largest territory after the Island of Cuba proper. It was formerly called the Isle of Pines, and was known at one time as Treasure Island and used as a haven by Caribbean pirates.

"The chief treasure of our island today consists of these schools. There are now more than 60 of them, and soon there will be 85," said José Ernesto Quintero of the municipality party committee. "There was nothing here when we came as the first groups of young volunteers to transform Pines in response to a call by the party: there were neither schools nor the vast plantations around them."

Prior to the revolution this island was for a long time a place of exile: José Martí was

brought here in irons, and heroes of the storming of the Moncado barracks — Fidel Castro and his comrades — were held here in a “model” jail. The grim prison is now a revolutionary museum, and its enormous cylindrical blocks, designed to accommodate many thousands of prisoners, stand as material reminders of a different epoch. In that epoch when a person planned to make a trip to Pines, he was asked: “Have you got relatives among the prisoners?”; today, under similar circumstances, the question is quite different: “Have you got children studying on the Isle of Youth?” What a wealth of meaning lies in the single fact that visibly and in the social consciousness this land is now associated with schools instead of a prison!

“Children of the senior classes come here from all over Cuba to study and work,” Quintero explains. “But that is not the whole story: 20 of these schools are for children from developing countries — Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua, Mozambique, South Yemen and others. To date we have over 30,000 school children, and these make up more than one-third of the local population.”

The island was recently visited by a group of bourgeois correspondents, and their very first question was: “Are these military schools?” The visitors were told they could go to any one of them and see whatever they liked. They had to admit that the students were juveniles between the ages of 14 and 17; as everywhere else in secondary schools, they studied only general education subjects, including their native language and the history and geography of their country. True, the boys and girls devote three hours daily to work on plantations or in the fields: everything growing here is the fruit of this work. Finding no signs of “military training,” the correspondents who came with a clearly anti-Cuban bias, recast their reports: they launched upon rhetoric about “exploitation of child labor” or the “forcible indoctrination of school children in the ideology of revolution.”

We spoke of this at the Mengistu Haile Mariam School, which has over 600 children from different parts of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian flag flies near the building, and the national anthem is played every morning. As in the case of the other schools, this school is a part of the homeland of its students.

“In my country,” said Moshes Iyigo, who heads the group of Ethiopian teachers, “we still lack the facilities for giving all our young people a modern education. For that reason we are highly appreciative of the opportunity fraternally afforded by Cuba. There are four

schools for Ethiopian school children here, on the Isle of Youth. The graduates have the opportunity, if they like, to continue their education at Cuban technical schools, institutes and universities.”

“As for the work they are doing on the plantations,” contributed Santiago Gonzalez Oroneso, teacher of philosophy and secretary of the local party organization, “it is the accepted thing at all schools in Cuba: work is part of the education. You will remember that Marx called the tendency to make children and juvenile persons cooperate in social production sound and legitimate, although under capitalism this has acquired ugly forms.¹ Under the forms adopted in our country, work benefits the children, promoting practical skills, physical development and, above all, diligence, collectivism and a sense of involvement in society’s affairs.

“Of course, the products grown and harvested by the school-children bring a certain income. But although this work is supervised by specialists and is conducted on a modern agrotechnical level and on a fairly large scale, the income does not cover even one-fifth of Cuba’s expenditure for the upkeep of the schools.

“Our pupils get everything they need from the Cuban government,” said Moshes Iyigo. “They have every facility for study and recreation. They are well fed and clothed. And they grow quickly: some have to be given new uniforms twice a year. Such is exploitation — in fact, it is selfless assistance, for the sake of which Cubans have to deny themselves some of the things they would like to have.”

“What about ‘revolutionary ideology’?”

“That is closer to the truth,” Iyigo smiled. “It comes not from the school itself but from socialist reality, which the school-children eagerly assimilate as soon as they arrive in Cuba.”

Most of the paintings on display in the school’s art studio are devoted to Ethiopia. The paintings themselves are not only colorful but depict a life close to the hearts of the young artists: the building of dams, the eradication of illiteracy in rural communities, the olive branch of peace over a transformed earth. It is for this that they are studying today and will be working tomorrow.

A few kilometers away, at a school for Nicaraguan children, I asked the traditional question: “Who are you planning to be?” The replies were: agronomist, building engineer, doctor . . . And they added:

“For the time being these are only plans, and they have to be squared with the hopes of our

country. Here, in Cuba, we have learned what it means to serve our people."

The march, written at the school and dedicated to the history of the struggle for their country's freedom — the children sang it with feeling — has the following refrain: "Be worthy of the new Nicaragua!"

"We appreciate what Cuba is doing for our people," said Georgina Blanco Varga of the Nicaraguan town of Leon, who heads the social sciences department. "In all cases teaching builds the future and our future, I have no doubt, will show the significance of these schools. I do not think I will be exaggerating if I call them a symbol of the new morals springing from socialist internationalism."

By command of the conscience

"... Solidarity is no more than a duty which we perform in accordance with our internationalist conscience." (From materials of the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba)

It is said that the life of a people is mirrored in the life of an individual as the sea is mirrored in a drop of water. If that is true, the life-story of José Ernesto Quinteiro is a case in point. And it is perhaps not accidental that on assignment from the municipality party committee he manages the House of International Friendship on the Isle of Youth.

José was 17 when the revolution triumphed, but he was no newcomer to politics. The workman's family in which he grew up made do with earnings from odd jobs, and as a youngster he took to selling newspapers, which was the simplest way of earning a few pesos. The spry newspaper vendor was noted by members of the underground liberation Movement of July 26. He began to be given various assignments and was later accepted into the organization. And on January 1, 1959 Quinteiro, together with the whole of proletarian Havana, welcomed Fidel Castro, leader of the revolution, to which he had linked his life and hopes. Indeed, everything changed for working people. Quinteiro, too, got the opportunity to study, began to work, and joined the Communist Party.

By the mid-1970s he had been working for seven years on the Isle of Pines, where a network of international schools had been started. He now had his own house and was raising a family. But impulses are inherent in maturity as well — once again, consciously and without any vacillation he responded to the call to the internationalist conscience of the Cuban people to help the fraternal Angolan people defend their freedom against imperialist aggression. And he set out for that distant African country with the first detachment of volunteers.

"Whenever I hear hostile propaganda call the Cubans in Angola an 'army of mercenaries,' those days at once come to my eyes," José says. "Thousands upon thousands of people of civilian professions were eager to join the volunteer detachments. Some even managed to circumvent the selection filters: say, where there was a demand for drivers, an engineer posed as a truck driver. There was this powerfully-built lad who had, with a sense of wounded vanity, to reconcile himself to seeing his fiancée go instead of him — the selection board was looking for medics. This was a movement of mass, popular solidarity."

The volunteer detachment from the Isle of Youth, in which Quinteiro commanded the reconnaissance unit, took part in expelling South African invaders from the southern regions of Angola. The population joyously welcomed their liberators, sharing what they had with them. But there was also much suffering to be seen. In one of the towns they met a lad of 14 with despair written on his face: his parents had been killed, his house had been pillaged, and he had nowhere to go. The Cubans took Kanigo — that was the boy's name — with them, fitting him out and looking after him (he was, of course, never exposed to danger). When the unit completed its internationalist mission, the men warm-heartedly parted with Kanigo, telling him that he had to study.

"You sometimes get coincidences that can hardly be devised," Quinteiro said, continuing his story. "A year later I learned that Kanigo had come to study on our island. He spent several years here and was once more like a son to me, spending all the weekends with my family. After getting a secondary education and as he was preparing to return home he said he wanted to take my name. In Angola there is now a José Ernesto studying to become an agronomist. He writes often. Here are lines from his latest letter: 'We shall build our country like you, father, have done in Cuba so that our people are free and happy.'"

Among the Cuban communists there are many who prove with their whole life, using Lenin's words, that "the thing is not to 'proclaim' internationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying."² This is the sentiment not only of communists, although they set the tone and their example is making internationalist solidarity a fundamental principle of the life of socialist society.

The schools on the Isle of Youth are only a fraction of Cuba's generous aid in giving an education to the rising generation of fraternal peoples. More than 5,000 Cuban pedagogues

(half of them women) are today instructing children in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and elsewhere. A point to be borne in mind here is that they were sent by a country where prior to the revolution nearly one-fourth of the population were totally illiterate.

"In those countries we are, one can say, retracing the path that has been traversed long ago in our homeland," said Julio Cesar Hernandez Astensio, a Cuban teacher who in the 1960s directed the drive to wipe out illiteracy in his home province of Oriente, in the Sierra Maestras, and had worked for the past few years in Nicaragua. "We are returning as through a time machine. We teach not only school-children but also adults, some of whom have to be persuaded. As used to be the case in our country, there are *guajeros*³ in Nicaragua who resist for a long time, believing that for a peasant, education is only a burden. But we persuade and teach them, help them to build schools, and join in bringing in the harvest. And if you add to this life's everyday problems and the relations between people, there are a hundred and one things that a schoolteacher has to do — his advice is sought by the whole village community. The teachers are mainly young Cubans born after the revolution and they had never had to face so many difficulties."

And dangers, let us add. While Cuba exports knowledge and culture to Nicaragua, the USA exports undeclared war and counter-revolutionary gangs trained and armed by the Americans in order to drown the Sandinist revolution in blood. In the frontier regions, which these gangs of mercenaries raid, teachers — people of the most peaceful and vital profession to the population and their revolutionary aspirations — are often the prime targets of the atrocities committed by the aggressors. However, in 1982 when three Cuban teachers were assassinated in Nicaragua, of the 92,000 elementary schoolteachers in Cuba — 91,000 volunteered to go and take the place of the fallen.

All this applies, of course, not only to teachers and public education. The assistance that Cuba responsively extends to other peoples is immeasurably broader. In order to follow its threads let us look into the tall building near Havana's embankment that houses the State Committee for Economic Cooperation. Neris Pupo, an energetic woman who heads a department, spoke in a businesslike manner of the magnitude of this work:

"Roughly 150,000 Cubans of different professions have been involved in this peaceful internationalist mission, and many thousands are currently fulfilling it, considering it a great

honor to work abroad for the ideals of our revolution." She showed us a copy of a colorful journal, *Cooperation*, which the committee publishes: "It's voluminous, as you can see, and yet only one page is devoted to each country where our republic's envoys work. The peace and friendship corps of our envoys is working in more than 30 countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia."

Known by this collective name, the internationalists-volunteers are here compared with the notorious U.S. Peace Corps, which used a dignified name merely as a cover for its actual designation as a weapon of Washington's expansionist policy. It invites people to ponder, as it were, that despite the outward similarity one can easily see the glaring contrast between the aims, methods and very substance of the aid and its results that socialist Cuba and its imperialist neighbor are showing the world.

"Among the Cuban internationalists there are nearly 2,500 doctors and paramedics," Neris Pupo said. "They are now working in 26 developing countries, including Vietnam, Algeria, Ethiopia, Benin and South Yemen. With dignity and modesty they are doing their job — fighting epidemics, working in hospitals, preventing disease, and teaching people the rudiments of medical culture. In some cases, they work under extremely difficult conditions. Nevertheless, more and more doctors are volunteering for this internationalist mission, even if it means going to the most distant country or even the most out-of-the-way region. I would say that this willingness is a very striking expression of the sense of responsibility that ordinary Cubans feel for this truly humanitarian mission. This is a concept which socialism turns from abstractions, from a bourgeois propaganda fetish, into concrete actions for the good of people."

One cannot help once more drawing a parallel with the recent past, a past that is still within the lifetime of one generation. Prior to the revolution there were in Cuba's own countryside, where more than half of its population lived, only three hospitals with a total of 10 beds. In some regions there was not even one doctor for 300,000 inhabitants. For the number of doctors per 10,000 of the population Cuba is now ahead of many industrialized powers of the capitalist world. This diagram of history will be complemented in the near future: during the current five-year period Cuba is to open 18 new medical departments at its institutions of higher learning, and by 1990 it will have another 20,000 diploma'd doctors. Not least, this calculation is made with the view to increasing medical assistance to peoples who

have won liberation. Where internationalism has become state policy, an inalienable part of the way of life, all this has to be taken into account far in advance.

In many countries Cuba is today represented by people of yet another peaceful profession. These are builders. Thousands of Cuban engineers, technicians, and workers are helping to build what is needed very badly by peoples who have requested them for aid. They are doing their work in accordance with the highest modern standards, solidly and competently, giving it their knowledge, enterprise and hearts. Incidentally, the American bourgeois press wrote with alarm about the influence of the example set by these skilled and conscious workers.

It was they, workers of socialist Cuba, who with the full consciousness of the importance of their assistance to the newly-free people of Grenada, were building an international civilian airport there so that this tiny Caribbean island would have a wide window to the big world. For the Grenadians the project on Cape Salines became a symbol of the future and they used to show it to their visitors, saying proudly: "You will soon be able to reach us very easily from any country." The project was nearing completion: the work accomplished by Cuban volunteers had already run, in terms of cost, into roughly 60 million dollars. But the peaceful, arrow-straight landing strip of the new airport became a direct road to war — it was where the interventionists landed when the criminal U.S. aggression against Grenada started. Compelled to defend themselves against the foul attack, many Cuban builders were struck down by enemy bullets. In the USA did they perhaps count also on suppressing in this way the internationalist feelings of the Cuban people? These were faulted calculations. As Fidel Castro said to the million people at the memorial rally in Havana in honor of the fallen heroes, "the imperialists are out to destroy symbols because they know the value of symbols, examples and ideas. They wanted to destroy them in Grenada. They want to put an end to them in El Salvador, in Nicaragua and in Cuba. But symbols, examples and ideas cannot be destroyed. They can only be multiplied."⁴

In order to give the fullest picture of the projects on which Cuban builders are working, Neris Pupo took us on a journey, as it were, on a map of the world:

"In Jamaica we are building a construction prefabrication plant; in Nicaragua — a medical center and sugar refineries; in Tanzania — two schools; in Angola — bridges, roads and dwelling houses; in Ethiopia — storage lakes."

All this is being generously done by Cuba, which is still experiencing many shortages itself; by Cuba, whose direct loss from the many years of economic and trade sanctions imposed by U.S. imperialism is estimated at many billions of dollars; by Cuba, which is having to fulfil a grueling program for its own economic development. From where do its people draw such dynamic strength and staunchness?

The brother is strong for having a brother

"Above everything else for the communist is the understanding of his internationalist duty, which does not exclude the most profound sense of patriotism." (From materials of the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba)

Juan Manuel Torres, an official of a provincial party committee, is one of those who helped prepare the victory of the Cuban revolution, establish the power of the people, and defend it with arms in hand. At the memorial in Playa Giron, where everything is reminiscent of that heroic struggle, the veteran related many details tinged by personal, unforgettable experiences. We moved from one display stand to another, reconstructing the events of years now long past.

"At the time I was not an internationalist in the true sense of the word," he said, throwing a bridge to the present. "Indeed, I was not an internationalist. To become an internationalist required time, and not for me alone. There is a Cuban saying that only by splitting the coconut can you taste its meat. I would say that most of the Cubans have gone through the university of internationalism and got its taste largely because of the help that we are ourselves getting from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

Indeed, in Cuba one often hears of the steady, many-sided fraternal assistance from the socialist world. People know and see from their own experience what this means. They know, for instance, that in the past five years alone almost 90 industrial facilities have been built or reconstructed in the republic with direct assistance from the Soviet Union, and that at present over 300 major economic projects are under construction. They know that 17 branch programs of accelerated scientific and technological progress are being put into effect with the participation of CMEA countries. The whole country knows of the material assistance from these countries, of their contribution to the development of the republic's power and raw material resources, and to the training of its cadre. Lastly, very many Cubans are working in their homeland alongside specialists from the

Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other fraternal countries. This human element of assistance, seen through the prism of constructive and friendly relations with people of different countries, is especially persuasive.

"Words from a song — 'The brother is strong for having a brother' — have acquired a new, class content," Torres said. "This is not, of course, a spontaneous process. It is the result of the party's tireless work, of the educational efforts of the communists. Internationalist consciousness has gradually got through to the people, expressing their vital interests and aspirations. It rests on the country's sound economic base and new ideological, political and moral factors that have gained strength during the quarter of a century since our revolution was accomplished."

How is all this evaluated in the party organizations and what is being done to back up internationalist solidarity politically in the spirit of the congress resolutions?

We first visited a *primary cell*. Sixto Varona Alvarez, a mechanic and secretary of the party organization at the Second CPC Congress Ceramics Factory in the town of Nueva Gerona, said:

"Our factory, which is, as a matter of fact, the only one of its kind in Cuba, was built only recently; its second section was placed in operation only a short while ago. Formerly, there was only a small primitive workshop despite the fact that there are deposits of kaolin nearby. But now we have a modern facility with advanced machinery which supplies the whole country and even exports some of its products. That is what fraternal solidarity is all about: the factory was built with assistance from the GDR and the equipment also came from there. Nearby we have a thermal power station, which provides the plant with electricity: it was built with Soviet assistance. These same countries trained our specialists. A group of German comrades is working in the various departments to this day. Reality is thus reinforcing our educational work."

"When the factory was under construction we only had six communists. Today there are 14 and we are preparing further reinforcements. One of the principal requirements for admission to the party is devotion to proletarian internationalism, which stems directly from the resolutions of the latest congress, after which our factory has been named. In practice this devotion is expressed, as we feel, in a conscious attitude to revolutionary duty — at work, in social life, and everywhere else. This is exactly what we are fostering. We explain the

significance of solidarity with countries that have won liberation. Respect is shown for volunteers who have returned after fulfilling their honorable duties abroad. They are an example for young people. We arrange meetings with them in the town museum, which has a hall dedicated to the internationalists of Nueva Gerona. I can tell you that the communists and working class of Cuba are committed to the cause of our brothers throughout the world. We regard this not as somebody else's affair but as our own."

At the party committee of the province of Matanzas its second secretary Felix Moreno gave us some further facts:

"I have just returned from the cane-cutting, and met with workers of a sugar refinery there. They were very keen to know how our people were working in Nicaragua and what the news from Ethiopia was. They are accustomed to us consulting with the communists at party meetings, and working people at people's assemblies on all matters of international politics. We discuss our plans and speak openly of problems and difficulties. This is the party's policy — since the people are involved in everything the decision rests with them. This democratic practice is, as I see it, the wisest and most effective teacher."

Moreno has been working in the provincial committee for a long time (he was on leave of absence only once — as a commissar of volunteers in Angola). He backed up his words, recalling:

"When there was that terrible earthquake in Peru they needed urgent aid for the injured. At the people's assemblies that we held everywhere a hundred thousand people came forward to offer to donate blood — this saved innumerable lives. Later, in the early 1970s, the people of Chile, whose democratic government was already in the gunsights of the imperialists, experienced considerable shortages, one of which was sugar. The response of our people was: 'Send them 40,000 tons of sugar of the stocks earmarked for our home use free of charge, saying never mind if we have less; a sweet life does not consist of putting more sugar in coffee.' This problem was thus also decided by the people."

That was how everything started.

"Today," Felix Moreno said, "more than 700 communists and some three and a half thousand non-party people from our province are working abroad. The problems linked with this are constantly discussed by the people. It is a Leninist principle that the people should know everything and that they should do everything consciously."

At the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba these interviews were summed up, as it were, by CC Secretary and Political Bureau alternate member Antonio Perez Herrero:

"Our party regards the nation-wide prestige of our internationalist mission as an expression of the new, revolutionary mass consciousness. It combines personal interests and prospects with the interests of the country, with the prospects for the national and social liberation of other peoples and the cause of peace and socialism in the world. There was a time when those in power said with a shade of disdain that to be happy all the ordinary Cuban needed was a cup of coffee and a cigar. Today this 'ordinary Cuban's' notion about well-being ranges far beyond his own home. Recall Lenin's idea of the law of increasing requirements of the working person in the course of social development. The convictions that have their roots in socialist life nourish people's attitude to life which elevates the individual and widens his social outlook.

"To translate this into the language of practice I can give you a personal impression. I had occasion to visit our people — builders, doctors, teachers and communications experts — in out-of-the way places in Nicaragua. They are working magnificently under difficult conditions, even better than they worked in Cuba. Why? For the simple reason that they see themselves as envoys of a country of the new world, and this is what above all stimulates their selflessness in work and their internationalist behavior and way of thinking as internationalists. I asked a team of bridge builders when their shift would end. The reply was that they would go on working into the night so as to complete the bridge faster, for they were being watched by all the people in the area. And, of course, it is not accidental that upon their return home many of the volunteers join the party and become activists. They go through a school of internationalist tempering and that gives them new political qualities.

"We are aware," said Antonio Perez Herrero in conclusion, "that much still remains to be done so that this consciousness becomes the determining factor of the spiritual make-up of every communist and every Cuban. Some of our people are still in the grip of survivals of individualism, of national narrow-mindedness. We orient the network of political education, the party's entire ideological and educational system on explaining the main fact that socialist reality spells out the commencement of a really collectivist, fraternal life of peoples. The assertion of conscious inter-

nationalism is one of the key aspects of socialism's great historical challenge to the capitalist world in the struggle for peace and the future of humankind. This precisely is the significance of Cuba's experience, which together with all of the planet's revolutionary forces has undertaken a share of the collective responsibility for reshaping international relations along the principles of justice, equality and cooperation. In the situation created by the imperialist blockade, the USA's aggressive intrigues, and the psychological warfare started by it, we sometimes hear voices in the West hypocritically urging us to abandon the principle of internationalism and 'change our behavior.' But, as was declared emphatically at the party's second congress, Cuba will never forsake its principles and internationalist duty."

An international Young Pioneer Camp, bearing the name of July 26, is situated on the shore near the popular holiday resort of Varadero. Every year it accommodates thousands of children from many countries. At the entrance to the main building there is a mosaic covering the entire wall. This is the work of Cuban children. It depicts the future as they see it. Blue roads of friendship stretch out from Cuba to all continents as hands in a fraternal handshake, bringing peoples closer together.

What can be more convincing than this eloquent symbol addressed to the future and born out of present-day reality?

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 79.
2. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 82.
3. The former name for peasants in Cuba.
4. *Granma*, November 15, 1983.

Cuba at 25

Gil Green

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Luis Emilio Veintimilla

CC member, Communist Party of Ecuador

Ecuador entered the 1980s against the background of new and bitter class conflicts. It became an arena of widespread strikes that in October 1982 culminated in a nation-wide people's strike by a militant working class in support of millions of disinherited families hit by the economic crisis. One of the important causes of growing crisis phenomena was the reckless activity of the "Miami Boys"¹ personifying private initiative, which an oil boom had given a shot in the arm. They began to take foreign exchange out of the country, contracted huge debts abroad and held back industrialization and the growth of national production by making parasitical use of capital.

Ecuador had not for a long time seen a rallying together of the masses comparable to the people's strike in October, when the trade union movement became the main exponent of universal anger and spoke for the people as a whole. The action was a milestone in the rising movement against oligarchy and imperialism. The following is an account of the gains and difficulties of the movement.

The crisis, dependence and backwardness

In the late 1970s Ecuador found itself in an economic impasse. Previously it had met its requirements chiefly by exporting oil, whose price dropped sharply afterwards in the context of the world economic recession. Decreased export earnings, a steep rise in bank rates and payment of foreign credits bled the economy white; on top of this the deferment terms of loans taken before expired in the early 80s. The state budget showed an appalling shortage of funds and there developed an enormous deficit that grew still further as a result of a decline in production growth.

The backwardness of the Ecuadoran economy, which is dominated by imperialist monopolies, the big compradore bourgeoisie and latifundium owners, had dramatic consequences in view of a deteriorating world capitalist crisis. Due to dependence and underdevelopment, crisis phenomena translated into an upward trend in evils familiar to the working people, such as unemployment and underemployment, hunger, a high death rate and illiteracy.

The lopsided character of industrialization, which has become more pronounced over the past decade, made things worse. Industrialization was carried on in metal-working, electronics and chemicals, or industries dependent on foreign investment. The result was that capital and profits were taken out of the country and that the state acquired costly patents and licenses and had to grant foreign companies favorable terms. A substantial part of the earnings derived from oil went to big business in the form of subsidies, tax privileges, loans on easy terms and financing out of public funds.

At the 16th congress of the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador, one of the country's main trade union centers, it was pointed out that in step with this process the oligarchy had built up its power and established still closer ties with imperialist monopolies. Prominent among the oligarchs is a group of bankers and financiers who have made the biggest profits; their capital has risen to 7 billion sucres² and their assets, to 99 million sucres, with the profit rate of 23 per cent.³

To cover the chronic balance of payments deficit and stop the gaps in the state budget, the regime had to seek aid from international banks, which since the mid-70s have granted Ecuador shackling loans totalling seven billion dollars. In addition, about as much is spent on maintaining the armed forces — an expenditure concealed from the people.

The anti-popular economic policy was hardened above all in 1981, when the government raised the prices of gasoline and oil products. The pretext was the sad aftermath of the armed conflict with Peru,⁴ which prompted the regime to declare that it was strategically necessary to ration the consumption and distribution of fuels.

At that point agricultural and industrial enterprises demanded that the regime should determine the "real worth" of their output. Hard pressed by agents of big capital in the state machinery, the government announced a policy of "real prices" to please producers and guarantee them a "fair" profit.

The 32 per cent devaluation of the sucre against the dollar, announced in May 1982, was an unmistakable sign of the submission of the

present Christian Democratic government under Osvaldo Hurtado to the "producers" will and of its steadily increasing dependence on the IMF. All this plus speculation in dollars, the greed of dealers in food staples and runaway inflation dealt a cruel blow to the family budget of the poor.

At the bidding of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the IMF, the government and the big compradore bourgeoisie in the autumn of the same year stunned the nation by announcing a "package of economic measures," including a new gasoline price increase, another revision of the quotation of gold, the abolition of subsidies for consumer goods and social policy cuts.

The trade unions go into action

The Unity Front of Workers (UFW) of Ecuador,⁵ which ever since May 1981 has opposed the government policy of tacit collusion with reaction, gained in the circumstances unquestionable national significance as the only organization capable of uniting the people, who are angered at being made to pay debts they have not contracted.

The people's anger was increased by hardships due to growing unemployment in urban and rural areas alike. The pace of capitalist development in Ecuador quickened in the 70s and this led to a considerable increase in the numerical strength of industrial workers. Even so, the urban proletariat is a minority section of the population. "In cities like Quito and Guayaquil, it accounts for about 15 per cent of the economically active population while a large number of other townspeople, estimated at more than 50 per cent, are underemployed."⁶

By 1982 the unemployment rate in urban communities stood at 8.7 per cent; the indicator of part-time employment that year — 45 per cent — suggests that 53.7 per cent of the urban population were unemployed or held part-time jobs. The situation was even worse in the countryside, where partial unemployment affected 75 per cent of the workforce.⁷

What is more, the reserve army of labor was swelled by numerous job-seekers arriving at "development poles" from rural areas. Slums mushroomed on city outskirts. Half of the inhabitants of Guayaquil live in suburbs today, 300,000 families occupying hovels built on marshy ground. Dwelling there side by side are workers and students, civil servants and shopkeepers, semi-jobless and jobless people and lumpen-proletarians.

This trend of development made for an intensifying class struggle, which went in view of the crisis beyond the bounds of a labor con-

flict and developed into nation-wide opposition to oligarchy and imperialism. A great many people who were in dire straits and upheld their right to life saw in the UFW a natural defender of their lawful interests.

The crisis struck every sphere of the nation's life. This induced the UFW to call for unity and mobilization in order to create the conditions for going over from criticizing the regime in this or that situation to a platform from which to advance to an anti-imperialist and democratic revolution.

In the spring of 1981 the Front put forward a detailed program containing a number of demands directed to the government and ranging from revocation of the anti-popular economic measures imposed by the IMF to the adoption of a sovereign and independent policy of solidarity with peoples fighting for their liberation. The program's other demands were as follows: freeze consumer goods prices, effect a general wage rise, nationalize oil, put public transport under the jurisdiction of the municipalities, introduce state monopoly of foreign trade, carry out an agrarian reform, allow civil servants to form trade unions, and pass a democratic law on higher education.

The program was the banner under which forces were mustered during the 1981 strikes, the first organized reaction of the masses to the crisis besetting the country. It retains its significance to this day, except that it has been amended with due regard to the situation, which is changing continuously under the impact of the class struggle.

The crisis also expressed itself in the fact that the regime ignored and refused to comply with requests from provinces, cities and villages for the construction of roads, schools, medical institutions, irrigation and sewerage facilities, housing and so on. These requirements did not receive proper attention either from local bodies or from the national government. And this made it necessary to use the tested method of strike movement. It involved at the level of provinces and cantons organized townspeople, peasants and farm hands, who went into action to ensure that at least a modest part of budget appropriations was spent on meeting their needs. The movement reached its highest point in Chone, a town whose inhabitants set up people's government bodies that ensured normal conditions of life locally, to the exclusion of the official authorities.

While social tensions went on mounting, this is not to say that the preparation and the carrying of the nation-wide people's strike in 1982 met no difficulties. The complex social composition of the UFW gave rise within it to cer-

tain views which did not always reflect the interests of the working class and hence of the people as a whole. It so happens that the organized proletariat of Ecuador is making common cause with the most diverse sections of the working population. The Front represents industrial and agricultural workers, peasants, Indians, handicraftsmen, retail traders and hawkers, small producers, petty-bourgeois intellectuals and others. This is why people who are not directly linked with the working class and many of whom dispute its vanguard role have no difficulty in winning election to leading bodies of the Front or its provincial federations. Those are primarily members of radicalized sections of the petty bourgeoisie who bring subjectivist notions of forms of struggle into working class organizations, occasionally with very serious deviations as a result.

During a national meeting called by the Front to discuss preparations for another strike action, conciliating elements insisted on renouncing all strikes, alleging that they were "no good." Also submitted to the meeting was a draft providing for increases in the minimum wage of each category of workers separately, something which the employers preferred, for it would have helped disunite strikers. Others wanted the talks which the three main trade union centers had been carrying on with the government to be broken off unilaterally (and definitively); they also moved that a national strike be called for an indefinite period.

This motion was particularly untenable and dangerous. A strike for an indefinite period would have threatened either to cause a military-civilian coup (with the putschists in a position to proceed on the "moral" plea of meeting the Front's demands, which would have enabled them to lay claim to popular support), or to bring about the constitutional replacement of the head of state with a vice-president or the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies. Either alternative would only have produced a change at the top and amounted to a political defeat of the working class and other working people. The proletariat's class positions would have been weakened and it would have been artificially distracted from the struggle for its own aims.

However, the Front leadership succeeded in overcoming its internal weaknesses. On October 21, 1982 the people, led by the working class, achieved one of their most important victories, rejecting adventurism and pseudo-revolutionary talk. Factories, transport, shops, agricultural enterprises, schools, universities, municipal services and so on, were paralyzed

in the 20 provinces of the country for 24 hours.

Terrified by the scale of the popular movement, the head of the Christian Democratic regime appealed to the population. "... I wish to ask you," he said, "to control your temper and unclench your fists, for this is the hour to come to terms as befits citizens of a truly democratic society."⁸

The appeal to the people, who had clenched their fists in anger, did not prevent Hurtado from imposing a state of emergency and declaring the whole national territory a security zone. But the people, whose anger the President was trying to subdue, were demanding the implementation of an anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist program to defer payment of the foreign debt for 10 years, ensure a collective and multilateral revision of it by Latin American countries, put foreign exchange under government control, nationalize private banks, devise ways of paying off the foreign debt, establish state control over the foreign debt of the private sector, introduce interference in foreign trade and control over exports by the administration, impose a tax on big capital and transnationals, protect national industry and strengthen the public sector of the economy.

The crisis reaches the bottom

By early 1983, the country found itself in a truly tragic economic situation. Due to a slump in the productive sector, the previous year had seen gross domestic product go up by only 1.5 per cent.⁹ The government drew up a nominal budget totalling 79.5 billion sucres, 38 per cent of which was unguaranteed. Only 30.7 per cent of this amount, likewise unguaranteed was earmarked for investment in the productive sphere.¹⁰ In the social sphere, austere economic measures made for a further growth of unemployment and underemployment. The purchasing capacity of the sucre fell off by one-third in a year.¹¹

The Ecuadoran families' frightful poverty was worsened by disastrous floods and an equally disastrous winter, which hit the coastal areas hardest. The number of victims of the elements topped 500,000 and material loss exceeded five billion sucres. The loss suffered by small farms supplying the home market with fruit and vegetables was estimated at 1.5 billion sucres; heavy losses were also registered in the main farm products of the coastal areas.¹²

The moral decay of the regime, which was corroded by corruption and other vices, reached the limit in the crisis atmosphere. The venality of the administrative apparatus in both the public and the private sectors assumed scandalous proportions. Here is only a partial

list of the innumerable abuses: the allocation by the state of additional sums to pay for lands expropriated for housing; the entry of understated data in export invoices and of overstated ones in import invoices; the signing of an oil contract with PERMARGO¹³ that caused enormous damage to national interests; smuggling; frauds in the Central Bank; the bribing of police; and the issue of forged import licenses. Even natural calamities were exploited as a source of profit; international relief and funds collected by Ecuadorans for calamity victims disappeared as if devoured by wolves. "In Esmeraldas food products to be distributed among victims disappeared from storehouses." "... More than half of what was delivered to this storehouse is missing." "We know, for example, that there were 31 gas ranges but now there are only 13 here. This beef — it is generally packed in boxes in two rows but we got it in plastic packing, with one row gone." One hears this kind of talk in any part of the calamity-stricken area. "... In the cities shopkeepers made a profit by striking a bargain with the Civil Defense.¹⁴ On food coupons worth 300 sucres, they handed out 190 sucres' worth of products. Worse still, they put in the ration stale sardines, bug-infested flour and noodles, and also stuff that nobody wanted to buy."¹⁵

Meanwhile the Hurtado government picked further "victims."

Financial agencies of the state — the Monetary Council, Central Bank and Ministry of Finance formed in collaboration with Lloyds Bank International, Ltd., a working committee to pave the way for talks on a revision of the foreign debt owed by Ecuador to 140 banks. The committee drew up a "Preliminary List of Conditions" specifying the procedure of revision and stating as the principal condition for deferring payment, due on December 31, 1983, acceptance by the Ecuadoran government of an economic stabilization program advanced by the IMF as well as the conclusion of a stand-by agreement with the IMF on terms acceptable to the creditors. Afterwards these stipulations were complemented with the obligation to revise the foreign debt of the private sector.

On March 18, 1983, the government announced its currency stabilization program agreed with the IMF. The program envisaged a further devaluation of the sucre and the introduction of daily mini-devaluations; higher prices for milk and gasoline; higher rates of interest in the financial system; a revision of the foreign debt of the private sector; greater foreign exchange opportunities for employers; a reduction of obligatory bank assets, and other measures. The revision of the

foreign debt of private enterprises is known as "sucretization," for the debt is paid off in devalued sucres and the Central Bank actually effects payment to foreign creditors in dollars.

As a result of devaluation, the people's real loss on foreign debt payment alone exceeded 111 billion sucres by the end of the year. Whereas the debt amounted to 214.5 billion sucres before the above program was adopted, the day after the program was announced the debt shot up to 273 billion due to the devaluation of the sucre and had risen to 325 billion by December due to mini-devaluations.¹⁶

"Sucretization" makes it impossible to ascertain how the private sector has used the funds made available to it. Although Ecuador abounds in natural resources, there is a visible decline in production activity; this is an obvious effect of speculation by exploiters. It follows that the government has helped individual private employers get richer and plunder society as a whole. The pressure of the working class, the people and the nation on the Christian Democratic regime, compradore bourgeoisie and imperialism is apparently not strong enough as yet to overcome the pressure of big international finance capital. This also explains the arrogance shown by the President in public. "Irrespective of whether or not this package of measures has been imposed by the IMF," he said, "it is based on a monetarist economic conception and we are not going to talk much about it. I believe it is clear that the strategy adopted by the government is to give primacy to the offer of money which is a decisive factor in the economy and hence also in the balance of payments and the national income."¹⁷

The working people step up their fight

The trade unions coordinated by the UFW reacted to these measures by holding vast popular demonstrations. The unions, as well as drawing their members into the demonstrations, enlisted the participation of unorganized people; they united members of numerous population groups on a common platform meeting the exigencies of the moment. The platform comprised the following demands: revoke the measures announced by the government and raise the minimum wage to 8,000 sucres; raise the average pay rate by 30 per cent; freeze the prices of necessities and basic services and rent; decree a 20-year moratorium on payment of peasants' debts without charging interest for this period; open new sources of credits, especially for peasants who have suffered from the floods; budget more funds for education, public health and housing;

set up a relief fund for the flooded areas; remove the ministers forming the Economic Front;¹⁸ convene an extraordinary session of Congress at once to condemn the anti-popular and anti-national monetarist policy of the government and revoke the economic measures implemented by it.

Late in March 1983 actions like those of October 1982 recurred on a still larger scale. Workers, peasants, students, teachers, numerous residents of poor neighborhoods — in short, the whole of Ecuador — responded as one person to the UFW appeal for a new nation-wide strike. The Front called special attention to the need to raise the struggle to a plane enabling the people themselves to decide on an independent national policy.

Simultaneously, employers belonging to class organizations of their own went on a 48-hour strike. They joined in action, if without formulating any demands. "Why are we on strike?" they asked. And they replied: "Because this government has led us to a financial bankruptcy, provided conditions for devaluating the sucre, discouraged foreign investors, done nothing but make the people poorer than before and failed to stop growing corruption in the administration apparatus."¹⁹

The employers' action seemed to play into the people's hands; actually they wanted to forward the Front's demands to the government, isolate it by presenting it as fully responsible for the crisis and pave the way for an extreme measure, a coup. Curiously enough, the bourgeois press instigated the masses outright to stay on strike indefinitely, at a time when this demand did not at all express their will and could have served as an instrument of provocation against the working people as they heroically resisted official violence and repression.

* * *

Summing up the results of the struggles of the working class and the people as a whole in the 1981-1983 period, which we have surveyed in brief, we can register an obvious increase in the real political leverage and class consciousness of the working people of town and countryside. The demands of the masses are more mature and radical now; they no longer come down to defense of their economic interests but call for the establishment of other forms of organizing society. This is evident in the UFW program and in the Front's struggle, which have proved the current policy of achieving unity of action of the trade union and popular movements to be correct. Both movements bear a marked class character.

Communist activity has understandably intensified in these circumstances. The 10th CPE congress (November 1981) resolved that the immediate task, which can be accomplished, is to make the party an effective organization of the masses equal to expressing their interests and leading the people in the struggle for a national liberation revolution as a prerequisite of the transition to socialism. In line with the political resolution of their congress, communists fully back the UFW. It is not only through branches that they are operating in the trade union movement. At a Front conference, a correspondent of Ecuadoran television asked René Mauge: "Why are you here? Isn't this a purely trade union meeting? Are you trying to make political capital?" Our General Secretary replied that he had come to the workers, first, because he was legal adviser to the UFW, second, because he was leader of the party of the Ecuadoran working class, and lastly, because the communists wanted to be a real political force in the country.

This is what our party is like, and such is its link with the masses, its open propaganda and organizing work in whose course the communists' ranks are growing stronger. It is in this way that the CPE formulates an explicit and precise party line consonant with the times, a line enabling it to unite the finest part of our people around it and rouse them to struggle.

Ecuador's communists know well that joint action is the only way to unite all workers and other working people. In the present situation, anybody who resists this demand overtly or covertly is helping the enemies of the revolution.

Speaking generally, the growing strike movement is indicative of a further upturn in the struggle against the disgraceful rule of capital. It heralds new struggles and is a guarantee of future victories. "General strikes have shown," René Mauge wrote, "that the working class and the organized peasant and popular movement have risen to a new plane in specifying the goals of their struggle, to a higher level of class consciousness, to a new height in building and strengthening unity, and that their morale is higher than ever. All this makes it possible to fight successfully in defense of the people's interests, find a democratic way out of the present crisis and lead the country on to the road of social progress, freedom and national independence."²⁰

1. Derogatory nickname given by Ecuadorans to a new generation of businessmen who are closely linked with U.S. capital. — Ed.

2. In 1983, \$1 was worth about 86 sucres. — Ed.

3. XVI Congreso CTE, Guayaquil, 1982, p. 4.

4. There was an armed conflict between Ecuadoran and Peruvian troops in January and February 1981 over disputed border territory. For details, see René Mauge, "Turbulent Days in a 'Quiet' Country," WMR, No. 6, 1982.

5. The UFW came into being in the early 70s and comprises three major trade union centers: the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador, Ecuadoran Center of Class Organizations and Ecuadoran Confederation of Free Trade Union Organizations. — Ed.

6. Nueva, No. 94, 1983, p. 78.

7. See *Informativo Comercial Economico*, No. 115, 1983, p. 17.

8. *El Universo*, October 21, 1982, p. 1.

9. See *Informativo Comercial Economico*, No. 115, 1983, p. 11.

10. See *El Universo*, October 21, 1983, p. 2.

11. See *Siempre*, No. 42, 1982, p. 9.

12. See *Informativo Comercial Economico*, No. 115, 1983, p. 7.

13. Mexican oil company that operated in Ecuador till 1983. — Ed.

14. Organization set up under the law on national security to aid the population in the event of a flood, earthquake or other calamity and controlled by the military authorities. — Ed.

15. Nueva, No. 95, 1983, pp. 17-18.

16. See *Siempre*, No. 44, 1983, p. 1, 13 and 14.

17. *El Universo*, March 28, 1983, p. 5.

18. Government organization for the coordination of the economy subordinated to the President and including the ministers of finance, industry, agriculture, labor, and natural resources — Ed.

19. *Revista Mensual de Noticias*, No. 15, 1983, p. 110.

20. Nueva, No. 96, 1983, p. 26.



Class roots of the "woman question"

Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, New York, Random House, 1981, 271 pp.

Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism. 1870-1920*, New York, University of Illinois Press, 1981, 344 pp.

Jessie Bernard, *The Female World*, New York, The Free Press, Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., 1981, 614 pp.

An important component of the anti-monopoly struggle in the USA is the movement for women's economic, political and social rights. This is more and more coming into direct confrontation with monopolies, transnationals and the state itself. Many feminist groups have emerged from "consciousness raising" to economic struggles, as witness the decision of the previously feminist-oriented association of office workers, Working Women, to affiliate with the Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO. Their organizing drive is directed to 18 million non-union white collar workers, 78 per cent of whom are women.

The campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) took on mass proportions, combining militant political action with agitational appeals underlining the fact that women earn on the average 41 per cent less than men. The liberal National Organization of Women (NOW) changed its established gender-based position of support exclusively for women

candidates in order to oppose two Republican pro-Reagan women in the 1982 elections. Instead, it endorsed two male candidates pledged to more progressive economic measures.

The peace movement, with women's organizations as a major sector, is growing rapidly through coalition with a tremendous variety of special interest grass-roots groupings engaged in the fightback against Reaganomics. Many of these are knowledgeable about the correlation between the military-industrial complex, the Pentagon budget and the attack against social services, an attack which has its greatest impact on women and children. "Jobs, Not Bombs" is the slogan which epitomizes a qualitative change in the constituencies of the peace movement.

With February 1983 unemployment figures at 8.9 per cent for adult women, 21.9 per cent for young women, and 45.4 per cent for Black young women, with 1981 incomes for families headed by women less than half those for all families and considerably lower for families headed by Black women,¹ women, and especially Black women and those from other oppressed minorities, are turning toward new forms of struggle, realizing that success depends on the unity of their actions.

The defenders and apologists for capitalism are acutely aware of the revolutionary implications of these developments. Thus the ideolog-

ical assault by the bourgeoisie against women's maturing political consciousness has also accelerated. During the last decade there has been a virtual explosion of publications on the "women question," most of which delude women about their objective reality. To throw some light on this battle for women's minds, two examples from this mass of material will be reviewed here, together with one of the still too few books on women written from a Marxist-Leninist position, Angela Davis' *Women, Race and Class*.

Jessie Bernard, Professor Emerita of Sociology at Pennsylvania State University is touted by her publisher as not only a dedicated feminist but also "one of the most honored scholars of our time." Professor Bernard states her premise clearly that "most human beings live in single sex worlds, women in a female world and men in a male world and that the two are different from one another in a myriad of ways, both subjectively and objectively." She further states, "one primatologist, in fact, goes so far as to say that men and women constitute two different species, a statement that uses exaggeration for effect, no doubt, but nevertheless a quite supportable figure of speech."² In defense of this postulate, the book offers an abundance of opinions, presumptions, anecdotes and, yes, facts also, most of which are trivial in terms of the lives of the majority of women.

Mari Jo Buhle, Assistant Professor of American Civilization and History at Brown University, surveys *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* in the period of the rise of imperialism. However, Professor Buhle never uses the word imperialism and makes no attempt to place her material within the historical context of this epoch. A great deal of data has been collected documenting U.S. socialist activities by and for women which could be very useful. But the evaluations of these events from a feminist position and a superficial acquaintanceship with socialist theory are at best inadequate and often extremely distorted. Her notion of Marxism degenerates into economic determinism toward which she is duly scornful.

Unable to constructively criticize the Socialist Party, which was rooted in utopianism, had only one foot in the working class, was loosely organized, riddled with opportunism and had no clear revolutionary perspective, Prof. Buhle instead damns Marxism for the failures of the revisionists. Because she cannot understand reformism she objectively deprives today's women of essential historical lessons.

Clearly she believes that the women's

movement has no links whatsoever with the struggle of the proletariat and that women are a group above and beyond class relations. Throughout, there are comments such as, "women's unique position thus fell prey to the hallowed labor theory of value."³ Professor Buhle acknowledges "the importance of women's influence for the shaping of the American radical trend,"⁴ but, on the other hand, she concludes that the socialist movement in the USA has brought nothing substantial either to women, or the working class as a whole. In an eight-page epilogue she states that by the 1960s, with the advent of the New Left, "the old Marxist doctrines fell into exhaustion."⁵ She sneers that U.S. communists exalt Lenin "as the prophet of women's emancipation."⁶ However, it reflects badly on the integrity of her scholarship that she completely ignores Lenin's prolific writings on this subject. Even a superficial review would show why his scientifically substantiated views are held in high regard. But this would defeat her underlying yet primary purpose of slandering Marxism-Leninism. With this orientation she is incapable of assessing 50 years of U.S. socialist activities so as to enlighten the women's movement.

In contrast to the above mentioned works — and to almost all others of this genre — comrade Davis' book, written in a popular style, views the history of the women's movement from Marxist-Leninist positions. Her special and urgently needed contribution is a carefully documented evaluation of the effects of slavery, the ideology of white supremacy and the continuing existence of racism, not only on Black women, but also on white women and particularly on their struggles. The underestimation of these factors on the U.S. women's movement has from the very outset led it astray.

The ruling class weapon which has most often and most viciously split the U.S. working class has been racism. Comrade Davis, who teaches Black Philosophy and Aesthetics at San Francisco State University, demolishes the insidious myths which prop up racism. For example, in the chapter, "The Myth of the Black Rapist," rape accusations against Black men are shown to be intrinsic to oppression of the Black community, institutionalized by the legal structure and by terrorists such as the KKK.

Comrade Davis shows how acceptance of racism by some suffragist leaders confused their assessment of friends and enemies. In the post-civil war period and the emergence of imperialism, the white, middle class suffragists, self-isolated from Black and most

white working women, could reflect only their bourgeois background in their strategic decisions.

Comrade Davis graphically reveals how the top leadership of the women's movement capitulated to "Jim Crow," that is, *de jure* and *de facto* racial segregation.⁷ Frederick Douglass, the prestigious Black liberation leader and the most prominent U.S. 19th century male advocate of women's emancipation, was excluded from an Atlanta, Georgia, suffragist convention in 1894 because Susan B. Anthony, its leading theoretician, who presided at the convention, "did not want anything to get in the way of bringing the southern white women into our suffrage association."⁸ This was compounded by the refusal to speak out against the lynching of thousands of Blacks, including women, which was part of a deliberate policy openly known as "expediency" which welcomed alliances with reactionary politicians on their own terms of "race purity." Women's enfranchisement was hailed as the counterbalance to the votes of "a horde of ignorant negro men."⁹ Thus encouraged, racism infected northern members of the National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA) along with male supremacist notions of white women as the sanctified guardians of the home.

As racism became entrenched in this and other women's organizations, anti-trade union concepts also appeared. As far back as 1869, Anthony had urged women printers to work as scabs, adding later that, "the worst enemies of women suffrage will ever be the laboring classes of men."¹⁰ No wonder, therefore, that denouncing immigrant and native born workers, NAWSA members called for educational and property qualifications for the ballot. The political myopia of feminism obscured the capitalist basis of women's inequality. It also obscured the class struggle as is evident from Susan B. Anthony's claim, cited by comrade Davis, that in the USA "the son of the humblest citizen, Black or white, has equal chances with the son of the richest in the land."¹¹

Comrade Davis' response to Anthony's feminist distortion of reality affirms what working women, Black and white, could see in their own lives — that nominal political equality, such as the right to vote is not enough to open the door to economic equality. Herein lies a challenge to feminists to honestly examine the limited nature and pretensions of bourgeois democracy whose purpose is to protect the system of profit first, people last. The women's movement must also come to grips with the other aspect of Anthony's position: the pitting

of one half of the working people against the other, to the detriment of both.

It was inevitable that concessions to ruling class ideology would culminate in unquestioning acceptance of the U.S. imperialist aggressions at the turn of the century and during World War I. In 1899, the colonial status of Hawaii and Puerto Rico were discussed at the NAWSA's convention solely from the viewpoint of "Duty to the Women of Our New Possessions," with the demand that they be granted the ballot "upon the same terms as men." Comrade Davis comments, "As if women in Hawaii and Puerto Rico should demand the right to be victimized by U.S. imperialism on an equal basis with their men."¹² In 1914 NAWSA joined suffragists from 26 nations in a call for peace but by 1916 they had "succumbed to wartime patriotism."

Unlike Prof. Buhle, who completely ignores the issue of racism, comrade Davis criticizes the Socialist Party's blindness to racial oppression. Despite the fact that "the majority of Black people were agricultural workers — sharecroppers, tenant farmers and farm laborers," she writes, "the Socialists argued that only the proletarians were relevant to their movement . . . (Eugene) Debs maintained 'we have nothing special to offer the Negro.'"¹³ Comrade Davis emphasizes, "the Socialists' posture of negligence vis a vis Black women was one of the unfortunate legacies the Communist Party would have to overcome."¹⁴

Whereas comrade Davis criticizes in depth the concept that feminist orientation transcends class identification, Professor Buhle places "faith in collective sisterhood" in opposition to class consciousness, implying that the former accounts for women's gains. Still further, Professor Bernard, committed to the "female world," cannot even define social class. One hundred pages of quotations, charts and anecdotes avoid facing the fact that social class equally for women as for men, is determined by one's ownership or non-ownership of the means of production. Admittedly, precise categories for working people — the petty bourgeoisie, professionals, office workers — the urban and rural middle strata — are not an easy matter. But Professor Bernard is so confused by the contradictions of academic definitions that she invents a unique system for stratifying women in which, she admits, "clear cut objectivity has been sacrificed for a more intuitive — though . . . behavioral approach."¹⁵

Status, as defined by popularity polls, is the basis of her system of classification. Thus, society, meaning women of the top levels of the ruling class, wins the highest status, followed

by celebrities; the intellectual class; the housewife; white-collar, pink-collar and blue-collar workers (arbitrarily lumped together as "middle class," although she states that "the three conventional variables for measuring social status — education, income and occupational prestige — combine to accord fairly low status");¹⁶ welfare recipients and outcasts.¹⁷

Professor Bernard unscrupulously juggles even her own statistics, a researcher's nightmare of categories which cannot be compared to each other. Concluding that the female world is primarily middle class (apparently there is no working class), she admits that her construct accounts for only 47 million women out of her own total of 74 million.¹⁸ She includes, but ignores the implications of, government statistics showing that nearly 42 million women in 1977 had incomes of \$2,500 or less (poverty levels — A.W.) compared to 26 million earning from \$2,500 to \$10,000; 4 million earning up to \$15,000 and only 516,000 earning over \$15,000.¹⁹ Yes indeed, sisterhood is desperately required for the mass of these "middle class" women but Professor Bernard misses the point that the best expression of sisterly solidarity is in organized struggle for equal pay for work of comparable value and for the social benefits so conspicuous by their absence in the USA.

Affirmative action, the concept of special programs of legally enforced quotas for at least a minimum number of training, hiring and promotion opportunities reserved for women, especially Black and other oppressed minority women, as well as for minority men, to compensate for past discrimination and as a step toward economic equality, is not included in Prof. Bernard's extensive index. Although she decries women's exclusion from many occupations, the over 10 year struggle for affirmative action, a programmatic demand even of feminist groups, doesn't merit the attention she gives to 13th century German women's communes, for example.

Students indoctrinated by this textbook will find it no guide to understanding, let alone changing the real world.

Sisterhood is obviously perceived very selectively. Comrade Davis points out that white, middle class women, trapped within the stultifying confines of their households did not concern themselves with the plight of Black women in their entrapment in the long hours and low pay of domestic service. That Black women could be paid a pittance and rejected as sisters-in-struggle contributed to the depressed wage levels of all women, the terrible price of white supremacy.

In a penetrating essay on domestic work and the role of housewives, comrade Davis speaks of the need in all economic systems for human reproduction, family nurture and sustenance.

However, she emphasizes that this does not have to take place under conditions which capitalism decrees. Society should provide the services to transform the primitive, individual nature of maintaining a family into a nationally organized system of support including child care facilities, professional cleaning teams using advanced technology, low cost and nutritious prepared foods, etc.²⁰ This would permit women to do what they have made abundantly clear they wish to do — become active members of the social process.

In this epoch it is only socialism which has the ability to achieve such fundamental changes. The concepts put forward by comrade Davis are well advanced in the socialist countries. Much valuable experience has been accumulated which is not generally known to U.S. women as they struggle for maternity benefits, child care, health protection, political rights and other aspects of actual equality which are assured by socialist democracy.

But the anti-communist ideology which bourgeois publishers spew forth, disorienting U.S. women with cruelly unscientific books such as those of Profs. Bernard and Buhle, deprives them of the knowledge and inspiration for the most powerful kind of sisterhood, international proletarian solidarity.

To successfully fulfil the most urgent task of this historic moment — abolishing the threat of nuclear war — women from capitalist and socialist societies must develop trust and understanding in the struggle. At the Western women's anti-missile demonstration in Brussels, International Women's Day, 1983, in which I participated, 10,000 women came together with the common aim of blocking the threat to world peace engendered by the USA and its NATO allies. When they heard that I live in Prague, they deluged me with naive but sincere questions about the status of Czechoslovak women and their peace activities. The widespread interest in these problems by women of varied political positions indicates a new understanding of the necessity for unity of action.

Many feminists now reject the petty-bourgeois sectarianism of the Bernards' and Buhles' as they march side by side with men in the peace movement and economic struggles. The main enemy, capitalism, is becoming apparent to them as these struggles sharpen. Advances along the road to equal rights for women promote closer unity of the multi-racial,

multi-national, female and male working class and its allies and their action in a united front against the source of exploitation and oppression. And this requires, as comrade Davis emphasizes, an unrelenting fight against racism which has traditionally diverted the women's movement from the class approach, away from the standpoint of the historic aims of the working class which alone can guarantee victory for full emancipation of women.

Large number of working class women — Black, white, Chicana and other oppressed minorities — welcome the practical and ideological support of the CPUSA in joint struggles. Approximately half of the new recruits who joined the CPUSA during the successful 1982 membership drive are women. It is precisely at this time that the women's movement is evaluating its past, searching for lessons applicable to the tasks ahead. The great contribution of comrade Davis' exposure of racism's crippling consequences is that she clearly identifies the pitfalls and points the way to progressive advances.

Audrey West
U.S. journalist

1. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, cited in the *Daily World*, March 3 and March 8, 1983.
2. J. Bernard, *The Female World*, New York, 1981, pp. 3-4.
3. M.J. Buhle, *Women and American Socialism. 1870-1820*, New York, 1981, p. 180.
4. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
7. Jim Crow is the comprehensive system of racist segregation measures and traditions that emerged in the USA at the end of the 19th century aimed at perpetuating discrimination and oppression of the Black population in all areas of life. — Ed.
8. A.Y. Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, New York, 1981, p. 111.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 114, 123.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
15. J. Bernard, *op.cit.*, p. 235. Behaviorism is a widespread trend in modern bourgeois psychology which reduces psychic phenomena to reactions of an organism and identifies consciousness with behavior. — Ed.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 234-247.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
20. A.Y. Davis, *op.cit.*, p. 223.



Struggle in a "triangle of forces"

Professor Vladimir Shenayev, Dr. Econ.,
Professor Yefim Khesin, Dr. Econ.,
Professor Yuri Yudanov, Dr. Econ.
Institute of World Economics and International Relations
of the USSR Academy of Sciences

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE CENTERS OF IMPERIALISM

It is not hard to identify the paramount, definitive factors among the many that influence present-day inter-imperialist relations. These are, on the one hand, the growth of the USA's leadership ambitions stimulated by the increasingly more aggressive character of that country's policies and the aspiration to economically weaken its principal rivals and, on the other, the active resistance from Western Europe and Japan. This clash of the "power lines" of the imperialist centers is aggravating the inner contradictions of the world capitalist economy springing from the uneven development of the member countries. The struggle for markets

and sources of raw materials is increasingly becoming conflict-prone and "trade wars" and "exchanges of blows" are growing more frequent in the export of capital, monetary and financial policy, and other spheres.

In the context of facts and figures let us consider the rivalry between the three centers of modern imperialism.

Toward economic polycentrism

Inter-imperialist rivalry rose to a new, higher pitch as long ago as in the 1960s and the early 1970s, when U.S. supremacy in the world capitalist economy was challenged by Western Europe and Japan.

This was spurred notably by the dramatic shifts in the economic growth rates. In 1961-

1973 the annual GDP growth rate in Western Europe and Japan averaged 4.8 and 9.6 per cent respectively, while in the USA it was 4 per cent. In the same period, the annual industrial output increment averaged 4.2 per cent in the USA and 5.5 and 12.8 per cent respectively in Western Europe and Japan. Western Europe and Japan drew level with the USA in economic efficiency, in labor productivity in the first place.

For the size of the GDP and industrial output Western Europe forged ahead of the USA, becoming the main center of international trade. Its share of the capitalist world's exports is now more than three times as large as that of the USA. The European Common Market has nearly half of the capitalist world's currency resources and surpasses the USA 10-fold in this indicator. Until the mid-1970s the Common Market had to some extent muted its internal contradictions, with the centripetal forces superseding the disintegrating factors. A customs union was set up for trade in manufactured goods and a common agricultural policy was adopted. The EEC membership rose from six to nine, and then to ten. Western Europe's economic influence has spread far beyond its boundaries to embrace nearly 80 developing nations.

In the meantime, Japan drastically shortened its lag behind the USA to become the second capitalist state in terms of economic potential and industrial capacity. In some promising areas of scientific and technological progress it has surpassed the USA: it is the acknowledged leader in the manufacture of optical fibers, special steels, synthetic dyes, ceramics, and polyvinylchloride, and is ahead of the USA in shipbuilding and in the output of cars, refrigerators, television sets, and videotape recorders. It is rapidly strengthening its position in the semi-conductors and pharmaceutical markets. Japanese economic influence is widening steadily. Southeast Asia has become a sort of "continuation" of Japan's economy.

The changes in the balance of strength between the three imperialist centers are mirrored also in a key sphere of their economic rivalry such as foreign direct investments. While the 1960s saw Western Europe being massively penetrated by U.S. capital, the growth of West European direct investments in the USA was the most visible phenomenon in the movement of capital during the latter half of the 1970s. Relative to the early 1980s it would be fair to say: "Now it is Americans who are agitated about an invasion of their economy by foreign multinationals."¹

The change in the correlation of the magni-

tudes of the mutual direct investments of these two centers of imperialist rivalry is quite distinct. In 1973 U.S. capital in Western Europe amounted to 38,300 million dollars, while West European capital in the USA totalled 12,500 million dollars, or 32.6 per cent of the American level. In 1981, U.S. investments rose to 101,300 million dollars, while those of Western Europe reached 57,700 million dollars, coming up as high as 57 per cent of the U.S. total. That same year, for the first time since the end of World War II, substantially more West European capital flowed to the USA (12 billion dollars, in absolute terms) than U.S. capital went to Western Europe (4,800 million dollars).²

The changes in the magnitude of the mutual direct investments between the USA and Japan have been even more conspicuous. In 1974 U.S. investments in Japan totalled 3,337 million dollars, while Japanese investments in the USA added up to 480 million dollars, or 14.4 per cent of the American level. In 1981 Japanese direct investments in the U.S. economy added up to 6,900 million dollars, a sum already somewhat in excess of the U.S. assets (6,800 million dollars) in the Japanese economy.

As a result of the significant regrouping of forces in the three imperialist centers, the West European multinationals moved very close in the early 1980s in terms of the size of their foreign assets to their American competitors (see Table 1).

Table 1
Direct Foreign Investments

Year	USA		Western Europe		Japan	
	\$ billion	%	\$ billion	%	\$ billion	%
1960	31.9	54.5	21.5	36.8	0.3	0.5
1973	101.3	48.9	84.8	41.0	10.3	5.0
1980	213.5	45.4	197.2	41.9	36.5	7.8
1981	227.3	43.3	224.1	42.7	46.4	8.8

Sources: *Salient Features and Trends in Foreign Direct Investment*, UN, New York, 1980, p. 29; *Transnational Corporations in World Development*, UN, New York, 1983, p. 19; *Survey of Current Business*, August 1983, p. 45; *Oriental Economist*, August 1983, p. 34.

A taut situation has taken shape in the sphere of international credits. In 1975, 10 of the USA's biggest banks ceded first place for the size of assets to the leading 10 in Western Europe, while in 1978 they were also outstripped by 10 Japanese banks.

The USA's weakened position and the

aggravation of inter-imperialist rivalry are vividly demonstrated in the monetary sphere as well. The Bretton Woods monetary system, imposed by the USA on the capitalist world after World War II and reflecting the monopoly status of the American dollar, collapsed in the early 1970s. One of its highlights was that it stimulated the export of U.S. capital. The overstated dollar exchange rate and the understated exchange rate of other currencies, chiefly of West European countries and Japan, were maintained to serve this end (by restricting the fluctuation range). However, the artificially low rate gave the USA's competitors the opportunity to engage in the dumping of money and strengthen their positions in the world commodity markets. Inter-imperialist contradictions were eroding the existing system from within as well. The capitalist world found itself confronted with the difficult task of working out and adopting new principles for the functioning of the monetary mechanism so as to adapt to the new situation. A long struggle culminated in the creation of a new system, called Jamaican, which institutionalized the principles of polycentrism in the capitalist world's monetary relations.

For the first time in the history of international monetary relations it was documented that national currencies had lost their link to gold. The gold reserves of central banks were henceforth indicative only of the availability of liquid assets that could be realized in the world markets (or used as security for a loan) to acquire money. This "monetary" gold no longer fulfils the function of money either in the capitalist countries or on the international scene. Gold has now to be sold for money, whereas formerly it could be used for payments directly through banks or exchanged in banks for foreign currency at the established rate.

The second distinctive feature of the Jamaican system is that it provides for gradually depriving the dollar of its monopoly role not only in the fulfillment of the functions of circulating assets in the currency reserves of central banks of capitalist countries. Its place is taken more frequently and to a growing extent by the "hard" national currencies of other countries, while as regards prospects the present system sees them in the Special Drawing Rights. These are to be used for evaluating currency reserves, for settlements, for currency rates, as reservations in the issue of securities, for payments which International Monetary Fund members had previously made in gold and in U.S. dollars, and for some mutual repayments of debts. The IMF leadership is studying the question of

creating an account "replacing U.S. dollars by SDRs."

The third important element of the new system is the codification of the practice of freely floating currency rates. The "floating" principle does not exclude governmental intervention in the market mechanism of setting currency rates. The latter continue to be used as a vital instrument for pursuing a foreign economic policy in the narrow, self-serving interests of individual countries. This found expression in a monetary war that broke out among the leading capitalist states, notably between the U.S. dollar and the West European currencies.

This is precisely the angle from which the European Monetary System, created in 1979, should be considered. Regardless of how successfully the EMS will be able to function, the very fact of its appearance ushered in a new stage in the monetary conflicts between the USA, Western Europe, and Japan.

USA: stake on "revitalization"

The economic crisis of 1974-75 introduced corrections in the dynamics of development and contributed to a certain re-shuffle of strength among the three main centers, this time in favor of the USA. Although the crisis there went deeper than in Western Europe, in the subsequent resurgence the USA outstripped the Common Market in many indicators. In 1976-1979 the annual GDP growth rate averaged 3.7 and 3.4 per cent respectively, and the industrial output growth rate averaged 3.8 and 2.8 per cent respectively.

As a result, there has been some weakening of Western Europe's position in the capitalist world economy. Apart from Western Europe's greater dependence on oil imports, this weakening is due to the bigger emphasis on old, traditional industries than in Japan and the USA. Therefore structural crises hit Western Europe harder than the two other centers.

The deterioration of the economic situation in the capitalist world, especially after the 1974-1975 crisis, slowed down the consolidation of the West European center. There was a sharp diminution of the scale and depth of integrational measures. The plan for the phased building up of the economic and monetary union of the EEC, adopted in the early 1970s, has been largely unrealized. There is now an increasingly more visible tendency toward protectionism in the EEC, toward concern chiefly for the interests of national monopoly capital. Some countries (Britain and Italy among them) have from time to time begun to introduce customs tariffs for manufactured goods. In the

1970s the EEC pricing mechanism for farm products broke down for all practical purposes. Conflicts are mounting among the EEC countries and these are likewise weakening Western Europe's position in the struggle with the other two imperialist centers. "... Despite the goals of economic unity espoused by the Common Market," writes *Newsweek*, "European companies have largely been unable to pool their resources into the giant combines needed to rival Japanese and American front-runners."³ Many big West European firms are, in terms of technology, finding themselves increasingly dependent on American and, still more, Japanese capital; in this situation the heads of these firms "have little choice but to consort with the enemy."⁴

In the case of Japan, the crisis of 1974-1975 was more serious for its industry than for that of the USA, although the overall output decline was smaller. In the next few years the growth rate of Japan's economy regained its primacy among the three centers, but the rate disparity shortened drastically.

By the end of the 1970s the USA had recovered, chiefly at the expense of Western Europe, the positions it had held in the world capitalist economy at the beginning of that decade. The crisis of 1980-1982 again hit the economy of the USA harder than that of its rivals. However, the USA is emerging from that crisis faster than the two other centers, particularly Western Europe. A revitalization began in the American economy in the spring of 1983.

As a result (this is shown in Table 2), the USA's share of the industrial output and foreign trade of the capitalist countries has either stabilized or somewhat increased. Japan's indicators have risen perceptibly, while those of the Common Market have dropped.

In analyzing the USA's potentialities for again challenging its rivals, some bourgeois analysts note that this process, code-named "revitalization," is already developing vigorously and will evidently take a whole decade. The hopes of the American monopolies are based on some substantial advantages that the USA still has over its rivals, notably, its higher level of scientific and technological development. Its allocations on research and development are larger than the expenditures for this purpose in Western Europe and Japan combined.⁵ The U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis estimates that in this field the balance had been tilting for a long time in favor of the the USA's rivals, but that it has stabilized in recent years.

Despite the narrowing of the "technological gap" between the USA and its main rivals, the USA remains ahead in the manufacture of many technologically advanced products, and retains an undisputed lead in the semi-conductor industry: although it is diminishing, the share of the American firms in the capitalist world's semi-conductor market amounts to nearly 55 per cent. Japan's position in the world computer market is still, on the whole substantially smaller than that of the USA. IBM of the USA remains the unquestioned leader, controlling 50 per cent of the market, while the Japanese monopolies have between 10 and 15 per cent of this market. The USA is ahead of its rivals in the production of computer software, lasers, many pharmaceutical products, biotechnology, aircraft and missile technology, and so forth. The level of the American economy's computerization and automation is still the highest in the capitalist world.

Another area in which the USA has an edge over its rivals is the clout wielded by the American transnationals, which under crisis

Table 2
Share of Three Centers in the Industrial Output and
Foreign Trade of the Non-Socialist World
(percentage)

	1960		1970		1975		1980		1981		1982	
	Indus-try	Ex-port	Indus-try	Ex-port	Indus-try	Ex-port	Indus-try	Ex-port	Indus-try	Ex-port	Indus-try	Ex-port
USA	39.6	18.2	35.9	15.3	35.6	13.5	36.1	11.9	36.8	12.8	35.1	12.9
EEC	32.8	26.7	31.5	32.8	37.3	37.5	35.5	36.2	34.7	33.9	35.4	35.7
Japan	6.8	3.5	13.3	6.9	13.2	7.2	15.2	7.1	15.5	8.3	16.3	8.6

Notes: (1) The industrial output of the OECD members is used as the basis for calculating the share of industrial output. (2) The statistics for 1982 distort the trend on account of the crisis state of the capitalist economy. (3) The Common Market was composed of six countries in 1960 and 1970, and since 1975 it has had a membership of 10.

Computed from: *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya*, Supplement to No. 8, 1968, p. 10 and Supplement to No. 8, 1983, p. 7; *Main Economic Indicators*, OECD, March 1983.

conditions have been able to extract the maximum benefits from the international character of their transactions.

In characterizing the balance of strength between the main imperialist rivals in foreign direct investments, account must be taken not only of their production capacities but also of the branch structure of these capacities. Large investments in the newest and most advanced industries of the main rivals ensure the most favorable conditions for successful competition for supremacy in the world capitalist economy. In these indicators the American corporations are not only retaining but steadily reinforcing their lead.

Thus, in the aggregate West European direct investments in the USA, the share of the engineering industry (including electrical machinery and electronics) continues to be relatively modest (in 1981 about 16.7 per cent of the total investments in the manufacturing industry). But of the American direct investments in Western Europe, the lion's share is in this industry (roughly 43 per cent),⁶ which, of course, mirrors the balance of strength between these two centers in technically advanced industries.

The same pattern is to be observed in the balance of strength in another advanced industry — biochemistry. The American corporations already have large production facilities in the USA itself and are trying to gain control of this industry in the countries of their chief competitors. The foreign expansion of the U.S. monopolies is backed up by a powerful research and development base, which considerably exceeds the capacities in this area of the two other centers. According to *The Economist*, in the 1980s the annual investments into research and development in biotechnology amounted to nearly 200 million dollars (550 million dollars if the investments in related industries are taken into account) in the USA, 146 million dollars (355 million dollars respectively) in Western Europe, and about 50 million dollars in Japan.⁷ The lag of the two other centers behind the USA is particularly conspicuous in the industrial application of the results of fundamental research in biotechnology.

Lastly, although the USA's position in the international monetary system has suffered a visible comedown, the course toward regaining the monopoly status of the dollar has been resumed. The USA seeks to use its remaining advantages over its rivals: currently more than 55 per cent of the settlements in world trade are made in U.S. dollars; the price of oil is set in dollars; the U.S. banks account for 80 per cent

of the total international bank credits; approximately 75 per cent of all the foreign currency reserves in the central banks of capitalist countries are in dollars.⁸

Escalation of competition

The shifts we have mentioned in the balance of strength between the three centers of imperialism are strongly influencing the entire range of relations between them, mirroring the growing unevenness and the overall instability of capitalism's development since the mid-1970s. The deterioration of the international situation is having a perceptible impact on the character of the inter-imperialist contradictions.

The West European monopolies have not reconciled themselves to the loss of their positions and are trying to prevent a return to the days when the USA held unchallenged sway in the capitalist world. Moreover, they are trying to prevent any further growth of technological dependence on Japan. The captains of West European business are making new efforts to reinforce their positions. To this end they are, at the cost of the working people, massively introducing capitalist rationalization in old and restructuring new, science-intensive industries. In some West European countries, where right-wing conservative forces have come to power, a number of functions of the state are being turned over to private business. Compared with the USA and Japan, the West European countries have at least one indisputable advantage: they are able to accommodate themselves to the international situation faster and more flexibly on account of their long experience of establishing world economic relations. Considerable importance is attached to reinforcing and raising the level of integrational activity in the Common Market.

As for Japan, it is continuing to strengthen its economic positions. Its ruling circles have not given up the idea of overtaking the USA in the near future in key indicators of economic growth and becoming the No. 1 capitalist power. Since the close of the 1970s Japan has gone over from mainly purchasing foreign technology (which enabled it to reduce its lag in this area rapidly) to speedily building up its own scientific and technological capacities, to becoming a "country of scientific and technological breakthroughs." The Japanese ruling circles can rely on a large economic, scientific and technological base, a high rate of capital accumulation, and a highly skilled workforce in combination with active state participation in the regulation and management of the economy. Japan's further development is linked by its state-monopoly circles chiefly to the re-

tooling, or "reindustrialization" of various branches of the economy on a new scientific and technological foundation. Its successes in restructuring its economy and its swift adaptation to the changing situation in the international market are frightening its main rivals.

In this situation there has been a sharp aggravation of the struggle along the entire front of inter-imperialist relations. This aggravation is being fueled especially by the worsening, since the mid-1970s, of the general conditions of reproduction in the capitalist world, particularly the further synchronization of the dynamics of production in the three centers: the crisis in the USA, Western Europe, and Japan has struck the same industries. To this it should be added that export has ceased to be a safety-valve for the monopolies of the rivals — since the mid-1970s, the growth rate of international trade has plummeted steeply and there has been an absolute diminution of the physical volume of commodity exports (in 1975, 1981 and 1982 in the USA, in 1975 in Western Europe, and in 1979 and 1982 in Japan).

Under these conditions all the three centers of imperialism have returned to the active use of protectionist devices, something that has not been observed since the Great Depression of 1929-1933. A large arsenal of non-tariff barriers was placed in the service of protectionist interests in the 1970s and 1980s: there has been a dramatic rise in the significance of "voluntary" restrictions on exports, usually imposed by those who are the strongest. In recent years restrictions have been placed on imports of Japanese cars in the USA, of Japanese color televisions in the USA and Western Europe, of Japanese video-tape recorders and steel in the Common Market, and of West European special grades of steel in the USA. The anti-dumping precautions in the USA and Western Europe have been stiffened enormously. In 1983 France proposed increasing the EEC customs tariffs in order to protect science-intensive industries of the member nations. It must be emphasized that in most cases protectionist measures have been initiated by the USA.

In order to take the edge off the contradictions, the leaders of the USA, Western Europe, and Japan are trying somehow to coordinate their actions. Since 1975 there have been regular summit meetings of the seven leading capitalist states, the so-called Trilateral Commission is a standing body, contacts are being steadily promoted in the OECD, and conferences of heads of state and government of the EEC countries (the European Council) are convened periodically. The communiqué of the

latest Big Seven summit in Williamsburg states: "We commit ourselves to halt protectionism."⁹

However, this "concerted activity" has yet to yield tangible results. At the close of the 1970s and in the early 1980s the world witnessed further intensive battles in the areas of capitalist trade and monetary relations. For example, Western Europe's rise to become the second biggest exporter of farm products after the USA triggered an "agricultural war" between these two centers, while the large surplus of ferrous metals in the capitalist world market has led to the outbreak of a "steel war." The contradictions between the USA and Japan are steadily growing more acute, likewise acquiring the character of "trade-economic wars." The "textile" and "car" wars, sparked by the deluge of cheap Japanese products in the USA, have now been followed by a new trade battle over technologically advanced electronic products. An increasingly bitter "electronics war" is being fought between Japan and Western Europe. Another major hotbed of economic tension between them has sprung up as a result of the mass export of Japanese cars to Western European countries. In the trade wars the offensive is usually conducted by the USA, while the Common Market and Japan have at best to maneuver.

Hard-fought battles are raging on the monetary front. On this front, as in trade, the USA is particularly aggressive. By raising the bank rate, it is causing an influx of foreign capital and improving its balance of payments. In 1980-1982 it had a favorable balance as a result of an artificial hike of the dollar exchange rate. In the period from January 1981 to August 1983 this rate, relative to the currencies of the USA's 23 biggest partners, rose by 32 per cent,¹⁰ which did not conform with the actual state of the economy of the capitalist countries and was largely the result of a calculated policy on the part of the Reagan administration.

By raising the bank and exchange rates the USA has been able to cause an outflow of capital from and a reduction of the currency and gold reserves of West European countries in the first place. The decline of the exchange rate of the latter countries' currencies relative to the U.S. dollar has led to a rise of the prices of imports in Western Europe. By 1983 the 10 largest American banks had regained their lead in the capitalist world in terms of the amount of loan capital, pushing their West European rivals into second and the Japanese into third place.

Western Europe is resisting the USA's efforts to regain the dominant positions in inter-

national monetary policy. Implementation of the plan for a European monetary system is visibly enhancing the role of the Common Market countries in the settlement of monetary issues, including in the IMF. Although in their official statements the architects of this plan have denied that it is directed against the U.S. dollar, it is obviously an attempt to protect the EEC economy from the dollar's debilitating influence. The USA is clearly worried about the effects that the functioning of this system might have on the dollar. It fears that there might be a European Monetary Fund, which under certain circumstances could rival the IMF, in which American influence is strong.

The tangled knot of contradictions between the three centers is snowballing as a result of the aggravation of international tension caused in recent years by aggressive circles in the USA. The growth of the military preparations by Washington's allies is due to no little extent to direct pressure from the Reagan administration. The USA seeks thereby not only to reduce its own military burden but also to erode the competitiveness of Western Europe and Japan in trade and economic relations by making them shoulder large military expenditures. As a result, the purchases of U.S.-made military hardware are growing and there is an increasingly marked tendency toward unifying and standardizing armaments in the leading capitalist countries with the orientation chiefly on the American model. At the same time, having adopted new armaments programs, the USA is moving into a qualitatively new spiral of the arms race, leaving Western Europe and Japan far behind in this respect.

Dissimilar processes are to be observed also in the sphere of the economic relations of the three centers of imperialism with socialist countries. By steering a course toward exacerbating the military-political confrontation with the socialist world, Washington has been able to impose some restrictions on the EEC and Japan with regard to the exports of technology, the import of some commodities, and terms of credit for trade with socialist countries. But, motivated by their own interests, the EEC and Japan have, for all practical purposes, refused to join in large-scale actions to freeze and reduce economic cooperation with socialist countries. The resultant complication of the relations between the imperialist centers contributed to making the USA curtail its "sanctions" against the USSR. However, the economic dependence of Western Europe and Japan on the USA and the latter's military superiority in the capitalist world compel the former two centers to accept compromises. The Reagan administration, which has gone over to a ruthless economic and political offensive along the entire front of relations between the imperialist powers, is seeking to benefit by this circumstance.

1. Survey "Investing in the United States," *The Economist*, October 25, 1980, p. 3.
2. Survey of Current Business for the respective years.
3. *Newsweek*, March 28, 1983, p. 8.
4. Ibid.
5. *The Economist*, February 5, 1983, p. 44.
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10. Computed from *Monatsberichte der Deutschen Bundesbank*, No. 9, 1983, p. 82.



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Ismail Bilen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Turkey, distinguished figure of the Turkish and international communist and working class movement, a great internationalist and ardent patriot, passed away unexpectedly on November 18, 1983, at the age of 81.

Ismail Bilen was born on October 18, 1902. When he was 18 he joined the people's national liberation struggle against the Entente armies that had occupied Turkey and against internal reaction. In 1922, he became a member of the CPT, founded by Mustafa Subhi in 1920 under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Elected a member of the CC in 1932 and secretary of the CC two years later, Ismail Bilen directed the organizational and propaganda work of the party for many years. He was arrested several times. In 1937 he was elected representative of the CPT to the Comintern. During World War II he worked tirelessly among the masses, exposing the real face of the pro-fascist Turkish governments. Ismail Bilen became General Secretary of the CC CPT in 1974. In April 1983, the plenary session of the CC elected him Chairman of the party and the fifth CPT congress (October 1983) re-elected him to this post.

Ismail Bilen was an exemplary communist who, in party branches and the highest party bodies alike, fulfilled every task assigned by the party without hesitation, creatively and selflessly. He consistently defended Marxism-

Leninism against right and "left" opportunism and was an experienced organizer. After a long series of police onslaughts on the CPT, he worked perseveringly to reorganize the party. The successes registered by the CPT in the 1970s, the rise of a new generation of Turkish communists, and the growing ideological, political and organizational maturity of the party are all inseparable from Ismail Bilen's activity.

All his life Ismail Bilen was in the forefront of the Turkish people's struggle against dependence on imperialism and in post-war years on U.S. imperialism and NATO, and for peace and their rights.

Ismail Bilen will go down in the history of the Turkish working class and the international communist and working class movement as a true son of his people, a defender of the working people's interests and a consistent champion of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He always worked for the strengthening of the international communist movement and the consolidation of its unity and cherished deep fraternal sentiments for the CPSU and the Soviet Union, for Lenin's party and country.

Ismail Bilen wrote often for *World Marxist Review*. He is the author of many books that have been translated into different languages.

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