

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

February 1981, Volume 24, Number 2 \$1.00



Canada / 55

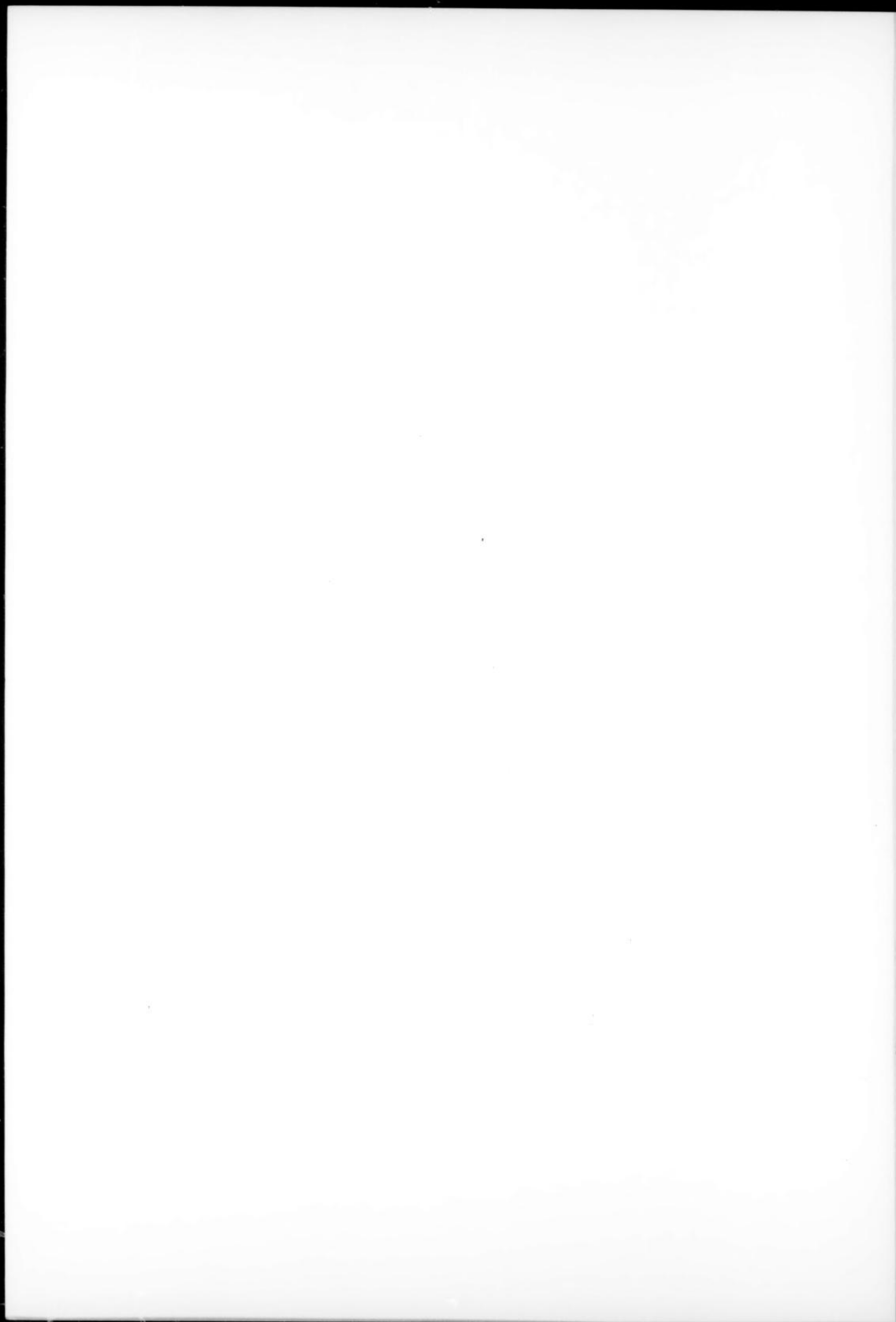
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WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada. ISSN 0043-8642

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM published in Prague.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., \$7.50 a year. Other countries, \$11.50. Institutions, double rate.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Amharic, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Malayalam, Mongolian, Norwegian, Oriya, Persian, Polish, Por-

tuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

In the USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

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A word about the Party of Lenin

Todor Zhivkov
First Secretary, BCP Central Committee,
Chairman, State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Ever since Marxism, the pinnacle of social thought, proclaimed the daring aim of refashioning the world, and the working-class movement adopted scientific socialism as its ideology, the question of a political party capable of heading the revolutionary, transformative activity of the masses, of directing their historical initiative, has been central to social progress.

There is a special reason for looking into this question: the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is soon to hold its next congress in Moscow. We say "next" by tradition. Not only for the Soviet communists but also for the communists throughout the world, a CPSU congress is a significant event, a sort of watershed at which we stop to look around, assess what has been achieved, and select the best and most reliable ways and means for our further advance toward our cherished goals.

This is quite natural because the Party of Lenin holds a special place in the international communist movement. In this article I shall try to define that place, the lessons to be learned from the experience of the CPSU, and the most pressing problems in the realization of the party's leading role in the revolution and the building of the new society.

When we say that the CPSU holds a special place in the international communist movement we by no means have in mind a "commanding role," which our ideological adversaries try to ascribe to it in their efforts to discredit the entire movement. From the viewpoint of the norms accepted in the relations between the communists of the world, the CPSU is an equal among equals. But we speak of its special place having in mind its great prestige, the tangible impact of its experience and example on other communist parties, and the actual contribution that it makes to our common cause.

Let me remind you of only three historical facts.

Formed as the first-ever party of the new type, the Party of Lenin categorically rejected reformism and opportunism into which West European social democracy was degenerating at the time. It steered the vanguard forces of the working class toward a revolutionary road and carried with it the broadest working masses. Where would the world working-class movement have been today, had that fundamental turn not taken place?

The Party of Lenin led the people in the first-ever victorious socialist revolution. This triumph laid the beginning for the practical implementation of the ideas of scientific socialism and showed the peoples that they could defeat their oppressors and

build a new life without exploiters, on the basis of new and incomparably more just principles. Where would we have been today without that resolute breakthrough into the future, into the new socialist and communist era that was accomplished in October 1917?

The Party of Lenin inspired and organized the selfless struggle of the Soviet people against the sinister forces of fascism, that were out to gain world supremacy and had already done much in the way of subjugating Europe. Under the leadership of the CPSU the Soviet people made the largest contribution to the defeat of fascism, and saved many peoples, including the Bulgarian people, from slavery and physical extermination. What would have happened to humankind had this great exploit not been accomplished?

Solely these three facts, which determined the destiny of humankind and are recorded in its history, would have been enough to call the CPSU the Prometheus of the new age, of the age of socialism and communism.

Not only in revolution, but also in building the new society the Party of Lenin explored uncharted paths where, to use Lenin's words, "there is no vehicle, no road, absolutely nothing that had been tested beforehand" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 205). Let us ponder what this means.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the first to tackle the cardinal theoretical and practical tasks of forming and developing new relations of production and social relations, of building a new way of life. These were extraordinarily complex and dialectically contradictory tasks carried out under more than difficult circumstances. What were these tasks?

Industrialization, which was vital for building socialism's industrial foundation and defense capability, without which the revolutionary gains of the people could not be safeguarded. And, at the same time, a similarly vital and urgent enhancement of the living standard, which the population naturally expected from the new Soviet power and from its Communist Party.

Agriculture had to be restructured along socialist lines and millions of peasants drawn into the building of the new economy. Simultaneously, it was necessary to ensure food for the working population and raw materials for industry.

A cultural revolution had to be initiated with the aim of shaping a new and integral socialist culture. Simultaneously, it was vital to sustain national

traditions and promote the cultural development of all the nationalities and ethnic groups.

There had to be a single leadership for the fulfillment of these tasks, a centralized planned management of economic and cultural construction. Simultaneously, foreordained by the very essence of the new society, it was necessary to encourage the initiative of the masses everywhere, at factories and in the localities, to draw them into the administration of the affairs of society and the state, and establish genuine, socialist democracy.

Lastly, there were international problems: the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems was elaborated and carried into practice. An organic part of it, is an active class stand and assistance to peoples fighting for national and social emancipation.

These were new and exceedingly difficult problems. Who would venture to say that in those years, in the volatile situation prevailing at the time, under those new and, in many cases, unforeseen circumstances, in a tense internal and international atmosphere these problems would have been resolved better and more successfully than was done by the CPSU?

Our ideological adversaries want public opinion concentrated on errors and shortcomings. This is understandable — nothing less can be expected from adversaries. The communists, too, speak of shortcomings, study the experience of the CPSU, and draw conclusions for themselves — that is also natural: it is absurd to stumble where someone else has already stumbled — this, as a matter of fact, is what Lenin taught us. But it is hard to understand those who deliberately over-accentuate setbacks and distort the actual picture of the development of socialism and the activities of the CPSU. Of course, mistakes have been made. The point, Lenin wrote, is not in the fact that they have been made — there cannot be people so clever as not to err — the question is that these errors should not be very significant and that they should be quickly corrected (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 35-36). "Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification — that is the hallmark of a serious party, that is how it should perform its duties, and how it should educate and train its class, and then the masses" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 57).

Who will assert that the CPSU does not perform this duty? Not a single outside critic has analyzed actual (not invented) shortcomings as profoundly and frankly as the CPSU.

Those who inflame problems artificially cannot obscure the main thing, namely, that the entire history of the world's first socialist country is a great exploit accomplished by the Soviet people under and thanks to the leadership of the CPSU.

To this day the Communist Party of the Soviet Union carries out its mission of trail-blazer and pioneer. It blazes new trails in theory; the laws of social development it has brought to light invari-

ably have been and are being borne out by the experience of other socialist countries.

The CPSU has substantiated the fact that at the stage of developed socialism the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat evolves into a state of the whole people, and that the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class becomes the party of the whole people. The CPSU has established the regularities governing the formation of a new historical entity — the Soviet people — on the basis of close cooperation among different nationalities and ethnic groups.

By its practical work the CPSU has brilliantly demonstrated the validity of these theoretical postulates.

The theoretical elaboration and practical verification of questions concerning the relationship between economic and social tasks are of fundamental significance. In particular, the correlation between production accumulation and social consumption, and the balance between the development of the basic sectors of production and between the various groups of its branches have always received close attention from the CPSU. At the stage of mature socialism it resolutely gave prominence to social questions, stressing at its 24th congress that the "fullest possible satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements is the supreme aim of production under socialism."¹ It clearly indicated the conditions for the successful achievement of this aim, and principal of which is to raise the efficiency of production.

The consistent policy orienting the development of the entire economy on the supreme aim, that of improving the welfare of Soviet people, was further elaborated at the next, 25th congress of the CPSU and at plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. At the CC's plenary meeting in October 1980, Leonid Brezhnev characterized the prospects for the socialist economy, declaring: "I would begin the talk on these questions not with metal, transport, or even fuel and energy — however significant they may be — but with questions on whose solution the conditions of the life of Soviet people most directly depend. It seems to me that that is precisely the party approach which sets concern for the welfare of the people above all else. Indeed, from the strictly economic point of view as well, it is surer to proceed from the ultimate goal to what must ensure its attainment."²

This is obviously a crystal-clear and, I would say, eloquent assertion of the CPSU's principled approach to the problem of the relationship between social and economic tasks. In particular, a practical expression of this approach is that the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee has passed a resolution on the drawing up of a food program; that the question has been raised of a long-term program for the production of consumer goods, for a marked expansion of the B-group industries; that new tasks have been set in further improving working conditions, and in housing construction, health care, education and culture. Social questions are dealt with at length in the CC's draft *Basic Guide-*

lines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period up to 1990. It is already clear that at the 26th congress these questions will undergo further elaboration.

These are not transient or particular elements of the CPSU's policy. They constitute the pivot of that policy.

Those who follow, even if not in step and even along largely their own paths, will always find things easier if they know how the cherished summits were stormed, how those in front had surmounted obstacles. What has been created by the Soviet people under CPSU leadership serves as the compass for everybody. This is why the fraternal communist and workers' parties will go on studying and using the historic experience of the CPSU, combining the general laws governing the building of the new society with a thorough study of the actual situation, of the specific features of their respective countries.

We Bulgarian communists learn from the CPSU. But this does not at all mean that we are blindly repeating everything that has been done by the pioneering party. This would not only profane the term "learn," but contradicts the very essence of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Lenin used to speak of the importance of the experience of the October Socialist Revolution in the broad and narrow sense of the term (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 21). His words, it seems to me, are applicable to the entire experience of the CPSU. If we speak of experience in the broad sense of the term, what we learn from the CPSU is chiefly how to apply Marxist-Leninist theory creatively.

What does this mean in concrete terms?

From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we learn:

— how, as it has done, to remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism, safeguard its basic principles in struggle against attempts to distort or revise these principles, against attempts to reject the propositions and achievements of scientific socialism, and attempts to start everything "from scratch;" what was said by Lenin about Marxism we have every right to say today about the Marxist-Leninist teaching: "by following the path of Marxist theory we shall draw closer and closer to objective truth (without ever exhausting it); but by following any other path we shall arrive at nothing but confusion and lies" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, p. 143);

— how, as it has done, to develop Marxist-Leninist theory creatively with account of the dynamic course of life, the peculiarities of the changing circumstances; this allows the communists, as Lenin said, to control events instead of letting themselves be controlled by them, to keep their head in the face of a novel situation, to avoid inertia, bigotry, and dogmatism; we strive to enrich theory without hastily abandoning these or those postulates at every new turn of events;

— how, as it has done, to combine theory and practice organically, without replacing revolutionary deeds by revolutionary verbiage, without di-

vorcing the aspiration for lofty ideals from day-to-day requirements, check theory by practice, and theoretically generalize practical results.

In speaking of utilizing the experience of the CPSU "in the narrow sense of the word," we should like to stress, first and foremost, that the Bulgarian Communist Party is not afraid of using in its work what has been tested by the practice of others, what has proved its viability and is suitable in our conditions. In this case, too, it is not a matter of mechanically transplanting experience accumulated under some specific conditions to other conditions.

For example, we have always been interested in the principled conclusions drawn from the CPSU's experience of implementing its leading role in socialist society.

It is a fact that the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is recognized nationwide. The relevant provisions written into the constitution of the USSR were the legitimate formalization of a situation that had taken shape historically. I shall name only a few features that, in our opinion, enabled the Party of Lenin successfully to fulfill its mission of leader, features that are of special interest to us today.

First and foremost the CPSU draws its strength from the unity of ideology and organization. It would be a mistake to think that unity of ideology is ensured beforehand, as it were, outside the party, i.e., solely by the fact that it is joined by people who are totally committed and who fully subscribe to party ideology. Unity of ideology is also a living process, chiefly in the sense that the ideological education and development of the communists continues in the party itself. A creative approach to this matter ensures a more successful education of party members in a spirit of genuine commitment, an ability to uphold their party convictions, explain them to the masses, and actively join in the struggle against ideological adversaries. It seems to me that the ideological, militant activity of party members is an exceptionally important quality of the party. At the same time, unity of ideology is the most dependable foundation of unity of organization.

Ideological and organizational unity does not rule out but, on the contrary, presupposes inner-party democracy, the encouragement of criticism and self-criticism. In this sense, too, the CPSU is a model for us. Like the CPSU, we want the opinion of every communist to be heard and taken into consideration. And not only of the communist. The principles of democracy, of criticism and self-criticism are implemented most fully in the work of the party if on the most fundamental issues of its policy, it constantly consults the people and reports to them. A vivid example of how this is done is provided by the present preparations for the 26th congress of the CPSU. An open, scrutinizing, and comprehensive discussion of the draft resolution on the basic guidelines of the USSR's economic and social development, published by the party, is going on not only in the party organization at all levels, but also in the trade unions and in the work collectives. Millions of people are articulating

suggestions, opinions and critical remarks. This method of drawing up fundamental party documents has been adopted also by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The CPSU is strong on account of its unbreakable link with the masses, notably the working class, and because it has their unbounded confidence. This has been made possible because it acts on the Leninist principle that the mutual relations and mutual confidence between the party, the working class, and the masses is not something given once and for all (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 212). From the CPSU we learned and continue to learn to rely on the working class constantly and in everything, to probe deeply into the mood of the masses, and to understand their needs and aspirations. From the Party of Lenin we learned and continue to learn to conduct a candid and sincere talk with the masses when things are running smoothly and when there are difficulties. The communists of the Soviet Union led their people to victories through stern trials, despite pressure from the imperialist and other reactionary forces such as was experienced by nobody else, because in leading them they always explained not only why it was difficult but also how difficulties could be surmounted. The communists have always set examples for the masses and have always learned from them.

Having, in the main, taken shape since the time of Lenin and been enriched by more than 60 years' experience, the principles, forms and methods of the CPSU's leadership of social development constitute a priceless store of wealth that is broadly accessible to the communists of other countries.

Our attention is drawn by the CPSU's ability to combine revolutionary courage and scientific circumspection in setting and carrying out socio-economic tasks. The CPSU invariably proceeds from the need constantly to take into account and use objective economic laws in leadership, from the fact that no voluntarism or subjectivism can be tolerated. This was strongly emphasized at its latest congresses. Scientific substantiation of party decisions is ensured by the fact that they are drawn up with the help of scientists, specialists and working people from industrial and agricultural enterprises. The principles of collective work are thereby projected beyond the limits of party organs proper. This is how the Leninist norms and methods of leadership are applied in practice in a developed economy, in a mature socialist society. And in this, too, we learn from the CPSU.

Our attention is also drawn by the exceedingly important circumstance that the CPSU implements its leading role in society by concentrating on working out the general political line and the main questions of organization without supplanting state agencies and public organizations. The principle of demarcating functions recorded in the rules of the CPSU is mirrored in the constitution of the USSR. In keeping with the constitution, the CPSU works actively in the Soviets of working people's deputies, the trade unions, and the youth and women's movements without fettering but, on the contrary,

encouraging and promoting their initiative and independence. This is active work in the true sense of the word, not mere presence. It is work that takes into account not only the specific interests of this or that organization but, above all, the common interests of the entire nation. For that reason all public organizations acknowledge the leading role of the CPSU, that it champions these common interests.

The Party of Lenin proves its ability to be the political leader by its day-to-day, hour-to-hour handling of everyday, ordinary matters. That is why, in indicting ideological adversaries who seek to misrepresent the situation in the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev said with every justification: "To try to range the party and the people against each other . . . is the same as trying to separate, say, the heart from the rest of the human body."³ This is true. And it is also a quality of the CPSU that wins it immense prestige and evokes the desire to learn from it and to utilize its experience.

One of the most important features of the CPSU, which gives it an outstanding place in the international communist movement, is that it combines true socialist patriotism with lofty, proletarian-tempered internationalism.

Nobody is entitled to doubt that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading patriotic force. It has proved this by its internal and foreign policies and by the orientation of its entire educational work.

Moreover, nobody can produce a single fact to reproach the CPSU that it places the interests of its people against those of other peoples. The patriotism of the Soviet communists and of Soviet people generally is invariably and organically combined with internationalism. This is convincingly borne out by the war years. I will not look far for an example: many Soviet people and communists fought gallantly in the ranks of Bulgarian partisans.

For me, a veteran of the partisan movement in Bulgaria, it is perhaps natural to begin with this stirring example of internationalism, the memory of which will be with me for the rest of my life. But if we were to trace history from the October Revolution to our day, we shall find countless striking examples of this kind.

It is common knowledge that the committed and inspiring support extended by the CPSU to many fraternal parties to enable them to survive and grow strong was combined with many other vital forms of assistance. I shall mention only one: the CPSU did everything in its power to save the lives of revolutionary militants when they found themselves in a difficult and sometimes hopeless situation.

The internationalism of the Party of Lenin manifested itself in full stature and consistency in the enormous, all-sided assistance to countries where the new social system was only getting on its feet. This is well known not only to the Bulgarian people but also to the peoples of other socialist countries in several continents.

The CPSU's internationalism is seen today in its efforts to strengthen the socialist community and to help peoples fighting for national and social eman-

cipation and also those that have won liberation and are laying the foundations of a new life. Moreover, its internationalism is demonstrated by its many-sided support for the struggle of the communist parties and all other progressive forces in industrialized capitalist countries.

I should like to emphasize that the CPSU extends to fraternal parties only the assistance wanted by them, without imposing its will or setting terms. It is a real and true friend. The Bulgarian communists assert this on the basis of their long experience of friendship and cooperation with the CPSU.

This year we will be marking the 90th anniversary of the memorable day when the outstanding revolutionary Marxist Dimitr Blagoyev laid the foundations for the Marxist party of the Bulgarian proletariat. By virtue of the historically-shaped relations between our party (the Bulgarian Tesniaks) — which had by then become united and was one of the founding members of the Third, Communist International — and the Russian Bolsheviks, the conditions arose for creatively utilizing the experience of the Party of Lenin for the relatively speedy and painless development of the BCP into a party of the new, Leninist type, for its Bolshevikization.

Constant contact and exchanges of experience with the CPSU helped the Bulgarian communists to master the science and art of revolution, of uniting and organizing the working class, the masses. This made it possible to inspire our people to wage an armed struggle against fascism and capitalism and, under the leadership of the party and the decisive assistance of the Soviet army of liberation, overthrow the monarchical-fascist regime and establish a people's democracy that opened the road to socialism.

The historical process of the BCP's Leninization was facilitated by the fact that it was headed by Georgi Dimitrov, a true Leninist and devoted friend of the CPSU and the Soviet people, and an outstanding internationalist.

Bulgarian-Soviet relations have now risen to a new level, which was reached as a result of the consistent implementation of the course charted by the BCP and the CPSU toward the all-sided drawing together and integration of our countries and peoples. Our party's general line, mapped out by the CC in April 1956, ensures socialist Bulgaria's advance along a path that enables it to have a rhythm and criteria in common with the Soviet Union, engage in united and coordinated actions with it in the political, economic, ideological, scientific, cultural and military spheres, and build an identical way of life. The tendency toward a drawing together all along the line is such that both our countries, while preserving their independence, strive to act as a single organism having the same lungs and one and the same circulatory system. The profoundly dialectical process of this mutual drawing together gives the Bulgarian people a new type of patriotic and internationalist consciousness, in which devotion to Bulgaria is intimately linked to and fused with fraternal affection for the Soviet Union, for the Soviet people.

We are convinced that by pursuing a coordinated course toward the all-sided drawing together of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union we are making a tangible contribution to the materialization of the principles of socialist internationalism, setting the conditions for an extension and deepening of friendship, cooperation, mutual assistance and integration of each of the two countries with other socialist states and peoples, and promoting the all-sided drawing together of all the countries and peoples of the socialist community. We are inspired by Leonid Brezhnev's words that Soviet-Bulgarian relations are an example of socialist internationalism in action.

It is evidently not necessary to speak in more detail about the significance of internationalism generally — this is a separate subject. However, I should like to emphasize the special need to support the Party of Lenin in its exceptionally important and constructive international initiatives, to defend the CPSU against attacks by its ideological adversaries, by the high priests of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, against slander and efforts to discredit it. It is not simply that the CPSU needs our support. In the light of the aforesaid, it seems obvious to me, and life constantly bears me out, that every blow aimed at the CPSU is a blow aimed at us, at existing socialism, at the entire communist movement. This should be borne in mind always.

Today unity with the CPSU is of the utmost importance in a sphere where the most burning and most vital question for all the peoples is being decided: this is the *question of peace on our planet*.

The CPSU is the standard-bearer of peace, of the struggle for détente and disarmament. Guided by and enriching and developing the Leninist conception of peaceful coexistence, the CPSU has mapped out a peace program that has won the approval and support of the entire socialist community and of progressive world opinion. The CPSU pursues an active policy of peace, coming forward with new constructive proposals. This is a class policy. It stands in opposition to attempts to use the ideas of peace against the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation, for democracy and socialism. The huge military capability built up by the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU is the factor curbing the aggressive ambitions of imperialism and guaranteeing the security of all the socialist-community countries. In proposing disarmament the CPSU proceeds from the need to preserve the approximate equilibrium of strength in the world, from the principle of equal security.

The stand of the CPSU and the Soviet government on this question is well known. But we shall nevertheless mention it because some circles are deliberately misrepresenting it, while others do not understand it clearly and therefore do not always interpret it correctly. We therefore feel that it is the duty of the communists to do everything to explain and support the policy of the CPSU on the international scene and show that it is wrong to pin the responsibility for the whipping up of tension on "both sides," i.e., on imperialism and on the Soviet

Union and other socialist-community states. The "equal distance" stand is objectively in favor of the forces interested in increasing tension and detrimental to those that are sincerely and selflessly working for peace.

In assessing, on its merits, everything that the CPSU and the USSR are doing to consolidate peace, we must express our profound gratitude to Leonid Brezhnev for his enormous personal contribution to the most humane cause of our time — the saving and enrichment of material and spiritual civilization created by the peoples, the saving of the human species itself and life on earth. The following stirring words are an ardent appeal to people: "If I were asked today what is the main conclusion I drew from the war which I went through from beginning to end, I would say: There must be no more war. Never again must there be any war."⁴

These words find a response in millions of hearts.

Seventy-nine years ago, in 1902, Lenin wrote of the vanguard organization of the proletariat he was setting up: "We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 355). It was a small, heroic contingent of revolutionaries. What gave it the enormous strength to rally millions around itself and turn the course of history? The source was Marxist-Leninist theory, fidelity to the only true teaching on society and the laws of its development, and steadfast, consistent and creative application of this teaching in practice. Fused with the working-class movement and embodied in the activities of its vanguard, Marxism-Leninism is a great transformative force.

Presently the CPSU is a 17,000,000-strong vanguard heading the creative effort of the multi-

national Soviet people along the path of an unprecedented historic ascent. Theoretical armament, a high level of organization, unbreakable links to the masses, and internationalism — all these hallmarks of the new type of party founded by Lenin are today mature and enriched. *The CPSU is a developed party of the new type, a Marxist-Leninist party of our epoch, a party conforming to a developed socialist society.*

Recognition of the CPSU's great role and special place in the international communist movement is not simply a tribute of respect for the pioneering, internationalist party holding aloft the banner of peace.

For us it is above all the question: with whom to check our own tread, development and achievements. The Bulgarian communists reply: with the CPSU.

For us, utmost support for the Party of Lenin in the realization of its great historic mission is a question of duty and honor. We Bulgarian communists feel ourselves profoundly committed to the efforts of the CPSU in the struggle for socialism and peace. For that reason when we speak of it, our words are always sincere and passionate.

We are convinced that the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will give another powerful impetus to socialism's triumphant ascent, to the movement of all the planet's finest forces fighting for peace and social progress.

1. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1972, p. 369.
2. *Pravda*, October 22, 1980.
3. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1978, p. 533.
4. L.I. Brezhnev, *Little Land*, Moscow, 1978.

The way of peace and constructive endeavor

Boris Ponomarev

Alternate Member of the Political Bureau,
Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S DRAFT BASIC GUIDELINES FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FOR 1981-1985 AND FOR THE PERIOD UP TO 1990

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is shortly to hold its 26th congress, which, as Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, noted at the CC plenary meeting in June 1980, is "to define the strategy and tactics for the coming stage of communist construction."

Our party has the fine tradition of conducting a nationwide pre-congress discussion of the aims of the country's socio-economic development, of

verifying economic policy and enriching and reinforcing it with the practical experience of the people. In keeping with this tradition, the CPSU Central Committee published its draft *Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990* in early December 1980, in preparation for the congress.

A public discussion of this draft is now going on nationwide in the press and other mass media, at meetings in party organizations and trade unions,

at enterprises, offices and collective farms, and at places of residence. Innumerable comments and amendments are suggested in the course of this discussion. Some of the recommendations will be put into effect soon, others will be written into the new five-year plan. A nationwide discussion of important documents is a tested and essential instrument of socialist democracy. It allows drawing the largest number of people into the adoption of key state decisions.

The *Basic Guidelines* are a document of immense international significance. They mirror problems that range beyond our country and perceptibly influence the socio-economic processes and political situation in the world. The reason for this lies not only in the fact of the Soviet Union's considerable share of the world economy (one-fifth of the world's industrial product). The orientation of the economic and social development of the USSR, an advanced socialist country, is itself exercising a qualitative influence on the economy of the socialist community and, to some extent, on the developing and capitalist states.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has published a long-term plan of economic and social development. This is a plan of peaceful construction, a plan of endeavor, a plan of creative effort by the people of a huge and powerful socialist country. The crucial point is that this is a plan of economic and social development envisaging not merely further economic advances: it defines society's development, delineating social problems. These are concern for the human being, for the masses, for promoting the welfare of the Soviet people.

No country in the world, other than socialist states, has plans of this kind.

The draft is based on an analysis of what has been achieved during the period of the 10th five-year plan and an evaluation of the colossal work accomplished by the party in carrying out the resolutions of its 25th congress. On the whole, the Soviet communists and all the Soviet people are gratified over the results of this work: there have been new advances in building the material and technical basis of communism, raising the people's living standard, and strengthening the Soviet Union's economic and defense potential. Once again it has been demonstrated that the planned economy of the USSR is capable of sustaining a steady growth and ensuring the full employment of production capacities and the workforce. This is a noteworthy achievement of which we Soviet communists are justifiably proud. The main characteristic distinguishing the Soviet economy from the capitalist is that it is free of crises and slumps, that development is on the ascent uninterruptedly. The following are a few fundamental statistics characterizing the rate and rhythm of communist construction in the USSR.

In the period of the 10th five-year plan the national income increased by 400 billion rubles over the preceding five-year period. This allowed developing social production more intensively and

substantially raising the living standard. In 1976-1980 more than 1,200 large industrial enterprises were placed in operation; thousands of factories were modernized. As a result the volume of industrial output grew by 717 billion rubles. Faster growth rates were observed in industries which determine technological progress, namely, power engineering, heavy engineering and instrument-making. There was an increase in the output of fuel, electric power, and ferrous and non-ferrous metals. In Western Siberia the output of oil more than doubled and that of natural gas rose by nearly 350 per cent.

The scale of industrial development and the contribution made to this task under the 10th five-year plan will be seen in much bolder relief if we look back not five, but ten years. Between 1971 and 1980 production assets more than doubled; in other words, within a single decade the nation built up a new production capacity equal to what we had accumulated in the course of more than half a century — from 1917 to 1970.

Under the 10th five-year plan the CPSU implemented its agrarian policy firmly and consistently. As a result, significant progress was made in the development of farm production. Agriculture is being constantly satiated with machinery and is acquiring an increasingly industrial make-up. In the period of the 10th five-year plan alone, the state farms and kolkhozes received 1,800,000 tractors, over 1,300,000 trucks, nearly 540,000 harvester combines, billions of rubles' worth of other farm machinery, and approximately 400 million tons of mineral fertilizers. The machine-intensity of labor increased by almost 40 per cent. Irrigation and land-improvement proceeded on a large scale and a comprehensive program was put into effect to promote agriculture in the non-chernozem zone of the Russian Federation. Although the weather was, on the whole, extremely unfavorable the average annual grain harvest exceeded 200 million tons for the first time.

Naturally, the progress made in industry and agriculture during the 10th five-year plan period also determined the conditions for achieving the main aim set by the 25th congress of the CPSU, that of raising the living standard of the Soviet people. In this area, too, there have been noteworthy advances.

The advantages of socialism are seen most strikingly when a comparison is drawn between the economic development of the Soviet Union and of the USA, the leading country of the capitalist world. In 1970-1979 the national income grew by 57 per cent in the USSR and by only 33 per cent in the USA, and industrial output rose by 72 per cent in the USSR and only by 41 per cent in the USA. As a consequence, the gap in the economic development levels of the two countries has narrowed dramatically. Today the national income of the USSR is roughly two-thirds that of the USA. In some indicators, for instance, the output of steel, oil, iron ore, mineral fertilizers, tractors, diesel and electric

locomotives, the Soviet Union has forged far ahead of the USA.

Moreover, while the Soviet economy is growing steadily, the USA and, with it, the other leading capitalist countries have experienced crisis declines of production three times in the past 10 years. The most conspicuous was the economic crisis of 1973-1975, which for its depth and dimension is comparable with the Great Depression of the 1930s. Before it had recovered completely from the effects of this crisis the capitalist economy again found itself in a state of crisis at the close of the 1970s. In 1980 the national product is expected to fall by 1-2 per cent in the USA and by 2-2.5 per cent in Britain.

Periodic production declines have intertwined with serious structural crises — fuel, energy, raw materials, food, ecological — and also with chronic inflation and monetary convulsions. This reduces the economic growth rate, generates massive unemployment, and leads to an underloading of production capacities and to huge deficits in the balance of payments and in state budgets.

World capitalism has quite obviously entered a new period of difficulties marked by grave disorder of the entire system of state-monopoly regulation, of the economic policy of the bourgeois state. The hopes of bourgeois politicians and economists that scientific and technological progress and state-monopoly regulation would deliver capitalism from serious economic upheavals have been buried once and for all.

Our new plans for the 1980s are oriented, first and foremost, on sustaining the steady rise of the people's living standard and cultural level and creating the best possible conditions for the all-sided development of the individual.

"In the 1980s," states the CPSU Central Committee's draft, "the Communist Party will consistently continue implementing its economic strategy, whose cardinal aim is to ensure the steady rise of the people's living standard and cultural level and create the best possible conditions for the individual's all-sided development by further enhancing the efficiency of social production as a whole, raising labor productivity, and promoting the people's social and labor activity."

The party's economic strategy for the 11th five-year period envisages:

- a series of measures to foster the uninterrupted rise of the people's living standard;
- the continuous growth of the national economy and the perfection of the production structure;
- improved efficiency in social production and betterment of the quality of output and services in all branches of the national economy;
- accelerated scientific and technological progress;
- greater environmental protection;
- perfection of the system of management and higher management efficiency in all sectors of the economy;
- enhanced efficiency of foreign economic links.

The CPSU's guideline toward improving the

people's living standard as the supreme aim of economic strategy has been immutable throughout the past decades. The main motivation of Soviet economic policy is neither maximum profit nor the attainment of individual technico-economic targets but precisely the promotion of the people's living standard.

As Leonid Brezhnev said at the CPSU Central Committee plenary meeting in October 1980, any talk about economic development should begin "not with metal, not with transport, or even with fuel and energy, highly important as they are, but with matters on which the living standard of the Soviet people depends. This, it seems to me, is the most committed approach, when the accent is placed on concern for the people's welfare."

We have scored many achievements in this area. Unlike capitalist countries, the Soviet Union uses four-fifths of its national income directly for consumption, housing construction and cultural development. The past five years were no exception: this share rose by another 329 billion rubles. What did this give the people?

A total of 31 million factory and office workers, in other words, one in every four working persons received a pay rise, which in 1975-1980 averaged more than 15 per cent, and the incomes of kolkhoz members from the social economy increased by 26 per cent. The social consumption funds amounted to 527 billion rubles during the past five years. These funds pay for free education and free medical assistance, old-age pensions for labor and war veterans, and other social programs. The allowances and benefits from these funds totalled 134 billion rubles in the period of the 10th five-year plan, rising per capita from 354 rubles in 1975 to 438 rubles in 1980, i.e., by more than 20 per cent. As a result of all these programs, per capita real incomes during that period rose by 17 per cent, while in the past 15 years they have doubled.

In other words, the material condition of the Soviet people is improving step by step, gradually and steadfastly. More, if this process is considered over a sufficiently long time span it will be clear that a qualitative upturn has taken place in the Soviet people's living standard.

During the next five years per capita real incomes are to go up by another 16-18 per cent.

The systematic growth of real incomes is the outcome of a large series of special programs carried out by the party and the government. These include material incentives for increasing labor productivity and attaining qualitative indicators of production; priority wage increases for the lowest paid categories of working persons and the levelling up of their pay to the average income; rise of the cash remuneration to kolkhoz members; extension of the system of additions to the wages of factory and office workers in remote regions of Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

Of course, all these programs would not have been such a tangible contribution to the growth of the living standard had there been no firm and consistent course toward ensuring fixed state prices

on staple foodstuffs and non-food consumer goods. The party and the government are keeping a watchful eye to prevent the disease of inflation from infecting our life. In some cases when prices have to be raised for individual commodities and services, the latter being either luxuries or of secondary importance in the people's consumption, measures are taken to compensate any possible losses to the people by reducing the prices of other commodities.

It is a fact that today state retail prices for bread, sugar, milk, meat, butter and most other foodstuffs and non-food commodities are at the level they were 10-15 years ago.

This is a colossal achievement, the equal of which is not to be found today in any other country. Thanks to this, it has been possible, in particular, not only to raise the real incomes of working persons but to prevent the devaluation of the incomes of pensioners, who in capitalist countries are the hardest hit by inflation.

The average annual inflation rate in the leading capitalist countries during the same period reached 7-8 and in some cases more than 10 per cent.

To give a clearer idea of the dimensions of this inflation let us take the statistics for prices of staple foods. For instance, in the USA the period from 1970 to 1980 saw the price of a kilo of white bread rise from \$0.54 to \$1.05, of meat (beef) from \$2.84 to \$6.30, of butter from \$1.90 to \$4, and of a liter of milk from \$0.30 to \$0.58. In other words, in a single decade the price of staple foods approximately doubled in the USA. There was a similar mean growth of the prices of all consumer goods.

In Britain, within the same period, retail prices went up for white bread from £0.11 to £0.46, for meat from £1.30 to £5.20, for butter from £0.37 to £1.75 per kilo, and for milk from £0.08 to £0.29 per liter. On the average the British working people's cost of living has risen fourfold over the past 10 years.

Prices are growing with similar rapidity in Italy, where bread has jumped from 230 to 900 lire, meat from 2,260 to 7,470 lire, and butter from 1,800 to 4,500 lire per kilo, and milk from 135 to 495 lire per liter.

Between 1970 and 1980 prices in Japan soared from 125 to 326 yen per kilo of rice, from 1,300 to 4,000 yen per kilo of tunny, and from 1,370 to 3,410 yen per kilo of meat.

Thus, throughout the capitalist world we see the sad picture of the cost of living rising sharply, inexorably.

The nightmare of unemployment, the high cost of living and the threat of lay-offs for those holding jobs is haunting the working people in capitalist countries.

The principal reasons for the inflation are the constantly growing military expenditures, deficit-leaning state budgets, and monopoly price-formation. And this is paid for by the working millions, whose cash incomes are systematically depreciating.

An extremely important element of the course

toward promoting the living standard in the USSR is the colossal housing program and the equitable system of housing distribution. The housing of the people is improving from year to year, from one five-year period to another. More than 2 million flats are built annually at state expense alone. Every five years sees more than 40 million people (or one-sixth of the entire population) receiving new housing. In the past 15 years over half of the population of the Soviet Union has moved into new housing.

During the Second World War the nazi invaders wrought enormous devastation in the Soviet Union's western regions, where 20 million people were left homeless. The Soviet Union was able to begin large-scale housing construction only after it had restored its pre-war production level. Less than three decades have passed since then. But in that time all the towns razed by the nazi invaders have risen from ashes and acquired a modern look, all other towns are being modernized, and scores of new towns have sprung up. Modern town-type estates with all communal conveniences are being built in rural communities. During the three decades from 1950 to 1980 nearly 63 million new apartments aggregating more than 2.8 billion square meters of floor space were built in towns. In the same period more than half of all urban apartments were connected to the gas network. Nearly 80 per cent of the urban population now lives in separate apartments.

The point is not only in the quantity of housing. It is extremely significant that the vast majority of the newly-built state-owned apartments are allocated to people free, since rents for these apartments neither include the real estate tax (on land and buildings) usual in capitalist countries nor even entirely cover the state's housing maintenance expenditures. More than two-thirds of the expenditures for the maintenance of housing are provided by the state. Rent and communal services cost the working person less than 3 per cent of his or her income in the USSR and from 30 to 40 per cent in, for instance, the USA.

Any unbiased assessment of the living standard in the USSR must take into account the considerable allowances and benefits received by the population from the social consumption funds. These include free education, scholarship grants to undergraduate and post-graduate students, free health care for the entire population, rest and holiday home accommodation, use of sport facilities, pensions and grants. Altogether, the state spent over 520 billion rubles for these purposes during the past five years. Today the annual per capita allowances and benefits from these funds total 438 rubles. This amounts to an addition of nearly 40 per cent to the average wage of factory and office workers.

Free education, including higher, and also free medical services are a signal achievement of the Soviet way of life. Soviet families do not have to wrack their brains over where to find the money for the education of their children. They do not have to

fear being unable to afford medical treatment for common diseases, let alone for serious and grave illnesses.

Also there is the extremely cheap fare on public transport. People who have been to Moscow and other towns know that the fares in the subway and on buses, trolleybuses, and street cars have not changed for 40 years, i.e., since before the Second World War. It will be borne in mind that the state spends huge funds on the enlargement of the public transport system. By way of comparison, let us note that in capitalist countries the population's expenses on transportation are growing swiftly. For example, in only the past 20 years the fares on town public transport in the USA have increased fivefold and now exceed the corresponding fares in the USSR 15-20-fold.

A major achievement of the USSR's socialist economy is that there has been no unemployment for half a century. Over nine-tenths of the people (men and women) capable of work are employed in the national economy.

In the capitalist countries, on the other hand, mass unemployment is an ever-present scourge of the working people, and its rise has been particularly marked in recent years. The number of officially registered unemployed in 15 leading capitalist countries has now reached 19 million. Unemployment has acquired singularly large proportions in the USA (more than 8 per cent of the workforce) and in Britain (more than 2 million persons).

In the Soviet Union there also are difficulties and unresolved problems, notably, in ensuring the people's growing demand for some foodstuffs and manufactured goods. These difficulties are mainly due to unfavorable climatic conditions for agriculture and, in some cases, to imperfections in the mechanism of managing and planning the economy. Some difficulties are linked to the depletion of many old deposits of fuel and the need to move the centers of the mining industry to the east and the north. The party and the government speak of this openly and take steps to eliminate these difficulties.

As may be seen from its content, the program for the Soviet Union's economic and social development in the 1980s is entirely oriented on peaceful constructive endeavor. It is aimed at achieving new, considerably higher quantitative and qualitative indicators. In 1981-1985 the Soviet Union's national income is to grow by 18-20 per cent, industrial output by 26-28 per cent, and the mean annual agricultural output by 12-14 per cent. Provision is made for detailed programs for speeding scientific and technological progress and achieving a dramatic growth of the fuel and energy complex and of the metallurgical, chemical, heavy engineering and other industries. Major tasks are to be carried out in the development of the agrarian-industrial complex, transport and communication, and environmental protection, and also in the promotion of the

economic and social advancement of the individual republics and regions.

The social program for the 11th five-year period embraces all aspects of Soviet society's material and cultural life. The draft *Basic Guidelines* map out a system of measures to better the conditions for work and for rest and leisure, to ensure the needed supply of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, improve housing, health care, and education, and protect the environment.

The party sees the further improvement of the Soviet people's housing as one of its central aims. Housing with a total floor space of 530-540 million square meters is to be made available for tenancy in 1981-1985. In large-scale housing construction priority is to be given to new projects, to areas being newly developed, and to rural communities.

The social consumption funds are to grow by 20 per cent in 1981-1985. As in the past, the major portion of these funds is to be spent on social insurance, public education, health care, the development of culture, art, mass tourism and sport, the organization of rest and leisure for the working people, and an improvement of public transport.

Great social significance is attached to that portion of the social funds that is to be used for further improving the working and everyday living conditions of working women and for state assistance to families with children and to newlyweds. The CPSU Central Committee's draft envisages, in particular: beginning from 1981 the introduction, by regions, of partly paid leave of up to one year to working women for the care of babies, and the possibility of mothers with small children working a shorter day or week and also of working at home; an increase in the number of specialized disease-prevention institutions serving expectant mothers; the building of pre-school institutions with accommodation for at least 2.5 million children, especially in areas with a high level of female employment in industry; an increase in the number of children in extended-day schools (and groups) to 13.5-14 million.

Of everything on which the living standard of Soviet people depends, our party gives priority to improving the supply of foodstuffs. In this respect there is to be a radical change in the next five years.

Our party sees the way to carrying out this important and urgent task in implementing its food program, which calls for combining the development of agriculture, all the industries serving it, the procurement, transportation, processing and storing of farm products, and the growth of the food industry and of the food distributive network. This agro-industrial food complex will be managed from a single center and planned and financed as a single whole, and it will handle both the production and sale of farm products, i.e., the entire cycle from beginning to end.

The party considers that the main condition for a sharp growth of efficiency in farm production is to continue the line toward its utmost intensification and further re-equipment with new machinery.

Here it is important to resolve the problems of

improving soil fertility and increasing the yields of farm products. It is planned that land improvement funded by the state will bring 3.4-3.6 million hectares of irrigated land and 3.7-3.9 million hectares of reclaimed land under cultivation.

Much is to be done in the 11th five-year period to consummate the industrialization of farm production. For instance, it is planned to supply agricultural enterprises with 1,870,000 tractors, 1,450,000 trucks, and 600,000 harvest combines. In agriculture electric-power-intensity of labor is to rise by 40-50 per cent. Production of sugar-beet, cotton and flax and the utilization of mineral and organic fertilizers and herbicides are to be completely mechanized. The manufacture of new, highly-efficient tractors, combines and other farm machines is to be started.

The program for social development and improving the people's living standard to be submitted by the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th congress rests on a realistic foundation — the huge industrial potential built up by the Soviet people in the course of the 60-plus years since the October Revolution. Concern for enlarging that potential and improving the entire mechanism of socialist economic management is unquestionably a decisive factor for the fulfillment of this program. That is why such great significance is attached in the draft *Basic Guidelines* to the further growth and development of industrial production. Of the tasks involved two may be called central without fear of exaggeration.

The first is to give priority to the development of industries ensuring progressive structural changes in the national economy and a stable, balanced extension of reproduction.

The second is to secure higher growth rates for the output of group B industries as compared with the growth rates of the output of group A industries. Thus, while industrial output as a whole is to increase by 26-28 per cent, the output of consumer goods is to rise by 27-29 per cent.

In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee's draft, in 1985 the output of electric power is to reach 1,550,000-1,600,000 million kwh., of oil (and gas condensate) 620-645 million tons, of natural gas 600,000-640,000 cubic meters, of rolled stock 117-120 million tons, and of mineral fertilizers 150-155 million tons (in terms of conventional units). The output of the chemical and petrochemical industry is to grow by 30-35 per cent.

In the development of the economy and the enhancement of its efficiency on the basis of scientific and technological progress the principal role is accorded to heavy engineering. All its branches have an up-to-date production-technical base and skilled workers and trained engineers and technicians. It employs the largest contingent of industrial workers and its technical level permits it to put any progressive scientific project into effect. This is strikingly exemplified by Soviet spaceships and earth satellites, nuclear power stations, passenger and transport aircraft, power-generating units, unique machine tools and instruments, various means of automation, and so forth. The large assort-

ment of Soviet heavy engineering products is widely known in most countries.

But the tasks of promoting the ongoing development of the Soviet economy and the present-day rate of scientific and technological progress make higher demands of heavy engineering. The CPSU Central Committee's draft takes this circumstance into account. For the first time in the practice of Soviet planning it sets each branch of heavy engineering specific tasks in the manufacture of products and in the enhancement of labor productivity. Provision is made for a further deepening and extension of specialization in heavy engineering and for equipping all of its branches with new and more productive machinery and technology.

Much is to be done over the next five-year period in capital construction, whose main task is to increase the nation's production potential on a new technical basis, and also to develop the consumer sphere. From 1981 to 1985 capital investments in the economy from all sources of financing are to rise by 12-15 per cent. A noteworthy point in this context is that in order to ensure the fulfillment of the long-term program for the economic development of the USSR, large investments are to go into the development of major territorial-production complexes primarily in newly-developed regions: Western Siberia, Kansk-Achinsk, Bratsk-Ust-Ilim, and Southern Yakutia. Economic development is to be started in the vast zone adjoining the Baikal-Amur Railway. Implementation of the comprehensive program for the development of the non-chernozem zone of the Russian Federation is to continue. Preparations are to be started to channel part of the waters of northern rivers to the Volga River basin, and research and development is to continue with the aim of channeling the waters of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

In the consumer sphere, sizable investments are to be directed into urban housing construction and urban development, especially public transport. In the USSR there are 20 cities with a population of over one million. These cities need underground transportation networks, whose construction requires large outlays. In seven of these — Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Tbilisi, Tashkent and Baku — underground railways are already in operation and being extended, while in the other cities they are at the construction or designing stage.

In some respects, the next five-year period is to differ markedly from the preceding ones. In particular, the addition to the workforce in the economy is to be much smaller. Moreover, the fact that sources of fuel, energy and many minerals will be more remote from the existing industrial centers and densely populated areas will have a noticeable effect.

Hence the need for more efficiency in every sector of production, for effective, full and thrifty use of the country's production potential and sources of energy, fuel and raw materials, and for planned training and rational employment of manpower resources. *Faster scientific and technological progress* will be the decisive factor of the growth of labor

productivity. At the present stage of communist construction the CPSU sees this as of paramount importance.

The CPSU Central Committee's draft not only defines the guidelines for scientific and technological progress, but also specifies concrete tasks in this field. The following is but one example relating to the use of scientific and technological achievements in electrical engineering. In the next five years the emphasis in that industry is to be mainly on building nuclear and hydroelectric power stations. The equipment for them is to be provided by Atom-mash, the new giant plant. Nuclear power stations with an aggregate capacity of 24-25 million kw are to become operational and by 1985 the nation's nuclear power stations will be generating 220-225 billion kwh, which is nearly equal to what was generated by all the electric power stations in the country in 1958.

Closer ties between science and production, the CPSU Central Committee's draft emphasizes, is the crucial condition of more rapid scientific and technological progress. Today, the USSR has about 1,400,000 research workers, or one-fourth of the world total. The party sets the task of mobilizing this truly vast potential for a more active and effective solution of vital socio-economic, technical and production problems.

Implementation of the measures to improve national economic management and raise the level of management in every sector of the economy will help to boost production efficiency and accelerate scientific and technological progress. This is dictated by the increased scale of production and the larger volume of economic ties. It is a matter of improving the entire organizational structure of economic management and enhancing the impact of the economic mechanism on the results and quality of labor. The whole style and method of management are to be raised to a new level. The CPSU Central Committee's draft attaches more importance to measures giving planning, the key element in running the socialist economy, a bigger role.

Such are the basic elements of the CPSU's program for the economic and social development of the USSR in the 1980s. It calls for a constructive effort, for peaceful creative work by the whole Soviet people. This is the most eloquent indicator of the Soviet Union's peaceful aspirations, showing that there are no reasons for the "Soviet military threat" the capitalist press writes so much about.

Owing to the efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, our military budget has remained at a stable level, whereas in the USA, for instance, military expenditures over the past decade have risen by 40 per cent while the average real incomes of blue and white-collar workers have gone down by 3-4 per cent. The USSR advocates cutting military spending and has repeatedly made proposals to that effect at the United Nations and other forums. Regrettably, the NATO countries, the USA in the first place, are continuing their arms drive, endlessly increasing their military spending.

The Soviet people have a vital interest in prevent-

ing a new round of the arms race, in limiting and reducing the nuclear-missile arsenals. We have no classes or social groups that would benefit from preparations for war. There is probably no Soviet family that was not affected, directly or indirectly, by the horrors and hardships of the Second World War. That is why the program of peaceful endeavor and our foreign policy of peace have the unanimous support of the whole Soviet people.

It is clear to every sober-minded, honest person that a nation engaged in such endeavor, entirely engrossed in promoting the well-being of its 265 million people can have no stake in militarizing its economy and in an arms race. Militarism is intrinsically alien to socialism. In our foreign policy we firmly and steadfastly follow the Leninist line of preserving and strengthening peace, curbing the arms race, achieving disarmament, and developing international cooperation based on peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems.

The Soviet Union is a member of the socialist world community of countries. Its present and future economic achievements planned for the 1980s signify a further strengthening of existing socialism's positions, a growth of the economic might of the whole socialist community.

The new Soviet program of economic and social development for the 1980s envisages a dramatic growth of production and of investments in every sector of the economy. This great dimension of our accomplishments opens up abundant opportunities for mutually beneficial economic cooperation with other countries. The Soviet Union will continue to expand its long-term economic, scientific and technical ties with developing countries. Industrial and other equipment received from the Soviet Union on easy terms helps young nations to strengthen and develop their economy, to deliver themselves from fettering dependence on international monopolies and imperialist states.

The Soviet Union has many agreements with industrial capitalist countries on large projects in the fuel, metallurgical, chemical and other industries.

There is another reason why an expansion of international economic cooperation is important for the USSR. In establishing stable and mutually beneficial ties with capitalist countries interested in cooperation, the USSR proceeds from the principles of peaceful coexistence and believes that this helps to strengthen détente and stability in international politics. From this standpoint, too, the new program of economic and social development is a factor helping to consolidate peace and ease international tensions.

The 26th congress of the CPSU will be the final act in the ongoing discussion of the Basic Guidelines for the Soviet Union's economic and social development in the 1980s. Once these are approved by the congress, they will be the basis of the state plan for the 11th five-year period, the program of communist construction for the 1980s, and the material foundation of the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace.



Against imperialism, for social progress

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE IN BERLIN

Continuing the publication of the conference materials, the Editors present an abridged text of the speeches delivered in the first section, which considered the theme "Relationship of the Struggle for Peace and Socialism with the Struggle for National Independence, Against Imperialism." In this section there was a wide-ranging discussion with the participants stating their views, which mirrored the specifics of the struggle waged by the parties and organizations represented at the conference. As far as possible, the speeches were grouped by themes. The speeches in the two other sections, grouped similarly, are to be published in the next issues of *WMR*.

SOCIALISM, PEACE, AND FREEDOM ARE INDIVISIBLE

Many problems worry people throughout the world regardless of color, national traditions, way of thinking, experience, and the social and political system under which they live. Among these the most important today is to preserve and consolidate peace. In the final analysis, the destiny of social progress and very existence of humankind depend on its solution.

Key imperative of our time

Today, said *Dimitr Stanishev*, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, mankind has a real opportunity to prevent war, to finally end exploitation, colonialism, racism, hunger and backwardness.

The epochal changes that commenced with the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the struggles of the oppressed peoples, and the disinterested support extended to them by the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement accelerated the downfall of imperialism's colonial system. The day is not far distant when the last bastions of racism and apartheid will fall. The peoples who have shaken off the yoke of colonialism are playing a major part in the struggle of the advanced forces against reaction and imperialism. International relations are influenced beneficially by the non-aligned movement.

The main factors of social progress today are the unswerving policy of peace and cooperation pursued by the socialist countries and their steadily growing might. The further building of the new

society in these countries, the working-class movement in the capitalist world, the consolidation of the national and economic independence of the developing countries, the establishment of a new international economic order and, lastly, the solution of the global problems confronting mankind require the preservation of peace, the prevention of another world war that would spell out a thermo-nuclear catastrophe. This was why *Todor Zhivkov*, First Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, declared at the 1980 Sofia sitting of the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace: "The problem of peace now stands above class, ideological, political and other distinctions, for this is a problem of the whole of humanity, a problem of the existence of civilization and the human race in general."*

Détente's conversion into the predominant trend of international relations and the advances made by the revolutionary liberation movement have frightened imperialist reaction, which continues to see war as the only way of defeating socialism and crushing the struggle of the peoples against the modern varieties of colonialism.

The leadership of the NATO military bloc and the U.S. government have lately initiated steps to change the strategic balance in their favor and revive a cold war atmosphere. Imperialism is using the arms race not only to counter the socialist community but also to freeze social progress in developing countries, hold these countries in its sphere of influence, and draw them into speeded militarization and armed conflicts.

The role of imperialism's ally is objectively played by Maoist China, which postulates the inevitability of another world war and seeks to persuade the leaders of developing countries to keep at an "equal distance" from imperialism and existing socialism.

That is why the struggle for peace is becoming an inalienable part of the class struggle on the international scene, of the movement for social progress. That is why today, more than ever, it is necessary to reinforce and strengthen unity among the three main revolutionary currents in the struggle for peace, détente and disarmament.

The BCP and socialist Bulgaria regard all-sided political and diplomatic support for the national liberation movement and material (including military) assistance to peoples of developing countries as part and parcel of their foreign policy, as the

**Rabotnichesko delo*, September 28, 1980.

implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The great merit of the materialist conception of social development, said **Roberto Gigano**, member of the Central Committee of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, lies in that it has demonstrated the legitimacy of historical optimism and faith in humanitarian values. Proceeding from this we advocate rallying humanity on the basis of its objective historical interests. These include the struggle against imperialism, which is the source of all the evils hovering over our heads, including wars and crises. A thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present historical epoch shows that in this question the class interests of the proletariat coalesce with the interest of all humankind.

Under the leadership of Mengistu Haile Mariam the heroic people of Ethiopia are today fulfilling their duty of fighting imperialism in one of its geopolitically key strategic bastions. The clear-cut anti-imperialist course of our revolution is seen, above all, in the political arena. It will be recalled that in December 1974, the Provisional Military Administrative Council declared that its policy guidelines would be based on socialism. Since then we have taken significant steps in that direction. Of course, we had to go through a period of confusion and turbulent debate before the program of the national-democratic revolution was lucidly formulated.

It is obvious why we stress the political aspects of our revolution: to be consistently anti-imperialist it must have the working class and its party as the vanguard. The socio-economic reforms enforced by the Provisional Military Administrative Council have created the conditions for the realization of a people's democracy in Ethiopia. The achievements of our revolution are clearly reflected in our foreign policy and international relations. Neither the vicious imperialist propaganda nor armed intervention by proxy will move the people and government of Ethiopia from their anti-imperialist stand.

Imperialism, which has never ceased weaving conspiracies against our revolution, has now set in motion the reactionary Mogadishu regime. The United States has bought its way into Somalia and secured military bases at Berbera and Kishimayu, a fact which cannot but cause extreme anxiety among the forces of peace, progress and democracy. This creates a threat to Ethiopia's independence and sovereignty, and is a grave challenge to peace and security. Despite the intrigues and acts of sabotage that imperialism concocts against the Ethiopian revolution, the peace forces on the international scene constantly stand by our side in a spirit of international solidarity. True to these principles, we are, for our part, extending diplomatic and material aid to the forces of national liberation. Revolutionary Ethiopia, with the firm belief that its struggle is part and parcel of the worldwide struggle for peace, independence and socialism, would like to reiterate once more its resolute stand along-

side all peoples and forces fighting for emancipation and peace.

Martha Buschmann, Presidium member, Board of the German Communist Party, declared in characterizing the basic principles underlying the policies of her party that the GCP attaches great significance to the national liberation movement, to the anti-imperialist struggle of countries that have shaken off colonial oppression. They and the working class of the FRG have a common enemy — imperialism. That is why in practical politics, Martha Buschmann said, the GCP links determined defense of the national interests of the working people in the FRG with consistent action in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and declares its solidarity with all fighters against imperialism.

The prime aim of our joint actions is to preserve and consolidate peace. Wherever they flare up, the conflicts kindled by imperialism concern not only the peoples directly involved in them but also all of us. A just settlement of such conflicts requires concerted effort.

The FRG has become, politically and economically, one of the leading states of the capitalist world system. The largest military power in Western Europe and the USA's principal ally in Europe, it holds a key position in NATO and strongly influences the strategy of that aggressive military bloc. The FRG's stand came into full view lately in connection with the USA's dangerous attempts to aggravate the international situation. The FRG government is the driving force behind the NATO decision to deploy new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe, a decision aimed at changing the existing approximate balance of strength in favor of NATO. As everybody knows, the federal government approves the USA's new nuclear strategy, although it is aware that if it spreads to western Europe, our countries and peoples will become nuclear hostages of the USA and, in addition, the threat of nuclear aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will increase. In this vital question the peace forces are opposed by a coalition of all the parties represented in the Bundestag. The most reactionary forces in the FRG, of whom the CDU/CSU is the spokesman, have shelved their responsibility to the nation and are more and more insistently endeavoring to justify the arms race with the myth that there is a threat from the East, and tirelessly conduct new campaigns of slander against socialist states.

West German imperialism has become one of the major exploiters of developing countries. West German concerns have increased investments and the extraction of raw materials in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and strengthened their positions in the markets of these continents. The monopolies and the government organize neo-colonialist exploitation. They align themselves with fascist and racist regimes and try to obstruct the progressive development of the Third World. The ruling class in the FRG is thus coming into growing conflict with the interests of developing nations, with their just struggle against neo-colonialism, with their

demand for equitable trade relations, respect for their sovereignty, and recognition of their inalienable right to dispose of their national wealth independently.

Guy Sinon, General Secretary of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front, reminded the conference that his country became independent in 1976, but the course proposed by the government was clearly neo-colonialist. Since mid-1977, when there was a change of Cabinet, the nation's policy began to be determined by the Seychelles People's United Party, which was the basis on which the People's Progressive Front was formed. In the nation's internal life this is a course toward socialist development envisaging equal opportunities for all citizens, and in international relations its essence boils down to non-alignment with military blocs and to struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. The Seychelles are determined to continue pursuing this policy regardless of circumstances. We, Guy Sinon said, are against the military presence of foreign states on the islands of the Indian Ocean and are against the building of military bases on them. Our party stands for the dismantling of foreign military bases world-wide. We sincerely hope that not only in our region but throughout the world the peoples will support this policy oriented on peace, democracy and social progress.

We are in solidarity with the national liberation movements, including the struggle for freedom being waged by the peoples of Namibia and Western Sahara, and also by the Palestinian Arab people. Those fighting all forms of imperialist oppression must feel the support of the progressive forces.

José Vargas, member of the Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party MAPU, Chile, devoted his speech to the problem of forming a broad anti-imperialist front. During the past decade, he noted, the changes brought about on the world scene by détente had moved away the threat of war, created favorable conditions for social progress, and facilitated a considerable growth of the revolutionary forces. However, humankind now faces a serious danger emanating from the change in the global strategy of imperialism, which is seeking a way out of the deep crisis gripping it.

The political unity of the forces opposed to this course must be the main concern and central task of the revolutionary movement. A broad front must be formed to counter the policies of capitalism's most aggressive and reactionary circles. A dialogue is needed with the spokesmen of the movements for peace everywhere, including North American society.

Thus, the struggle for peace and détente calls for cooperation with representatives of democratic and progressive currents, for the working out of a common anti-imperialist strategy. To achieve this aim means simultaneously securing a change of the relations in the working-class movement, of relations that have become strained. Further, it is necessary to work out a new approach to religious currents, which have time and again demonstrated their potential readiness to give effect to changes. The

struggle for peace and democracy must become the collective affair of millions of men and women however divergent their views and persuasions.

The conditions exist today for the formation of a broad front of struggle for peace and détente, despite all the difficulties, despite the threat from imperialism's adventurist policies. Wide prospects will open for the revolutionary forces if their actions are realistic and coordinated.

It is quite apparent how important the movement for peace and détente is for Latin America. A switch back to the cold war would seriously hamper the efforts to unite democratic currents. The climate of détente allows those forces who joined the camp of democracy after the turn that began on our continent in the mid-1970s, to finally shake off the influence of imperialism. This is an important condition for the success of the Latin American revolution at its national-democratic stage, which in our conditions is one of the surest paths leading to socialism. We in Chile are exploring ways of overthrowing the dictatorship, for without this there can be no advance toward democracy and socialism. Our aim is to merge three parallel processes. These are the spread of the struggle of the masses, the attainment of political concord among all progressives, and the shaping of democratic tendencies in the army. It is only by uniting the champions of progress that the conditions can be created for a national, democratic, anti-fascist rising as a concrete form of the popular movement for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

In the conditions prevailing in Chile, as in other situations arising in the course of the development of the revolutionary process in Latin American states, it is becoming increasingly vital to work out and implement a coherent policy that can counter the concerted actions by reaction and imperialism. The basis of this policy must be a broad movement for democracy, peace and détente.

Seydou Cissoko, Central Committee General Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Senegal, said that imperialism's tenacious attempts to change the world balance of strength in its favor and bury détente are threatening the security of nations. The assertions about a "Soviet threat," which the imperialist circles use to justify their dangerous actions are absurd. It is well known that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are pursuing a foreign policy of peace and coming forward with many initiatives aimed at easing international tension and achieving disarmament. The growing economic and defense capability of the socialist community serves the cause of peace and curbs imperialism's military adventurism. Had socialism not had such great weight in the settlement of international problems, humankind would have long ago been plunged into another world war.

Africa is one of the objectives of imperialism's aggressive policy and for that reason the proposals of the peace-loving nations for demilitarization, the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons, and the

quenching of flashpoints of war and tension concern us directly.

The threat from the U.S. missiles in Europe and the danger from military-political blocs and military bases scattered throughout the world are closely related. Today the peoples are in a better position to distinguish the advocates of peace from the enemies of international security. This is facilitated by the diplomacy of peace of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by their joint actions with the anti-imperialist forces, actions which are helping to reveal what actually aggravates international tension. This constructive policy is evidence that the socialist community is fully aware of its historic responsibility for the settlement of present-day global problems. To accept the "superpowers" theory preached by bourgeois pundits and the Chinese leaders and to adopt a position of "equidistance" from the USA and the Soviet Union would be tantamount to groundlessly blaming the USSR for the arms race and to bracketing the imperialist power with the world's first socialist country.

The Chinese leadership has abandoned the class approach to international developments and chosen to support the most aggressive imperialist circles, whose policy meets with the Maoists' own hegemonistic ambitions. The aggression against socialist Vietnam and the Chinese leadership's support for imperialism's encroachments on the sovereignty of nations upholding their independence, convince the peoples of developing countries that China is pursuing an adventurist foreign policy. It hinders the joint struggle of the world's revolutionary forces, and it must therefore be denounced in exactly the same way as imperialism's aggressive military policy.

However, the present dangerous turn in international relations does not determine the general tendency toward a change in the world balance of strength, because the laws of capitalism have ceased to rule unchallenged in the world and the course of events is less and less dependent on imperialist dictation. Today, on all continents, there are large and active political and social forces capable of nullifying imperialism's bellicose plans and ensuring détente and disarmament. This powerful movement has evolved into a front of struggle for the anti-imperialist renewal of the world.

Who is whipping up the wind of cold war

Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the USA, noted that from 1946 through 1979 the USA had spent more than two trillion dollars on armaments. This amount of money could wipe out the slums and ghettos in the USA, settle the nearly \$400 billion debt burden of the developing countries, and provide a substantial beginning to the program of a new economic order. But the U.S. government and the state-monopoly groups backing it used the money differently: they drew upon this staggering sum to produce nuclear bombs, MX, Pershing and Cruise missiles and enlarge existing and establish new military bases in

Puerto Rico, on the island of Diego Garcia, and in Somalia.

The U.S. official posture on disarmament was most bluntly put by Walt Rostow: it was ready to accept the present territorial lines of the socialist community if the latter, in turn, was ready to accept the territorial lines of the imperialist system. The U.S. ruling circles regard that system as embracing the entire non-socialist world, and hence see any socialist support for revolutions anywhere, for national liberation movements, as interference and a violation of peaceful coexistence.

The defeat in the Bay of Pigs and in Vietnam made it obvious that the USA did not have the power to erect any barrier to the liberation movements. For some time, therefore, U.S. foreign policy mirrored a compromise between proponents of direct interference in order to extinguish revolutionary explosions, and politicians advocating coming to terms with the new political realities. But at the close of the 1970s U.S. diplomacy again turned to a policy of strength and threats. In this context, a special role was played by the revolution in Iran, for which U.S. imperialism was completely unprepared. The Carter administration was confident that the shah's regime was impregnable and capable of protecting U.S. interests in that crucial region. The collapse of the heavily armed Pahlavi dictatorship showed how false the USA's reliance was on repressive regimes, and that revolution could threaten even its strongest allies. With the fall of the shah, the USA began to build its rapid deployment force and arm on a scale not seen before.

History will record the revolutionary actions of the Afghan people's defense of their national sovereignty and the Soviet people's response to their request for assistance as one of the most vivid expressions of the mutuality of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It was this that explains the fury of the Carter-Brzezinski group expressed in the shelving of SALT II, the Olympic boycott, and the halt to wheat shipments to the USSR. But this attempt, abetted by Peking and Pakistan, to kill the Afghan revolution in its infancy and convert that ancient land into another link in a chain of military-espionage bases on the southern borders of the USSR also ended in defeat.

There is a tie binding the people, who are the foundation of our nation, and the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the tie of common struggle against common exploiters; against hunger in Africa and Asia and Mississippi and Georgia; for unity of our working class with the national liberation movements of the developing countries and with the socialist countries.

The forces undermining détente worldwide, said Yousef Faisal, Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, also maintain tension in the Middle East, obstruct the liberation of the occupied Arab lands, oppose meeting the demands of the Palestinian Arab people, and prevent the establishment of a just peace in that region. The developments in the Middle East strikingly exemplify the link between the

struggle for peace and socialism and the struggle against imperialism, for national liberation. Imperialism's aggressiveness and its hostility for the cause of liberation are most undisguised in that region. The striving for supremacy in the Middle East, abetted by Israel's policy of aggression, the traitorous Sadat regime, and Arab reaction, is part of U.S. imperialism's global strategy. It seeks direct military control over the deposits and transportation arteries of oil, and wants to strangle the Palestinian revolution, force Syria to its knees and, in the long run, crush the Arab national liberation movement. The USA is in a fever to build new military bases in Egypt, Oman, Somalia and Saudi Arabia. It is sending a rapid deployment force to the Persian Gulf and conducts military exercises jointly with Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

The Camp David accords were only one aspect of imperialist plans. The other was the attempt to come forward with the so-called European initiative spelled out in the declaration of the EEC summit in Venice.

In the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for an alliance with the forces of progress and socialism, Syria plays a vanguard role in the Middle East. The USA, Israel and Arab reaction are bringing increasing pressure to bear on Syria, organizing internal conspiracies, and funding the terrorist and subversive activities of the Muslim Brotherhood gangs. In this situation the Syrian government has taken an exceedingly important step dictated by the logic of struggle and the laws of present-day world development: it concluded a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. This was a historic event not only for Syria but also for other Arab countries and a source of confidence for many forces of the national liberation movement, for it showed that an alliance with the USSR makes it possible to preserve and strengthen national independence and advance along the road of social progress. The Syrian people and the forces united in the National Progressive Front, are determined to safeguard their socio-economic achievements and strengthen Arab-Soviet friendship.

In Syria the conviction is growing that in order to end external and internal conspiracies it is imperative to break the socio-economic base of imperialism and reaction and put an end to the economic predominance of the parasitical bourgeoisie and to its influence over state policy. It is similarly important to pursue an economic policy in keeping with the vital interests of the masses and raise their living standard. Moreover, our party attaches much significance to greater reliance upon the working people, to enhancing the role of the National Progressive Front. Our experience is that despite all difficulties the Arab national liberation movement is making headway. Its anti-imperialist orientation is hardening and it is acquiring a more progressive character.

The 24th congress of the Communist Party of Canada, said *Jeannette Walsh*, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, noted that reaction is conducting an offen-

sive in several directions, one of which is to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries and, another, to weaken the struggle for national independence. Imperialism is having recourse to all means, including military force, to compel the developing countries to reconcile themselves to neo-colonialist exploitation. Hence, if instead of uniting against U.S. imperialism, Iraq and Iran begin a war over old border disputes this only plays into the hands of the aggressive forces in the world. The USA is building military facilities in Egypt and Israel and increasing its military potential in the Persian Gulf in order to prevent the emergence of an independent Palestinian state and set up spy bases and springboards against the Soviet Union.

Regrettably, the Canadian government has lately begun to reconsider its foreign policy. Military appropriations have been doubled and more support is given NATO and NORAD (North American Air Defense). A large American company has won an order from Canada to supply absolutely useless military aircraft, which will cost taxpayers \$3 billion.

This tendency in foreign policy conflicts with Canada's interests. In our country, actions for peace and détente, against imperialism and reaction are closely linked not only to the national liberation movement in other countries but also to the struggle for our own independence.

Having undertaken the commitment to NATO to increase its military budget by 3 per cent annually, the government is reducing expenditure on social requirements and unemployment relief, and cutting the real salaries of civil servants. It refuses to include in the Canadian constitution a provision guaranteeing the right of the French-Canadian nation of Quebec to equality and national self-determination.

The Communist Party of Canada is seeking to unite all the peace forces in our society, particularly in the trade unions and the French-Canadian movement, in order to pressure the government to return to the policy of détente and national independence. We welcome the growing support that this course is getting from the New Democratic Party.

It officially advocates Canada's withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, although it seems that some of its leaders are ready to abandon this demand, which is a key element of the struggle for an independent Canadian policy of peace.

We were deeply disappointed by the fact that in the present volatile international situation the Chinese leaders have become overt allies of the USA, adversaries of the Soviet Union and also of those national liberation movements that they have failed to control. The Communist Party of Canada denounces the lie about the equal aggressiveness of the USA and the USSR spread by spokesmen of the right-wing forces, the Maoists, and some well-meaning but poorly informed people.

Tserenpeliyn Balkhazhav, Central Committee member and CC department head, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, spoke of the aggres-

sive foreign policy of the Chinese hegemonists. While whipping up international tension, he said, the imperialists and other reactionary forces are using the lie about a "Soviet threat" as a camouflage. There are people who connive at this slander and juggle with the concepts of "sovereignty" and "non-interference," although they themselves trample on them. Relative to Mongolia the policy of the Peking leaders is a direct threat to its independence and sovereignty. The Maoists repeatedly and bluntly declared their intention to annex Mongolia. These declarations were later reinforced with military preparations and economic pressure. In the present difficult international situation, the Mongolian People's Republic holds that resolute denunciation of this policy is a major condition of the struggle to strengthen peace and a criterion of a principled stand by communists.

Oleg Borisov, Professor, Doctor of Historical Sciences, said that in recent years the Chinese leadership had reconsidered its policy toward developing countries and the struggle of peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Peking is drastically cutting its economic and military assistance to these countries, concentrating this assistance in countries that play a key role in its plans for penetrating one region of the world or another. For the Peking leaders the developing countries are not subjects of an active anti-imperialist struggle but only objects of hegemonistic manipulation. Peking is trying to use the certain similarity between the socio-economic structures of China and other countries in Asia and Africa in order to impose its own model of revolution on them. The true physiognomy of this Chinese model was demonstrated by the "cultural revolution;" the outcome of the attempts to spread it to other countries was seen by the world in the example of the 1965 Indonesian gamble and the example of the bloody reign of the Pol Pot butchers in Kampuchea. Precisely this "ideal" is recommended to developing countries. Peking now sees its main aim in isolating the national liberation movement from the socialist countries and the international communist movement, which are the most loyal and consistent allies of all the forces advocating peace, progress and national liberation.

Zahi Karkabi, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, said that the Great October Socialist Revolution awakened the peoples of the colonies in Asia and Africa to struggle for national independence. The victory over fascism in the Second World War and the formation of the socialist community of nations created the conditions for the successful development of the national liberation movement, which has become one of the main revolutionary currents of our time. The colonial system has disintegrated. At all stages of the struggle against it, the embattled peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America were invariably helped by the socialist countries. Naturally, the revolution in Afghanistan, too, when it was attacked by outside forces, organized and directed by U.S. imperialism and the Peking rulers, received internationalist

assistance from the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of Israel is in solidarity with the Afghan revolution and approves the actions taken to defend it.

Characterizing the movement for economic independence and radical socio-economic changes in Egypt and Syria in the 1960s, Zahi Karkabi said: U.S. imperialism used the ruling circles in Israel to fight a war of aggression in 1967 against these countries. This was a move designed by the U.S. government to bring down the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt and Syria and deal a blow to the Arab national liberation movement. Moreover, the Israeli rulers had their own aims of territorial expansion and of settling the Palestinian problem in their favor.

The Israeli aggression failed to bring down the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt and Syria. However, with U.S. support Israel remained in occupation of Arab territories and continued to ignore the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

Contrary to all the expectations of the Israeli ruling circles, the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people after the 1967 aggression won world-wide acknowledgement and support. In the West Bank and the Gaza Strip the PLO-led Palestinians started a heroic resistance against the Israeli occupation.

In recent years Israel has intensified its aggressive policy in a bid to stop the revolutionary process in the Middle East. After Sadat betrayed the struggle for national independence and became a servant of U.S. imperialism, a plan was drawn up to set up a regional military bloc with the participation of Israel and Egypt.

In support of this design, the U.S. government orchestrated the Camp David talks and agreements, whose purpose is not to achieve a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and a just solution of the Palestinian problem, but to build an Israeli-Egyptian military bloc, establish military bases in these countries, suppress the national rights of the Arab people and keep Palestinian territory under Israeli occupation in the guise of "administrative autonomy." Arbitrary rule reigns in this territory. Acting with impunity, Israel is conducting savage military operations also in Southern Lebanon.

Speaking of the situation in Israel, Zahi Karkabi noted that the Begin government is losing the confidence of the masses. Its policies are coming to grief, while the economic crisis has ballooned to such an extent that the government is having recourse to fascist methods of suppressing opposition more and more overtly. Under these difficult conditions the Communist Party of Israel is waging a struggle against the Camp David agreements, the formation of a regional military bloc, and the so-called Israeli-Egyptian peace. It wants a just and comprehensive peace based on Israel's withdrawal to the 1967 frontiers and the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel.

Imperialism's attack must be repulsed

Abdulla al-Rashid, member of the Leadership Committee of the Front for the National Liberation of Bahrain, declared that the U.S. military has lately

been overtly inflaming international tension at the risk of pushing the world to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. Such a war can indeed break out as a consequence of the aggravation of the conflicts in our part of the planet, he said. Like public opinion worldwide, the national-liberation movements in the Persian Gulf and Arab peninsula states have every reason to be concerned about the war between Iraq and Iran. Whatever its causes and effects, the responsibility for the armed clash ultimately lies with U.S. imperialism. It and its NATO allies are the sole beneficiaries of that conflict.

Never before has the threat been so great to the Persian Gulf and the Arab peninsula. There is now the danger of an explosion that may have extremely grave consequences for the international situation. The build-up of the U.S. military presence in this region is negatively influencing the internal situation in all the countries of the region, for it strengthens reactionary regimes. The rulers of Bahrain, for instance, are using the present situation to brutalize terror and police harassment of patriots. The secret police, headed by British "experts," controls the nation's life, openly flouts the constitution and human rights, and nullifies democratic freedoms. Many patriots — communists, partisans of the national movement and the religious opposition, and leaders of workers, youth and cultural organizations — are subjected to horrible torture and more often than not die in prison. While large sections of our people live in poverty, are illiterate, and suffer from the high cost of living, poor housing and unemployment, the government spends enormous sums of money on the maintenance of the secret police. Foreign monopolies are plundering the nation's natural wealth, undermining the national economy, corrupting morals and polluting the environment.

Today we see our main aim in accomplishing a national-democratic revolution in order to bring national liberation and resolve many other tasks. The most important of these are to strengthen Bahrain's political and economic independence, dismantle the military bases on our territory, annul the "security" (including secret) agreements with imperialists and reactionary states, and curb the dominance of the foreign monopolies. This can only be achieved by radical socio-economic reforms, by an independent, anti-imperialist, and anti-war foreign policy, and by equitable cooperation with the countries of our region and the entire Arab world, with all states, and particularly with the socialist-community countries and their vanguard, the Soviet Union.

Majed Abu Sharar, member of the Central Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization, said that the Palestinian national liberation movement is an important component of the Arab liberation movement and maintains close links with all peace and revolutionary forces. This allows, he declared, repulsing the attacks by U.S. imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, actively countering imperialist interests in the Middle East, and taking action to end the pillaging of our national wealth and protect

the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Imperialism and neo-colonialism continue to pursue their aim of supremacy, exploitation and oppression, and prevent the peoples from implementing their right to self-determination. The Arab world suffers acutely from this policy. Our people were exiled from their homeland and their lawful national rights are ignored. The imperialist forces, supported by Israel and Arab reaction, are using all means to kill our revolution. For that reason we are stepping up the struggle and strengthening our alliance with progressive forces throughout the world.

The imperialists continue to threaten peace, escalate the arms race to the detriment of the welfare of humankind, provoke local military conflicts, and plunder the wealth of nations. But a dependable barrier has been erected to this reckless policy. Thanks to its links to the world revolutionary movement, the Arab liberation movement has been able to withstand the furious onslaught of the imperialists.

The Palestinian revolution is staunchly fighting the Zionist adversary. In alliance with the progressive-patriotic movement of Lebanon we have prevented the Israeli attacks against the southern regions of that country from producing the results expected of them. Active resistance is not ceasing to the intentions to implement the Camp David agreements. The Palestinian population in the occupied lands has rejected the efforts to impose "administrative autonomy."

The day-to-day struggle with the invaders has been invigorated. This has made it possible to uphold national unity and reinforce the PLO's status as the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian Arab people. We have drawn up a provisional political program and have learned to distinguish better our allies from our enemies.

Lately there has been a significant development in the political stance of Syria, which signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. This document is an expression of support not only for Syria, but also for the Palestinian revolution and all the peoples of our region.

The alliance between the Palestinian liberation fighters, Syria, and the patriotic forces of Lebanon has evolved into a durable and united front that staunchly counters all the maneuvers of the aggressors and the conspiracies of imperialist reaction.

The Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation remains the most effective institution of Arab solidarity. It now has new opportunities for strengthening its internal organization and acting with greater success.

The emergence and consolidation of the progressive-democratic regimes in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Afghanistan and Ethiopia serve as important support for the forces in the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation. The successes of the Iranian revolution, which smashed a bastion of the USA in our region, are of enormous significance for the entire Arab liberation movement.

Ever since Cyprus became independent 20 years

ago the U.S. imperialists have been attempting to interfere in its internal affairs, said Agamemnon Stavrou, CC alternate member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL). In the long run, incitement by U.S. imperialism led to a military coup and the invasion and occupation of the northern part of the island by Turkish troops.

Imperialism regards Cyprus not as a sovereign state but as a launching pad for nuclear missiles, a bridgehead against the Arab liberation movement and the Soviet Union. As part of its plan to gain military superiority and bring our region and the entire world under its domination, the USA is building up its presence at the military bases at Akrotiri and Dhekelia. The U.S. imperialists have proclaimed various zones of the world their "sphere of vital interest" and on that foundation arrogate the right to take collective or individual actions in these spheres. The USA and NATO are forming rapid deployment forces. The establishment of a dictatorial regime in Turkey and the pressure on Greece that brought its government round to decide to rejoin NATO are linked to the adventurist plans of this military bloc.

This policy is obviously a threat to the independence and sovereignty of the East Mediterranean states, especially Cyprus, to peace and détente in that region. It is now more imperative than ever to conduct a struggle for social progress in close unity with the struggle for peace, and coordinate the actions of the forces fighting for national independence with the efforts of all the forces counteracting imperialism's expansionist ambitions.

The anti-Soviet campaign launched by imperialist propaganda is aimed at eroding the unity of the peoples. The Cypriot communists denounce this policy, for it is imperilling their small country and the cause of peace and détente. We regard anti-imperialist solidarity as a key task and a powerful weapon in the struggle for social emancipation and socialism.

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the principles of internationalism, AKEL unfailingly supports the progressive forces throughout the world and strengthens its links to the opponents of imperialism and of its criminal plans. AKEL feels that only unity among the revolutionary forces will create the conditions for implementing the UN resolutions on Cyprus and for social progress in our country.

The failure of the Camp David agreements and of the "administrative autonomy" project has reaffirmed that our party was correct in taking a stand for national unity, said the representative of the Jordanian Communist Party. The people of Jordan are massively opposed to the agreements, and although Israel has no small arsenal of subversion it has been unable to find traitors and collaborationists in our ranks. Thanks to the solidarity of the patriotic forces in the Arab world and of the progressive states belonging to the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, thanks to the staunchness of the Palestinian resistance and the national movement in Lebanon, and thanks to the attitude

adopted by our friends throughout the world, the Camp David policy has entered an impasse.

Our party and the masses in the occupied lands are aware that the U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian military alliance is an ominous threat to world peace. In the Middle East the military bases are being strengthened and the rapid deployment force stands ready to strike at progressive national movements.

The U.S. imperialists and their allies are now trying to impose on the Arab peoples, the Palestinians in the first place, a new form of agreement with the aggressor. The "European initiative" contains some positive elements, but in substance it is no more than a facsimile of the Camp David documents. Although the West European powers' own interests compel them to pursue a line not quite in keeping with the U.S. posture, we know that they are nevertheless only junior partners of the USA.

For the time being the initiative is still in the hands of the imperialists and the position taken by the Arab peoples lacks vigor. This is an enormously dangerous situation both for our people and for world peace. The initiative must be wrested from the USA and its allies. But this is beyond the powers of the region's liberation movement; it requires concerted action by the revolutionary forces of our time.

In order to kill the Camp David agreements and destroy the enemy alliance, Arab progressive forces and the regimes affiliated to the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation must unite in a determined struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

Our party sees the enormous strength of the alliance of the three world revolutionary currents. The power of our allies, chiefly of the socialist community headed by the USSR, is the decisive factor cooling the hotheads in Israel, and in the USA which is backing it, and holding reaction in check, preventing it from carrying out its sinister plans in the Middle East. In order to extinguish the hotbed of war in our region there must be recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, their right to return to their homeland and form their own independent state there under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which is their sole lawful representative.

Solidarity of the progressive forces

Maurice Rakotobe, member of the Political Bureau of the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar, spoke of the significance of the struggle for peace. He cited words spoken in an interview by Didier Ratsiraka, President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, who declared that his prime and constant concerns were peace and development, for development had probably become a new name for peace. The President said he was extremely anxious because without peace there could be no development. As long as the threat of war existed, even the potential of the industrial states for cooperating with and extending aid to Third World countries would be limited.

The international situation gives all grounds for this anxiety. Using the inventions about a growing "Soviet threat" as their pretext, the U.S. leaders are reviving the cold war and whipping up the arms race. In African, Middle East and Southeast Asian countries, imperialism, which is in agony, is using all the means at its disposal to slow down socio-economic progress that is threatening capitalism's uncontrolled access to sources of raw materials and energy.

As soon as it was founded, our party proclaimed that positive neutrality and mutual respect for sovereignty and independence were the foundation for small countries like Madagascar for establishing relations with all nations. The Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution, adopted by our people in 1975, is based on two main tenets: non-alignment and defense of national sovereignty.

The Malagasy people will never forget the role played by international solidarity in their long, thorny and, at times, bloody struggle for national independence. At the Havana conference of heads of non-aligned nations the President of Madagascar said: "We must solemnly acknowledge that the socialist countries are our objective allies against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. Moreover, the socialist-community countries have never reduced us to colonies. Had it not been for the socialist states, the imperialists would have fragmented the Third World and divided it among themselves. Without the support of the socialist countries it would have been difficult for the national liberation movement to win its victories."*

The Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar has always sided with oppressed peoples fighting imperialism. At its ninth congress in 1980 it was declared: "The international situation demands that every citizen, all state leaders, and all parties and organizations should regard the defense of peace and the achievements of disarmament as their duty. The striving to revive the cold war in international relations is what impels the imperialists to go to all lengths to interfere in the internal affairs of some countries, establish military bases, stoke up conflicts in some regions, and fan anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda."

The party expresses its concern over the growing military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, unreservedly supports the proposals of President Didier Ratsiraka for a summit conference in Tananarive on the question of turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, and calls upon all of the world's progressive forces to help ensure the success of this initiative.

Hong Long, department head of the Commission for Theoretical Studies, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, compared imperialism to an octopus with some of its tentacles strangling the peoples of colonies and others the proletariat of its own countries. For that reason, he

said, the Vietnamese people, who fought a long war of liberation against the French colonialists, always felt a close bond with the revolutionary movement of the French working people. During the struggle against U.S. neo-colonialism unity was forged between the Vietnamese revolution and the movement of the American working people for their vital rights, democracy, and social progress. There has always been unbreakable unity between us and the country of the October Revolution and other socialist states.

Today our party is steadily expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community and strengthening militant solidarity with our neighbors — Laos and Kampuchea — with the movements for national liberation and social progress in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and with the working people of Western Europe and North America. The Peking leaders tried to use Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to unleash war in Southeast Asia in the hope of seizing Vietnam in a pair of pincers. But we responded to this attempt with a crushing blow, safeguarding our independence and helping the fraternal people of Kampuchea to put an end to the genocide reigning in their country. This was our internationalist duty. Vietnam will withdraw its troops from Kampuchea when the threat of aggression from China and other reactionary forces disappears or when this is desired by the government of Kampuchea.

Our party, said Olavi Poikolainen, member of the CC Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Finland, is doing its utmost to rally the Finnish working class and all other working people in the struggle against big capital and the oligarchy supported by it, for an extension of democracy and for social emancipation and socialism. We attach great importance to Lenin's thesis that all the peoples will arrive at socialism by their own path and that revolutions cannot follow one and the same pattern. Similarly important is the fundamental Marxist-Leninist postulate that the essence and content of socialist revolutions are always determined by general laws. These are not some "rules" divorced from life but scientifically substantiated and practice-tested conclusions, which needless to say, should be applied creatively. We are convinced that Finland's path to socialism will depend on the course of the revolutionary process and on the will of the Finnish working class. We are responsible to that class for the success of the struggle conducted by the Communist Party of Finland.

But it would be a serious mistake to think that Finnish capitalism is our only adversary. We are distinctly aware that it has the backing of world imperialism, whose main forces are today concentrated in the USA. The Finnish big bourgeoisie has diverse links to it and we, the Finnish communists, realize our internationalist responsibility and the significance of solidarity among revolutionaries throughout the world.

Lately, the reactionary forces, the U.S. government in the first place, have been flouting the principles recorded in the Helsinki Final Act. This is a

*Discursos pronunciados en la VI Conferencia de jefes de estado o de gobierno de los países no alienados, La Habana, 3-9 septiembre, 1979, Havana, 1980, p. 472.

dangerous and anti-people policy. It is leading to an intensification of the arms race and the building of new systems of armaments, evidence of this being the NATO decision to deploy U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe. The peoples want peace and progress. Scientific and technological breakthroughs have opened broad material and social prospects for humanity. At its present level knowledge has created the first-ever opportunity to satisfy the basic requirements of people throughout the world. But the economic and political interests of imperialism are pushing it to the path of an arms race, imperilling the environment and aggravating the situation in developing countries. Global problems can only be resolved by removing the threat of war and a nuclear catastrophe, checking the attempts of imperialism and neo-colonialism to subjugate countries and peoples, and limiting and breaking the dominance of international monopoly capital. Every country and every people must be guaranteed the opportunity to develop its social system and economy in accordance with its own views, without outside interference.

In order to speed progress in the developing countries it is vital to restructure international economic links and modify the principles of world trade. All discrimination and inequality in this sphere must be removed in accordance with the principles of the new economic order recognized by the United Nations. Such, in the view of the Communist Party of Finland, are the pressing tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle and the lofty aims of the joint actions of the working-class and national liberation movements.

The representative of the Communist Party of Turkey, spoke of the two fronts on which his party is waging a struggle. First and foremost, he said, we are upholding the nation's independence. Capitalism, which is developing in Turkey, is dependent on world imperialism and this has turned Turkey into an appendage of the international mechanism of capitalist reproduction. Second, the Turkish communists are working to ensure radical social changes without which Turkey cannot be genuinely independent. Lately, the economic crisis in Turkey has reached unprecedented dimensions: inflation is now running at an annual rate of 100 per cent, between four and five million people are unemployed, the gross national product is at zero growth, and the external debt amounts to \$20 billion. All this is bringing poverty and harassment to the working people and mounting profits to the handful of national monopolies linked to imperialism. This process can be curbed only by an advanced democratic revolution resulting from the concerted struggle of all anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly social and political forces led by the working class. The productive forces can be developed and the way to socialism can be paved only by far-reaching revolutionary changes meeting the interests of the working masses.

In Turkey true national independence cannot be achieved without social emancipation, while the substance of the movement for national and social

emancipation consists in struggle against imperialism. In the conditions obtaining in Turkey imperialism is both the external and internal enslaver of the country and the working people.

The struggle for national independence and social progress is most successful when world peace prevails. This is appreciated not only by the communists and all other revolutionary and democratic forces but also by the imperialists. For that reason, in its efforts to retain its positions international reaction is going over to a global confrontation with the socialist countries and to direct assaults on the national liberation movement. The new strategy that the Pentagon has been working on since the mid-1970s envisages an aggravation of international tension and the forcible suppression of any movement for social and national liberation. With this strategy are linked the USA's preparations for interference in the conflict between Iran and Iraq. It is also seen in the attempts to export counter-revolution and interfere high-handedly in the internal affairs of developing states, a case in point being the coup in Turkey.

The nation is now ruled by a so-called National Security Council of five generals, who hold all the legislative and executive power and act on instructions from NATO. The USA made demands of them that conflicted with Turkey's national interests and made it possible to return Greece to the NATO military organization and thereby bring the Aegean Sea under complete NATO control. Moreover, with the junta's assistance the imperialists hope to obstruct a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus issue and turn that island into a NATO military base. With the installation of a military dictatorship in Turkey, peace is again jeopardized in the Middle East and also in Europe.

The Communist Party of Turkey has always played an important part in the peace movement, which unites the nation's democratic forces. In keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the party will continue using all its resources for the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation and against imperialism and the local bourgeoisie collaborating with foreign monopolies.

Nadine Garcia-Acebedo, associate of the Economic Department of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, declared that nobody can be indifferent to the fact that enormous funds are wasted on military aims when more than 1 billion people are undernourished and nearly 50 million, one-third of whom are children, die of starvation every year. For the French communists, she said, the struggle for peace and disarmament is inseparable from the struggle against poverty. People need cooperation, not confrontation and war.

The settlement of the problems of countries that have won liberation from colonial rule cannot be limited to aid for current needs, although it, too, is imperative. Moreover, aid should be free of political strings. These questions must be resolved fundamentally, by acting against imperialism, against the

multinational corporations plundering the wealth of developing nations.

Imperialism has turned the sale of food into an element of its strategy. The U.S. and West European ruling circles are using their dominance in trade and finance and their monopoly of some staple foods and of machinery and other equipment to impede progress in developing countries. This tactic has been projected into the Common Market's agrarian policy, which is bringing French agriculture face to face with ruin. In this context we feel that it is of the utmost importance to wage a struggle for better conditions of life and for the development of the French economy and culture in close unity with the struggle of all peoples for peace, with the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Mahmud Ahmed Al Nagashi, member of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, dwelt on the problem of a strategic alliance among the main revolutionary currents.

Peace is conducive to social progress, making it possible to channel all material and manpower resources into building up the prerequisites for successful socio-economic development. International tension, on the contrary, raises political, economic, ideological and psychological obstacles on this road. Peace therefore meets with the interests of peoples striving for freedom, for deliverance from all forms of national and class oppression, and for a society of equality and social justice. Despite differences in ideological and political views, large sections of society see peace as the indispensable condition for the realization of their hopes of abolishing exploitation of man by man. In order to preserve and consolidate peace, international relations must be restructured on a democratic basis, on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. But this runs counter to the nature of the capitalist system, the existence of which is indivisibly linked to pillage and exploitation. Hence the aggressiveness of imperialist policy.

The strategic alliance of the three currents of the world revolutionary movement is of immense historical significance for the victory of progressive forces. Imperialism is the common enemy of the socialist countries and of the peoples fighting for national liberation. This makes a durable alliance among them vital in the struggle for independence, democracy, peace and socialism. The national and international tasks of this struggle are closely related.

We consider that it is important to expose the class essence and ideological roots of "left" and right-opportunist conceptions and slogans such as "reliance on own resources," "alliance of poor countries against rich nations," and "neutrality in the struggle between the two superpowers." The purpose of these conceptions is to undermine the alliance among the revolutionary forces; they are aimed against the great Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party, which are the dependable bulwark of the forces of liberation and progress throughout the world. We shall expose such views, taking for our point of departure the principles of

proletarian internationalism, the conviction that the interests of the socialist community coincide with those of the forces fighting throughout the world for liberation and progress.

José Lava, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, said that his party regards the struggle for peace and détente, and for an end to the arms race, the strategic arms race in the first place, as the primary task of the world revolutionary movement. Recent events, notably the announcement of a new nuclear strategy by the United States, demand that we should do everything to stop the warmongers. Only a worldwide movement, involving honest statesmen in the capitalist countries, is capable of preventing the imperialists and their Chinese allies from using for their expansionist purposes the current dangerous Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict, which may lead to a nuclear confrontation.

U.S. imperialism has not been reconciled to its defeats in Indochina. Since military means failed to secure the desired goals, U.S. transnational corporations are trying to establish dominant positions in the ASEAN countries in other ways. Their purpose is to destabilize the situation in Indochina and to isolate the countries of that region from their natural allies — the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. In conducting its policy in Southeast Asia, the U.S. government is looking to support from Japan and has closely collaborated with the Peking leaders.

On the strength that it once supported the countries of Indochina in their struggle for national liberation, China is seeking hegemony in that region. Having suffered a defeat in Vietnam and Laos, it managed to achieve its goal in Kampuchea for a short time, four years. But the unparalleled genocide conducted by Peking's puppets caused the Kampuchean patriots to rise. The hated regime was overthrown with the assistance of Vietnam, along whose border the Pol Pot clique, instigated by China, mounted constant provocations. Vietnam's assistance in liberating Kampuchea from the gang of criminals was used by China as the pretext for an invasion. But the Peking leaders failed "to teach Vietnam a lesson," as they had hoped to do. In order to avoid serious losses China had to pull out its troops.

The USA and China wanted the ASEAN countries to demand the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and insisted on continued UN recognition of the Pol Pot regime. Despite all the threats and political moves, the changes in Kampuchea are irreversible. Vietnam's policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation in its relations with the ASEAN countries and the worldwide condemnation of the Pol Pot regime have led to growing recognition of the Heng Samrin government.

The Communist Party of the Philippines supported the assistance given by Vietnam in the liberation of the Kampuchean people and condemned China's unprincipled invasion of Vietnam. It supports the Soviet act of solidarity with the Afghan revolution and the USSR's call for a peaceful

settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq and for measures to prevent the use of the conflict as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of the belligerents or other Persian Gulf states, or for a larger military presence in that region. The Communist Party of the Philippines expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and with all the other fighters against fascism, racism, apartheid and Zionism.

Against the new threat

The overall political situation in the world, said Klaus-Dieter Heiser, member of the Board Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, has always been of great significance for our city, which is a capitalist enclave in the center of the socialist GDR. With socialism and capitalism contiguous there, the struggle for peace and détente, against the policy of confrontation and increasing tension, is vitally important. As a matter of fact, West Berlin can count on a future only if the arms race is stopped, agreement is reached on disarmament, and imperialism's new dangerous plans are thrown overboard. It is our duty as communists to spare no effort in exposing the lie about the "threat from the East," show the actual mainsprings aggravating the international situation, and get the working people to understand that without their militant actions U.S. imperialism's military plans will not be demolished.

In promoting the peace movement in West Berlin, our party's point of departure is that peace and socialism are as indivisibly linked as imperialism and war. The recent rise of international tension was generated not by the Soviet Union's assistance to Afghanistan but by the policies of imperialism's, particularly U.S. imperialism's, aggressive circles. In Europe a policy hostile to détente is conducted notably by NATO. This is felt very keenly in West Berlin, which is used as a hub for unremitting interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries. In our city there has lately been a new wave of provocations and slander against the GDR, which is consistently pursuing a constructive policy of peace and détente, including normalization of relations with our city.

The quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, signed in 1971, created a sound basis for good-neighborly relations with the GDR and laid a reasonable foundation for our city's development. However, to this day its ruling circles are doing nothing to use this possibility. On the contrary, they systematically flout the agreement's central provision, which states that this city is not part of the FRG and may not be administered by it.

In the postwar period the people of West Berlin have tasted the bitter fruits of the cold war. The policy of détente brought us many benefits and for that reason the advocates of peace and disarmament are acting with growing militancy. The communists, social democrats, Christians and non-party people are taking a stand against the NATO decision to deploy U.S. medium-range missiles in

Europe. Cooperation among them has evolved into a coordinated movement.

Anti-war actions are also broadening in the trade unions, which are the largest organization of the working class in our city. Many trade unionists see in armaments control and in disarmament, not only a problem of vital significance to humankind but also the way to improving the working people's material and social conditions of life and preserving jobs. Our party is contributing to the spread of the anti-war movement and to the consolidation of cooperation among its participants, and strives to influence its aims and content.

Today the world is at a crossroads, said Arne Jørgensen, Central Board member, Communist Party of Norway. If we do not put a stop to imperialism's intrigues and crush the arms race programs a devastating war may break out. The U.S. President's Directive 59 is evidence of cynical disregard of human rights. In response to this directive it is necessary to rally all the peace forces and energetically fight the terrible danger of war.

When Norway joined NATO in 1949 it made important reservations. The Norwegian government issued a statement on military bases, in which it assured the USSR that it would never permit its territory to be used for aggressive purposes and would sign no agreements with other powers on the building of foreign military bases in Norway if there was no danger of attack against it or if there was no threat to its frontiers. Subsequently, these pledges were in large part violated. In Norway, American money was used to build many radio-electronic monitoring systems, which maintain communication with U.S. nuclear submarines. Along Norway's coast there are oil-storage tanks, ammunition dumps and food stores for U.S. and NATO naval forces, and throughout the country there are NATO military airfields. Large-scale NATO exercises are held more and more frequently in Norway, and the government has agreed to take part in paying for an Airborne Warning and Control System.

Currently, the pledge to deny Norwegian territory for foreign military bases is being broken again. It is planned to store on Norwegian territory heavy equipment for 10,000 U.S. marines (in the event of hostilities). This has seriously alarmed Norwegian public opinion. Even NATO supporters concede that this conflicts with Norway's policy in the question of military bases and nuclear weapons and with the nation's interests. Some bourgeois politicians are urging stepping up the efforts to achieve general disarmament in the spirit of the Action Program adopted by the special UN General Assembly session in 1978. They feel that the nuclear arms race must be slowed down or stopped, especially in Europe, and that pressure must be brought to bear to make détente on our continent a reality again. Norway can contribute to this important matter by taking steps to strengthen mutual confidence.

The plans for storing armaments, NATO's Brussels decision on the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe and, last but not least, the U.S. Presidential Directive 59 have alarmed many

Norwegians. They are apprehensive that Norway will be turned into a military bridgehead against the Soviet Union, into a U.S. "sitting aircraft-carrier." Little wonder that innumerable action committees against the storing of armaments are now being formed in Norway on a broad political basis. Public opinion is becoming more active in pressing for peace, and this is being noted with deep gratification by the Norwegian communists and other forces that have for many years been fighting against the aggressive plans of the U.S. imperialists, for détente, disarmament and national independence.

Peaceful coexistence allows ascertaining which social system serves the interests of the working people best. The communists have no doubts on this score. We are guided by the scientific theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and are doing everything in our power to ensure the success of the cause of socialism in our country. In the struggle for détente, disarmament and lasting peace we are prepared to conclude an alliance with anybody who has realized that the world stands at a crossroads and that the aggressive plans of the imperialists must be foiled.

Despite the advances that have been made by the forces of progress, the representative of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman said, imperialism and international reaction are not ceasing their subterfuges, with the intent of delaying the final victory of the oppressed peoples, winning time and going on plundering developing countries.

In the puppet regime in Oman, the USA has a zealous advocate of its military presence in our region. In some cases, propaganda speculates on the danger of subversion — of oil tankers being sunk in the Strait of Hormuz — and in others it uses the slander about a "communist penetration" in the Persian Gulf. Under these and similar pretexts the Middle East has been turned into a center of a build-up of U.S. armaments such as it has not known since the Second World War. On islands belonging to Oman and in its territorial waters there are now 12,000 U.S. servicemen. In addition, there are Egyptian army units sent by Sadat to support his ally, Sultan Qabus bin Said.

Air-strips and underground stores, shelters and hangars, and other facilities have been undergoing intensive enlargement and construction on Oman's island of Masirah under the supervision of U.S. and British military experts. Its seaport is being modernized and enlarged. Under an agreement signed by the USA and Britain with Qabus, Masirah, once an insignificant British naval station, is becoming a joint U.S.-British strategic facility. The USA and NATO accord it an important role in the Indian Ocean and the so-called security arc that embraces Diego Garcia and the U.S. bases in Southeast Asia. Masirah has been selected as a base of the U.S. Fifth Fleet and a springboard for the rapid deployment force. Following the signing of the Camp David agreements and the overthrow of the shah in Iran intensive efforts are being made to use British rule in Oman and the servile policies of Sultan Qabus to turn that country into a theater base for U.S. and

NATO military forces. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman is directing its efforts toward forming a broad-based united national front. To achieve our aims we are determined to use all forms of struggle, including armed struggle.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman is demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops and the dismantling of military bases, the granting of democratic freedoms to all sections of the people, the release of political prisoners, the pursuance of an independent foreign policy — based on non-alignment with military blocs — and the settlement of the main issue of the Arab peoples, namely, the Palestinian question.

We are deeply grateful to the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, which is a true friend of embattled peoples, for its assistance and support. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman attaches great importance to the alliance of the socialist community, the parties of the working class in capitalist countries and the national liberation movements.

With capitalism having entered a new stage of its general crisis, there are now new dangers, especially the danger of a further activation of right-wing, reactionary forces, said Jan Fojtik, CC Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Militarism is gaining strength in the USA and the imperialists are creating and sustaining flashpoints of tension in various parts of the world. This makes it incumbent upon us to be vigilant and take a clear-cut class view of current developments. Those who hold peace and social progress dear must be seriously concerned about the U.S. government's nervous and often entirely unpredictable actions, about its use of any pretext for increasing the U.S. military presence on all continents. In order to safeguard "U.S. vital interests in any part of the world" Carter ordered the build-up of special units with military intervention and direct support for counter-revolution as their tasks. This step is part and parcel of a global strategy aimed at achieving military superiority to enable U.S. imperialism to impose its will on other peoples. However, a determined stand has been taken against the USA's military course by the Soviet Union and all the other Warsaw Treaty nations, and also by other peace and anti-imperialist forces. For that reason reaction is devising ever more subtle means of attacking our unity, of sowing discord and distrust. It is kindling nationalistic passions in order to disunite progressive and revolutionary parties and movements, to drive a wedge between socialist-community nations and countries that have won liberation from colonial oppression. Here the Peking hegemonists play the unseemly role of accomplices of imperialism.

Bourgeois propaganda is going to all lengths to discredit the determined class, internationalist actions of revolutionary parties and movements, the cooperation among them, and their mutual support. The fraternal assistance which the socialist countries are extending to peoples that have taken the path of non-capitalist development is an eyesore for

our adversaries. This assistance — in the economy, health care, the training of personnel, and the defense of revolutionary gains — demonstrates the advantages of relations based on mutual respect and trust and is evidence of the vitality of internationalist solidarity.

The attacks on this friendly support on the pretext of defending "sovereignty" and "independence" stripped of their class content are absurd. Erstwhile colonialists, usurpers and oppressors, who had time again drowned the resistance of the masses in blood, have suddenly become zealous champions of the sovereignty and independence of those whom they had held in chains for centuries.

The clamor over the "safeguarding of sovereignty" is either a piece of cynicism and hypocrisy that is being used to camouflage imperialism's true interests or overwhelming and harmful naiveté. A non-class approach to national sovereignty and rejection of the principles of proletarian internationalism on the claim that they have become an anachronism are seriously prejudicing the revolutionary movement. Some people urge dropping internationalism "in favor of sovereignty and independence" with the argument that this is the only way each country can freely determine its specific forms of socialist development. But nobody is preventing anybody from building the new society in accordance with local conditions. History has shown that there are general laws of socialist construction and that in the long run deviation from them always entails a departure from socialism, imperils not only the national specifics of the new system but also its very existence. This has been borne out by Czechoslovakia's experience. The conclusions drawn by the party from this experience are stated in the document "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz."

I believe that these questions should be thrashed out openly, and not only because they are the subject of a sharp polemic. We are interested in the successful development of the world revolutionary process and the anti-imperialist struggle and realize that a weakening of any sector of our front inevitably affects all the other sectors.

THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND EXISTING SOCIALISM

Many speeches at the conference touched on the inseparable link between the socialist countries and the movement for peace and national liberation. Representatives of the fraternal parties of socialist states spoke of their solidarity with the fighters for independence and of assistance to countries that have put an end to colonial oppression. Representatives from developing countries, including those that have taken the path leading to socialist construction, underscored that existing socialism is serving these countries as an example in resolving complex national problems: social, economic, political and cultural.

New potentials of the revolutionary movement

It should not be forgotten, said Jesus Montane Oropesa, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Cuba and head of the CC Department for International Relations, that the Great October Socialist Revolution made the defense of peace a key political task of the then young Soviet State. On the day after the Bolsheviks triumphed, Lenin signed the historic Decree on Peace, which proclaimed the continuation of the imperialist war the greatest crime against humanity and called upon the belligerents to end the bloodshed and sit down to talks on the conclusion of a just and democratic peace.

Lenin's theoretical conclusion on the historical need for and benefits of a policy of peaceful coexistence for the cause of socialism has become a reality. A new international law sprang from the profound changes that have taken place in the world since the Second World War. The United Nations Organization is history's first international institution founded on principles of equality and sovereignty. Peaceful coexistence has been recognized as the cornerstone of the work of the UN and the preservation of peace its supreme task.

The defeat of fascism, the growth of the Soviet Union's prestige, and the emergence of the socialist community exercised a beneficial influence on the situation in the world. In that situation the liberation struggle of the peoples of colonies, semi-colonies, and dependent countries acquired a new dimension. The world balance of forces changed in favor of peace and progress, and the cold war was supplanted by détente. Analyzing this historical stage, Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, said in his report to the First Party Congress: "We maintained . . . that détente became possible after a long struggle, in the course of which the fundamental possibility and expedience of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, proclaimed by Lenin in the period when the first socialist state was founded, were recognized despite savage resistance from imperialism's most reactionary circles."

For some time after the Helsinki Conference it seemed that the cold war lexicon and methods had receded into the past. However, the high priests of imperialism tried to use détente in their own interests, interpreting it as the preservation of the status quo on the international scene allegedly resulting from a tacit compromise between the two systems. This interpretation is far from reality, for it conflicts in principle with the stand of the communists. In *The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution* Lenin wrote: "An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society, from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 80).

Today the socialist countries, the international

working-class and national liberation movements, and other progressive forces are in a position to destroy the plans of the reactionary, militarist circles. Formerly the revolutionaries did not have this potential, and war was forced upon us. But the experience of détente has shown that this can be prevented. The forces of progress and peace have grown stronger and acquired the necessary experience. Nevertheless, to achieve our aim we must have unity and coordination of action. Revolutionary internationalism must become the cardinal principle of our policy.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, said **Francisco Polit**, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador, turned backward tsarist Russia into a powerful country devoid of exploiters and exploited, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, social injustice and social vices, from which the capitalist countries are suffering.

The peoples following the path opened by the October Revolution, are moving from success to success. Headed by the USSR the socialist community helps other peoples fraternally and disinterestedly, making no conditions limiting their sovereignty.

Oppressors will never voluntarily surrender their unlawful privileges. They cling to these privileges by brutal and criminal methods. This is how the reactionary forces headed by Yankee imperialism act today.

Imperialism seeks to survive by threatening its adversaries with a nuclear war. Bourgeois propaganda shamelessly accuses the Soviet Union — the main bulwark of peace and the sincere friend of all peoples — of having aggressive intentions. Imperialism strives to slander and destroy the USSR, as Hitler once tried. The Peking camarilla, which has betrayed its people and socialism, is likewise inciting war. Today the struggle for peace is thus our most important task.

Peace cannot be achieved by making concessions to the aggressors, by repudiating principles. The diplomacy of conciliation led to Munich. That sort of "peace" is inevitably fraught with war and the enslavement of peoples. Our planet needs genuine peace founded on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and an end to the arms race, which would be the first step toward general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Union has repeatedly made these proposals in order to exclude aggression from international relations. Peace must rest on détente and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and disputes between states must be settled by negotiation. To condemn the Soviet Union for its support of the Afghan revolution, which imperialism is trying to throttle, or to make charges against Vietnam, which helped the people of Kampuchea to overthrow the criminal Pol Pot regime is in our day tantamount to conniving at reaction, which is looking for a pretext to unleash new military conflicts. Peace is the most noble of our aims. The need for it is recognized by the most diverse forces, by millions of people throughout the world, regardless of their religious beliefs, ideolog-

ical persuasions, nationality or class affiliation.

My country, Ecuador, suffers from imperialist oppression, from Yankee dominance. For that reason we, the Ecuadoran communists, with the principles of Marxism-Leninism as our guide, concentrate on the struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress. The year 1980 saw the 150th anniversary of the Republic of Ecuador and the bicentennial of the birth of José Joaquín Olmedo, a glorious son of the Ecuadoran people and a great patriot and poet, who celebrated the struggle for freedom, and the 150th anniversary of the death of Simon Bolívar and Marshal Antonio José de Sucre. History reminds us of heroic battles for freedom and teaches that they must be fought until final victory. We, the communists, are fighting for our country's genuine independence, for its social and national emancipation, which will make it possible to begin the transition to socialism and communism, to a society of justice and welfare.

Monzon Keita, member of the National Council of the Mali People's Democratic Alliance, noted that in its nature and ultimate goals the struggle for peace and socialism is identical to the struggle for national independence, against imperialism. Both the socialist countries and the dependent states are acting against oppression, against a common enemy — the forces of war and imperialism.

Andras Gyenes, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, said that détente had beneficially influenced the struggle of the three main revolutionary currents of our time. However, of late the imperialists have stepped up their attempts to change the balance of strength in their favor, halt the process of détente and, more, reverse it. The plans devised by the USA and NATO to escalate the arms race, increase the U.S. military presence in various volatile regions of the world, and further proliferate nuclear weapons are endangering the destiny of humanity and world peace.

The socialist countries, the Hungarian People's Republic among them, are doing everything to prevent a deterioration of the international situation and achieve a relaxation of the existing tension. Our community is not after military superiority. It is interested in military equilibrium, in equal security with a lowering of the armaments level. The socialist countries, the international working class and the national liberation movement pursue the same aim: to create a situation in which imperialism would not imperil humanity and in which people, every person would have the opportunity for creative development. We are convinced that by joint efforts the revolutionary forces of our epoch can ensure humanity's transition "from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom" (Friedrich Engels).

The movements for national and social emancipation in individual countries and worldwide have now intertwined. The experience of the Hungarian people, which has fought for centuries simultaneously against exploiters and for independence, exemplifies the close bond between these two aims.

Hence our understanding and sympathy as we follow the struggles of peoples and countries subjected to one form or another of neo-colonialist or even colonialist oppression, to direct or indirect exploitation by imperialism.

At our party's 12th congress in March 1980 it was reiterated that we want friendly relations with developing countries based on common interests and mutual solidarity. The Hungarian government has introduced UNCTAD-recommended preferential tariffs in trade with these countries, while relative to 26 of them it has removed all customs barriers. To the extent of our resources we are helping to train specialists for the developing nations. Several thousand young people from these countries have received a higher or secondary special education in Hungary. Hundreds of Hungarian specialists are working in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Hungary is strengthening its relations with non-aligned countries. We value and support their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and their efforts to put an end to discrimination and segregation, prevent war, extinguish hotbeds of tension, curb the arms race, ease international tension and promote the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The HSWP attaches great importance to establishing and consolidating links with the communist and national-democratic parties of developing countries. With the diverse forms implicit in it, inter-party cooperation clears the way for obtaining a better knowledge of the situation in the parties, utilizing the accumulated experience, and working out common viewpoints. Our party is doing much to enable the Hungarian people to know and understand the problems and difficulties of the developing countries.

The HSWP is making every effort to unite the forces fighting for socialism, national independence and peace. Its point of departure is that the conscious strengthening of the links between socialist states and the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movements is the key to the successful development of the revolutionary process in our epoch.

The national liberation struggle is acquiring an increasingly distinct social content, and anti-imperialist actions are assuming new forms. This creates the need for more fundamental theoretical work and for collective generalizations facilitating practical political activity.

Feroze Mohammed, Central Executive Committee member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, said that the appearance of the first socialist state and the subsequent formation of the socialist world community had undoubtedly exercised a strong influence on the world revolutionary process and contributed to the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system. The collapse of that system is one of the distinguishing features of post-World War II history. Political independence has been won by peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. It was not accidental that these momentous changes took place during a period

when the world did not experience a global war.

For many of the newly-independent countries one of the most urgent tasks is to overcome the colonial legacy of backwardness, disease and ignorance. Some of these countries have rejected the capitalist road of development and adopted the road of transition to socialism. They draw upon the extensive experience of the socialist community, study it, and count on all-sided support from their friends. They see this support as essential for the attainment of their immediate and long-term socio-economic goals.

Successful advancement by the developing countries depends heavily on their internal stability and an international climate of peace. Destabilization attempts, murderous internecine conflicts and wars instigated by imperialism and its puppets hurt the interests of the developing countries and are aimed at reversing positive processes, at nullifying the efforts these countries are making to strengthen their national sovereignty and assert their economic independence.

The Caribbean has been one of the areas where the easing of international tension was accompanied by significant social changes. Socialist Cuba and the growing esteem it enjoys in the world continue to leave an impact as a living example and as a feasible alternative to the burden of social, economic and political problems that bedevil the countries of this region. The imperialist circles of the USA are therefore giving close attention to the Caribbean. Their hands are discernible in the widespread violence and aid to right-wing forces in Jamaica, in the assassination attempts on Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada, and in the intensification of repressions in several Central American and Caribbean countries.

Under the specious pretext of a Soviet military presence in Cuba, United States marines carried out military exercises at Guantanamo Bay; following the Grenadian revolution it was quickly announced that a Caribbean Joint Task Force was being set up, which, as the U.S. government stated, would enhance the capability to respond to any threat to the regimes in this region from the revolutionary forces.

Guyana stands out as a vivid example of a Caribbean country which has succumbed to imperialist machinations. The brief period during the first half of the 1970s, when an anti-imperialist course was cautiously pursued, has come to a halt. A reversal is now well under way.

The aggravation of the international situation and the heightening of tensions do not serve the interests of the Caribbean peoples. On the contrary, they only deter them from achieving their genuine aspirations and inhibit social progress. We see with ever greater clarity the correctness of Lenin's advocacy of peace and peaceful coexistence.

Countries like ours, which are fighting for national independence, must realize that the struggles for peace and socialism are not only connected to and intertwined with theirs but also are indispensable to the fulfillment of the pressing social, economic and political tasks before them.

Simeon Simeya, National Secretary of the Party for Unity and National Progress of Burundi, declared that his party is deeply grateful to the socialist countries for their solidarity with the struggle of the former colonial peoples, for helping these peoples maintain and strengthen their independence. We shall never forget, he said, the generous support of the socialist world and the democratic and revolutionary forces for those who in armed struggle upheld their right to human dignity and national independence.

Imperialism is playing a dangerous game with fire. We, Simeon Simeya said, regret that some countries have joined in that game by engaging in fratricidal wars, which only play into imperialism's hands. True success means victory over poverty, disease, illiteracy and backwardness.

On the basis of mutual assistance and respect

Leonte Rautu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, said that in view of the magnitude and accelerating rate of social and political changes, the dialectical interconnection and mutual dependence of these changes, and the growing diversity of the conditions in which the revolutionary forces are acting, the communist parties have to work out the solutions to the many entirely new problems posed, creatively analyze new processes and phenomena, and draw the necessary conclusions for strategy and tactics.

The abolition of backwardness and the huge economic imbalances between countries are of special importance among the cardinal problems of our time. The Romanian Communist Party considers that the world's division into rich and poor nations as a result of colonialist and neo-colonialist rule is an objective reality of the modern world. This makes it imperative to restructure international relations radically and establish a new world economic order.

We believe that the anti-imperialist struggle should have the vigorous support of the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties, the revolutionary movement, and all other progressive, democratic forces. We take pride in the fact that our party and our people actively extended and continue to extend assistance to the heroic peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and of other countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Nobody has the right to export counter-revolution to obstruct the efforts being made in one country or another to enforce democratic, revolutionary reforms. Further, Marxism rejects the idea of exporting revolution. Solidarity with efforts to put structural socio-economic reforms into effect must be based on recognition of the right of the revolutionary forces of each given country to resolve the difficult problems of building the new society by themselves in accordance with the will and interests of their people.

International developments are more and more eloquently demonstrating that violations of the

principles of independence, sovereignty, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of states are the main cause of the tensions and conflicts in the world. These conflicts spring from the imperialist policy of strength and dictation, from the struggle to carve up the world into spheres of influence and consolidate domination over other states. The key aims of the joint struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and progress are to destroy the nuclear arms stockpiles in Europe and throughout the world and secure disarmament and military détente, a reduction of military budgets and armed forces, the dismantling of military bases on the territory of foreign countries, the disbandment of military blocs, and the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

Today, more than ever before, everything possible must be done to surmount the differences between some socialist countries on the basis of scientific socialism and the principles of non-interference, mutual respect and cooperation. We believe that any actions which may cause these relations to deteriorate must be avoided. This will allow making an ever more tangible contribution to peace and détente and enhance the international prestige of fraternal states.

We steadfastly advocate strengthening cooperation with the communist and workers' parties of other countries and a new type of unity, namely, unity in diversity, which takes into account the specific situation in which the revolutionary struggle unfolds and the resultant diverse forms and methods of action. This implies a further expansion of exchanges of experience and views in a spirit of complete equality and of mutual respect for the autonomy of each party and its exclusive right to work out its policy and its revolutionary strategy and tactics by itself.

Zaki Khairi, member of the CC Political Bureau of the Iraqi Communist Party, declared that today, more than ever before, the countries that have rejected capitalist development need an alliance with the socialist community, notably with the Soviet Union, and the time-tested experience of the countries of existing socialism. Transition to socialism is inconceivable without mutual assistance and a close alliance with the socialist community. However, the consummation of the anti-feudal and anti-colonial national-democratic revolution and the direct transition to socialist changes ultimately depend on the maturing of the prerequisites in the country concerned, on the maturity level of subjective and objective factors, and also — this is extremely important — on who plays the leading role in restructuring socio-economic relations.

The working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard are the only force that can implement such leadership and bring the democratic revolution to completion so as then to move on directly to the fulfillment of socialist tasks.

Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism is a mire in which revolutionary and even socialist democracy can perish. An example of this is China's policy, which degenerated under the influence

of petty-bourgeois nationalists with their hegemonistic and great-power ambitions.

If the bureaucratic bourgeoisie is in power, the character of the public sector of the economy can, under its leadership, only be state-bureaucratic, bourgeois. This is exemplified by the OPEC countries, specifically Iraq, where the capitalist class parasitically living off the public sector, is growing at an incredibly rapid rate, while the program for development is used to build up a military-industrial complex.

The preliminary conditions for building socialism are a certain minimal level of socio-economic development and the hegemony of the working class under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party. The last phase of the democratic revolution means the creation of a revolutionary-democratic state, an advance in the direction of economic independence, the safeguarding of national independence, and the conversion of the public sector into the basis of the new socio-economic system being built by the revolutionary-democratic states. As Lenin taught, this system is still not socialism but neither is it capitalism. Provided the working class plays the leading role, the revolutionary-democratic regime is the vital condition and foundation for the direct transition to the socialist stage of the revolution.

In Iraq we have to do with the last stage of the democratic revolution, a stage that opens up the possibility for going over to socialist construction. But to allow such construction to begin the people's revolution must win a decisive victory under the leadership of the working class and its party. We know that this leading role cannot be simply suggested to or imposed on allies as a preliminary condition. It is won in hard struggle involving sacrifices and as a result of the creative application of Leninist strategy to specific national conditions.

Abdoulaye Diallo, ambassador at large of the President of Guinea and representative of the Democratic Party of Guinea, said that his party is invariably guided by the principle of acting only with and in the interests of the people. Its policy has always been permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. This was the basis on which our struggle for national liberation commenced. It began first in the trade union movement, was conducted in cooperation with other African organizations, and received invaluable assistance from the communist parties of socialist states and also from progressive organizations in capitalist countries.

We have been successful in the face of difficulties. The party first gave its attention to building up an educational system. In this field we were helped by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Today our country's affairs are administered by young national cadre, and we are, in our turn, in a position to help other African states, for instance, Mozambique, where Guinean teachers and doctors now work. Our specialists are working on the Seychelles Islands and in Guinea-Bissau. While

supporting these countries, we are helping ourselves as well. No country can consider itself free and independent as long as a single colony is left in the world. We are doing everything to counter the pressure of imperialist aggression and strive to check imperialism, which raises barriers in the path of the developing countries. In my opinion, the wealth of Africa and the whole world should be used for the common benefit of nations. Conflicts, which the imperialists want, should not break out between nations over the discovery of uranium, phosphates or oil on this or that side of the frontier. All of us, the African countries in particular, must be highly vigilant on this score. We strive to extinguish all the hotbeds of war existing or being deliberately created on our continent. Attempts to set peoples against each other are continuing in Western Sahara, Chad and other regions of Africa. This is condemned by the Democratic Party of Guinea.

At the conference it was rightly stressed that help should be extended to countries that have begun to build socialism. Here it is of the utmost importance to select effective means and forms of support to such countries so as to enable them to rid themselves of imperialist pressure. Of the wide range of problems of socialist construction, the most important is that of building the material basis of the new society. Countries that have embarked upon socialist development need metal, cement and equipment. But the entire quantity of the required metal or cement cannot be imported. However large the assistance from socialist and other states, the developing countries cannot be supplied with all the equipment they want. Needless to say, we will import something, but the rest must be produced locally. We must combine our efforts with the socialist states and together work out how best to organize mineral surveys and the exploitation of energy resources, and how to finance such projects. We need coherent, reliable plans. Unless there is a firm material basis, socialism cannot be built. So long as we do not improve the people's living standard, imperialist propaganda will claim that countries building the new society are unable to surmount poverty. This is a lie, and to expose it one has only to glance at the living standard in socialist countries and recall from what many of them began their advance to socialism.

COMMON FRONT AGAINST CAPITAL AND IMPERIALISM

Much was said about the problem of achieving closer interaction between the working-class movement in capitalist countries and the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national independence and equality, against neo-colonialism. Delegates showed that unity on this basis is an invaluable factor not only serving the anti-imperialist movement in developing countries but contributing to the success of the democratic actions of the progressive forces and to the efforts to unite the working people in imperialist citadels.

The problem of joining forces

Otto Janacek, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria said that until recently, the Austrian working-class movement concerned itself almost exclusively with "European" problems. This was due, first, to the fact that Austria-Hungary was the only European great power with no overseas colonies, and second, to the small scale of Austria's current economic relations with Asian, African and Latin American countries. But while the impact of the Austrian working-class movement on the struggle of their peoples has so far been insignificant, this is not to say that the opposite is the case. Actions against imperialism, for national liberation and social progress in these regions strongly influence democratic opinion in Austria.

This influence began to be felt in the 1960s, in the actions of solidarity with the embattled people of Vietnam. That protest movement enabled us to set up our first-ever broad action front against U.S. imperialism. Although the SPA leadership had, under the threat of disciplinary action, forbidden party members to cooperate with the communists, the wall raised between the two parties shook during the demonstrations against the Vietnam war. The protests against the crimes of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile became another area for productive joint action. Many socialists (especially young people) and left Catholics looked with favor on what the Chilean democrats tried to achieve under the Allende government; these elements of Austrian society were shocked by the military coup. In the solidarity movement that developed in Austria immediately after the Chilean coup, the communists cooperated — this time officially — with the socialists and Catholics. It was the first movement in which we attained such unity of action. The SPA leadership no longer ventured to threaten its members with sanctions.

In 1980 the front of solidarity with Chile scored a major success that affected all aspects of Austrian home policy. The communist press ascertained and drew public attention to the fact that the government had signed contracts to supply Pinochet with more than 100 armored carriers "suitable for street fighting," as Austrian arms dealers put it. In order to justify the deal, the bosses of nationalized enterprises and Chancellor Kreisky pleaded that jobs had to be preserved, adding that the Chilean government would have got what it wanted from some other government. More, they argued that unless Austria manufactured arms in sufficient quantities its neutrality would be in jeopardy and that its munitions industry could operate without loss only if it had a foreign market. The deal angered public opinion so deeply that after a demonstration in Vienna in which thousands of young communists, socialists and Catholics joined, the government had to abandon the project.

The communists are invariably in the forefront of Austria's champions of détente and disarmament. We oppose arms deliveries to tyrants and the activ-

ity of the reactionary media, which use racist methods in trying to discredit the national liberation movements. We insist that neutral Austria speak out against the arms race and identify the forces stepping up this race, namely, the U.S. imperialists and NATO strategists. Subsequently, we will probably have to stiffen resistance to the attempts of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc to interfere in conflicts outside Europe and to efforts to involve Austria in such conflicts in one way or another.

Rene Theodore, General Secretary of the United Party of Haitian Communists, said that imperialism still retains the fundamental characteristics that were pointed out by Lenin. Capital concentration is continuing on a growing scale, and new gigantic monopolies, known as transnational companies, are developing; under neo-colonialism, too, export of capital remains the chief mechanism of dominating and exploiting peoples. Credits and financial "aid" from the imperialists are becoming a camouflaged means of making profit, an incentive for the export of goods, arms and capital. Nor has imperialism's aggressive nature changed. It breeds more and more tensions, sets up military bases on foreign soil, and builds up invasion forces to "safeguard" its interests in various parts of the globe.

In recent years, with capitalism hit by a severe crisis, the monopolies and their subsidiaries have been penetrating developing countries on a bigger scale than ever, being attracted by the cheap labor and tax benefits. In Haiti we are witnessing a fusion of the nation's manpower resources with large-scale U.S. production. Haiti is becoming an appendage to the U.S. economy. The result is unprecedented exploitation of the working people. Meanwhile the treasury is being emptied. Haiti's expenditures exceed revenues by nearly 60 per cent. This is why the USA, Canada, West Germany and Israel have gone so far as to set up a commission which has in effect brought the country under its tutelage. The commission decides the fate of economic projects and allocates funds, in other words, it has turned Haiti into an undeclared protectorate. Is not the same lot in store for other countries still shackled by neo-colonial dependence?

Haitian public opinion insists ever more openly on ending all curbs on national sovereignty, overthrowing the Duvalier autocracy, and setting social changes in motion in the interest of the workers and peasants.

Reaction is mobilizing its forces to counter the upsurge of the democratic movement. Imperialism nurtures sinister plans to turn some areas of Haiti into nuclear waste dumps; it pollutes the Caribbean and obstructs negotiations on a new international economic order. Nevertheless, some so-called democratic and patriotic organizations talk about imperialism's "good intentions."

We consider that in order to overturn imperialism's counter-revolutionary strategy, which endangers world peace, the revolutionary parties and peoples must promote cooperation and militant

solidarity at both the regional and international level.

Eoin O'Murchu, member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland, spoke of the nationalities question and the struggle for socialism in his country, saying that as some leaders of the Irish labor movement see it, active participation in the national movement for independence in Irish conditions is a diversion from the struggle for socialism; they argue that the working class should concentrate solely on immediate economic issues. Sinn Fein — the Workers' Party — has now openly welcomed the presence of the foreign multinationals, preferring them to native monopoly capitalism. In contrast, the communists reject any compromise with imperialism. We champion the cause of national unity, for without the freedom of our country, we cannot advance to socialism.

Bourgeois propaganda has launched an unprecedented slander campaign against the socialist countries. Revealingly, the media which accuse them of all manner of non-existent political repression ignore the real repression, the torture of prisoners and the denial of civil rights in Northern Ireland. Socialism's economic achievements are scorned. At the same time, bourgeois propagandists flirt with Eurocommunism. But we ask what value has such a "communism" if it does not defend the national sovereignty of Ireland nor involve itself in the fight for democracy. In contrast, the socialist countries have raised their voices in the international arena to expose British rule in Northern Ireland. The cause of justice and democracy in Ireland has received selfless aid from the socialist countries, while the ruling circles of the West tacitly accede to Britain's claims in Northern Ireland.

In the opinion of *Guiliano Procacci*, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Italian Communist Party, an analysis of the economic and political situation in developing countries, of their mutual relations, and of the policy of the leading capitalist countries reflecting the nature of contemporary imperialism invites important conclusions regarding the connection between the working-class and national liberation movements.

The working-class movement represents different parties operating in dissimilar conditions. They are the ruling parties of the socialist countries and the communist parties of capitalist countries, including the Eurocommunist parties, which have chosen their own road to socialism according to the realities of their countries. The initial principle of their strategy is pluralism, on whose basis the various parties autonomously make their political choice. Besides, there are ruling and non-ruling socialist and social-democratic parties that speak for the majority or a substantial section of the working class of their countries. The working-class movement maintains relations with national liberation movements either on a bilateral basis only (communist parties), or through international

organizations such as the Socialist International (socialist parties).

In turn, organizations of the national liberation movement differ among themselves, depending on the conditions in which they operate. Some are in power, while others are fighting for power; some accept the ideals of socialism and the Marxist doctrine, while others do not.

In these circumstances, it would apparently be wrong to call for organic unity of the working-class and national liberation movements and try to work out a common program, let alone set up a leading and organizing center. Differences in the traditions, ideals and political orientation of the parties and movements concerned are too great for them to form a united front.

However, as far as individual important problems are concerned, it is possible to bring the working-class parties of industrialized capitalist countries, the national liberation movements, and lastly, the former and the latter, closer together. This process could also involve movements of a different nature, such as the Catholic movements of Europe and Latin America consciously opposing imperialism. This kind of rapprochement (with each party retaining its autonomy and the right to maintain bilateral relations), *Procacci* said, is possible for the following reasons. All working-class parties and liberation movements have a stake in resisting centrifugal trends in developing countries that deform the system of international relations in favor of imperialism and hence in assisting all advocates of unity and economic and political cooperation to promote détente, disarmament and peace.

Support for the demand for a new international economic order and the non-aligned movement would meet our common interests. Moreover, we advocate real political cooperation between the working-class movement as a whole and the non-aligned movement. This is what the ICP mainly means when it speaks of a "new internationalism." However, these tasks require definite commitments from parties: respect for the autonomy of the non-aligned movement, avoidance of all attempts to split its unity or restrict its autonomy, and renunciation of the opinion that non-alignment is a step toward future "alignment." These principles underlie the bilateral relations between working-class parties (especially ruling ones) and national liberation movements. Self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of other countries must be strictly respected and no export of counter-revolution or revolution must be allowed.

Attempts to draw a non-aligned country into a military bloc by means of political and economic pressure, let alone military invasion, are unacceptable. This is why our 15th party congress took its well-known stand on Vietnamese military interference in Kampuchea and the Chinese punitive expedition against Vietnam. It is also well known — and we reaffirm this here again — that the ICP censures the Soviet Union's military interference in Afghanistan and insists on the withdrawal of the occupation troops and on finding a political solu-

tion that would guarantee the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan as well as the security of neighboring countries.

Procacci declared that it was necessary to reject what he termed was an outdated view of capitalism and world economics, a view that had struck firm root in working-class and, particularly, communist parties. In the 1970s the capitalist economy entered a period of protracted recession accompanied by inflation, mass unemployment and monetary convulsions; the energy crisis became a serious menace. It would be wrong, however, to believe that this crisis would only affect the capitalist world. The economic interdependence of countries has gone so far that the crisis cannot help affecting the entire range of international economic relations.

Procacci said that the ICP absolved itself of all responsibility for the criticism that was levelled during the discussion at parties and movements which could not reply because they were not attending the conference.

On analyzing some indications of the general crisis of capitalism in the 1970s, Rene Urbany, Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, pointed out that in Common Market countries the monopolies try to put greater pressure on their governments, curtail trade union rights, and emasculate the "participation" system. This trend is to be seen clearly in the deliberations of the Luxembourg parliament. Acting through extra-parliamentary organizations and "social partnership" bodies, company representatives influence the country's economic, social and fiscal policies, and the formation of its budget in such a way as to shift the entire burden of the crisis to the working people's shoulders and assure high profits for the monopolies.

Urbany commented on the effects which the establishment of a new, equitable international division of labor could have for the working class of industrialized capitalist countries. Some people believe that to solve this problem, the working-class parties must urge the working people to cut down on their material requirements and thereby make it possible to fund a thorough restructuring of the division of labor and adopt a more judicious mode of consumption and production. This view is untenable. A policy of austerity, of material curbs on the working people of industrialized capitalist countries, would merely make it easier for the monopoly bourgeoisie to operate. We therefore feel that as a working-class party of a capitalist country our party's task is to mobilize the working people against monopoly predominance, against the policies pursued by the monopolies in the context of the crisis. We regard this as our contribution to the effort to shake and remove the international influence of the monopolies and put an end to neo-colonialist exploitation.

At this conference, Urbany said, it has been mentioned that world development is multifaceted and contradictory. Indeed, even the most well-intentioned person finds it hard to get his bearings in the present complex situation. The mass media of our countries deliberately misrepresent the causes,

meaning and effects of current processes. To know what they should fight for or against, the workers and the people must know who speaks for the forces of progress and peace and who for the forces of reaction and war. But how can anyone judge accurately when the foreign policy of the socialist countries is distorted beyond recognition and the Soviet Union is censured for internationalist assistance extended to Afghanistan at the direct request of that country's government? How can the working people clearly see the processes taking place in the world today when they are deluged with assertions that there are "contradictions" between revolutionary parties in power and those not in power, between the socialist countries and the national liberation movements? Intentionally or otherwise, such assertions — and these regrettably are to be heard also in the working-class movement — tend to obscure the fundamental conflict of our time, namely, the conflict between the revolutionary forces and imperialism.

We emphatically reject this approach. It contradicts scientific and historical truth and distorts the internationalist policy of anti-imperialist solidarity followed by the communist parties of the socialist-community countries. We must not allow socialist and imperialist countries and their alliances to be equated in the eyes of the masses and we must not allow the aggressor to be given the same treatment as his victim. Seen from a consistent class standpoint, the Chinese aggression against Vietnam and the Vietnamese army's aid to the Kampuchean people in their fight for freedom were not only different but incomparable and essentially opposite phenomena. While the Chinese intervention was a typical indication of Peking's expansionist ambitions, the Vietnamese people's assistance to the Kampuchians was an instance of genuine proletarian internationalism in action. As the parties heading the struggles of our peoples, we want greater interaction in solving major problems. This means that we must show the working people how and in what, socialism's policy differs entirely from that of imperialism and other reactionary forces.

The struggle for peace, against imperialist domination takes diverse forms in the economic and political life of Australia, said Tom McDonald, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Australia. These include industrial and other actions around living standards, welfare and other social issues, and many actions of opposition to racism, against repressive military regimes such as in Chile, Indonesia's aggression against East Timor, China's aggression against Vietnam, and so on. Other issues which bring the Australian people into conflict with imperialism include protecting nature and the environment against pollution, control of our national energy and mineral resources, the right to work, defense of democratic freedoms and recognition of the rights of the aboriginal people.

The third congress of the Socialist Party called for the development of a broad anti-imperialist and

anti-monopoly movement, in which a united working class would play the decisive role. In Australian conditions this requires, as an essential ingredient, the building of a united front between Marxist-Leninists and the Australian Labour Party. As a step toward this objective, the SPA seeks to develop cooperation and joint action between various left forces who take an anti-imperialist stand.

In the opinion of Kostas Batikas, CC alternate member of the Communist Party of Greece, the installation of a military regime in Turkey and the open support it gets from NATO and the EEC are further confirmation that the imperialist system is a standing threat to peace, progress and democracy. The latest developments have shown once more how hostile NATO and the Common Market are to socialism.

In this context some of the ideas about the transition to socialism that are propounded by exponents of Eurocommunism have a particularly utopian ring. True, these exponents disagree on whether their country's membership in NATO should be seen as a benefit or a disadvantage. As regards the Common Market, however, they are at one in believing that it would not only allow a new society to be built in its member-countries but would "guarantee" its construction. Attempts of this kind to bring Marxism "nearer" to the present are less than convincing.

For communist unity on a principled foundation

Frans van Liempt, member of the CC Secretariat, Communist Party of the Netherlands, said that the very emergence of his party was linked to the Dutch communists' participation in the fight for the national liberation of colonies. That fighting alliance existed even before the First World War. It dated from the period of the Tribunists in the Netherlands and the Social-Democratic Association of Indonesia. The Dutch communists' cooperation with the Communist Party of Indonesia, which marked its 60th anniversary in 1980, was particularly durable. We sided with the Indonesian comrades in their struggle for national independence, against the Dutch colonizers, and helped them defend the August revolution of 1945 against armed intervention.

Relations between the two parties did not loosen even after the 1965 coup in which the CIA had a hand. The Dutch communists, wrote *Tekad Rakyat*, journal of the Communist Party of Indonesia, played an outstanding part at every stage of the Indonesian people's fight for independence, peace and social justice.

The Indonesian revolution was dealt a severe blow. But neither the August 1945 revolution, the Bandung Conference, nor the role of Indonesia in the preparations for the first non-aligned summit can be deleted from contemporary history; they made their imprint on international relations. Indonesia's reactionaries may prove to be a dangerous instrument of U.S. imperialist policy in a highly strategic region. This was indicated by the 1965 crimes and those committed later, against the

people of East Timor. However, the Suharto regime does not venture to declare its support of U.S. policy openly. Credit for this is due to the social forces of the country and the revolutionary ideas that live on in the Indonesian people's minds and struggles. Opposition to the dictatorial regime is growing and is supported by progressives all over the world. Joint struggle is the only way for Indonesia to resume its peace-loving role in international relations.

The fact that unstable, venal regimes remain in power in Latin America, the Middle East and Asia is a permanent source of tension and a threat to peace. In the Netherlands right-wing, neo-colonialist forces talk readily about the "indivisibility of détente." On this pretext they use every conflict in the world as an alibi to absolve imperialism of the responsibility for the deterioration of international relations and to justify the USA's attempts to turn Europe into a potential theater of nuclear conflict. This is why our responsibility in the struggle for peace is growing. The communists of the Netherlands realize that it is their duty to identify themselves with the peoples of developing countries in solving today's big problems. They subscribe to Fidel Castro's proposal for a \$300 billion fund to help these countries.

Damian Pretel Martinez, CC member, Communist Party of Spain, member of the Central Commission for Political Education, said that the threat of a nuclear war hanging over mankind is one of the most serious issues today. It is indispensable, he said, to bring about a ceasefire between Iraq and Iran, countries situated in a region where the situation has worsened to such a degree as to be reminiscent of the one-time conflict in the Balkans. The great powers are winning new positions in the Middle East and there is the danger of the conflict spreading to other countries.

To preserve peace it is imperative to dissolve military blocs, renounce the formation of new ones, dismantle military bases on foreign territory and withdraw the troops stationed there. The CPS is emphatically opposed to our country joining NATO, since this step is likely to cause new tensions and aggravate the international situation. We Spanish communists are campaigning vigorously against the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe. The CPS declares for a policy of active neutrality, peaceful coexistence, and closer relations with European, Latin American and African countries, particularly Mediterranean countries. The Mediterranean should become a sea of peace, free of foreign warships or atomic weapons.

Everyone is familiar with the attitude of the CPS to the events in Afghanistan. We are convinced that respect for national independence is decisive not only for maintaining peace but for socialist ideas increasingly influencing the peoples' great historic struggle for liberation from imperialist oppression.

The preservation of peace and security on our continent requires unity of action. This concerns primarily the communists and socialists on both the national and international level. But these forces

should also cooperate with the social democrats, Christians, trade unions and supporters of all progressive and democratic currents willing, irrespective of their political or religious views, to fight the threat of a new world war.

From this standpoint we take a positive view of the re-establishment of relations between the CPS and the CP China, for we base our relations with parties with which we have differences on mutual respect and independence. We are, therefore, against this scientific conference being used for attacks on a party not represented here.

The non-aligned movement will play an exceedingly important role in the struggle for peace provided it retains its identity, that is, acts autonomously and independently.

The communists of Spain are in solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation, against imperialist aggressors, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We are in solidarity with the people of Western Sahara. Under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front, the true spokesman of their national interests, they have begun a determined fight to free their territory and achieve sovereignty and independence. We entertain similar sentiments in regard to the heroic people of Palestine, who are carrying on an unremitting anti-imperialist struggle under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the real champion of their aspirations. We also express our solidarity with the people of South Korea, with our Latin American brothers — the Chileans fighting against the Pinochet dictatorship, the working people of El Salvador and Guatemala, the Bolivians and Paraguayans, the patriots of Argentina and Uruguay, and the Nicaraguans, who have taken the new road of social progress.

Further, Pretel stressed that the revolutionary process should accord with the conditions prevailing in the given epoch and with the circumstances in the country concerned. Eurocommunism, he said, is an attempt to bring Marxism nearer to the present day in keeping with creative and genuinely scientific principles. We consider that the deep-going changes taking place in the world today and, more particularly, the radical changes ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution may make the Eurocommunist program perfectly viable.

Our ideological opponents concentrate on preventing the three main revolutionary currents from merging and from shaping world developments, said Ib Nørhund, member of the CC Political Bureau and Secretariat, Communist Party of Denmark. The imperialists would like to cause division where the interests of progressive forces coincide. They deny the existence of some contradictions, which are essentially insoluble, and describe others which can be resolved, as antagonisms.

Bourgeois propaganda alleges that the movements for peace and national liberation are incompatible. This is wrong. No durable peace can be achieved by denying nations the right to self-determination and freedom. The sovereignty of

every country in administering its internal affairs, establishing its social system, and defending its independence is one of the principles of peaceful coexistence which by no means perpetuates the status quo of oppressed peoples. Attempts to impose such a "conservation" of social relations upon them would generate instability and tension that could easily serve as fertile ground for the outbreak of armed conflicts.

A "new" kind of ideological attack on manifestations of solidarity with national liberation movements invokes the idea that these movements have begun too early, that their time has not yet come and so the most reasonable thing to do is to desist from all further struggle. This is an old story. "We should not have taken up arms" was Plekhanov's reaction to the first Russian revolution, and Kautsky assailed the October Revolution because it had come before an "opportune" moment. Today complaints of this kind accompany every gain of the popular revolutions: one of the latest instances is the attempt to discredit the Afghan revolution (and accordingly, the assistance given it, particularly the internationalist aid rendered by a limited contingent of Soviet armed forces). The appeal to "give up" Afghanistan, to surrender to counter-revolution in the name of peaceful coexistence, is a glaring distortion of this principle of international relations, which is based on recognizing that the choice of social system is the internal affair of the people concerned.

It is also claimed that the interests of the working class of capitalist countries and national liberation movements are incompatible. Distinctions in living standards are used to represent the proletariat of industrialized countries as an exploiter of the peoples of developing countries. In the context of the oil crisis the working people of capitalist countries are told that "coloreds are to blame for everything," while the peoples of the Third World are told that the responsibility for everything rests with the "man in the street" of the industrial "North." Yet statistics have been published which leave no doubt that the oil monopolies in fact benefit by the oil crisis. They exploit the workers of industrialized countries and the people of developing countries. Monopolies derive surplus value from both groups of countries, its greater part still being produced by the proletariat of industrialized countries. It is very important, therefore, that the movement for a new economic order should go hand in hand with the anti-imperialist struggle of the working people of the capitalist world.

More, the imperialists try to set the national liberation movement against existing socialism. To this end they propound the theory of "rich and poor countries," the "North and South," and so forth. In equating imperialist and socialist countries, bourgeois propaganda seeks to confuse the national liberation movement regarding its role in the international class struggle. This is done to distract attention from the fact that the existence of the socialist world and the solidarity movement have enabled the national liberation movement to ex-

pand and advance. It is indicative that the very same bourgeois propagandists who would like to "eliminate" the distinctions between socialism and imperialism spearhead their attacks against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for their active solidarity with victorious national liberation revolutions. Surely this proves that the real watershed does not at all lie between the "North" and the "South."

The significance of anti-imperialist solidarity actions in our countries goes beyond aid to national liberation movements. Many people, especially young men and women, are beginning to see through the inhuman nature of neo-colonialism. The motivation of their activity may at first be abstractly humanist but as they come to know the facts, they are realizing the necessity for anti-imperialist struggle, and this not only in that distant world but in their own countries. This provides the foundation for joint struggle, for unity of action by diverse political forces. But to bring this about the communists must not relax explanatory work. There must be a pooling of our efforts, not advocacy of the isolation of individual parties justified by references to specific conditions allegedly requiring a special, "Eurocommunist" strategy — a thesis which, we believe, is wrong both in theory and in practice. Unity, firm unity on a principled foundation, is the only guarantee of our movement's success.

Georges Batal, CC Political Bureau member, Lebanese Communist Party, spoke of the ways of transition to socialism and its "models." He recalled Lenin's proposition that the transition to socialism can be peaceful only if the oppressors are neutralized politically and militarily. Bourgeois democracy is by no means an indispensable attribute of capitalism; it has to be won through sustained struggle. Like any other society with antagonistic classes, bourgeois society cannot by its very nature do without repression; dictatorship is a form of government inherent in it. Democracy in a capitalist country is merely a result of the existing class confrontation. Where the bourgeoisie cannot rule by other methods it does its utmost to profit from democracy by making it a dogma and suggesting to people that bourgeois democracy is their most valuable possession. But this lasts only until a certain time. When democracy becomes really dangerous to the capitalists they strangle it without the slightest hesitation. This is true of individual countries and of the world as a whole. Democracy always has a class content. This Leninist proposition, like other fundamental tenets of creative and scientific Marxism, is relevant and valid to this day.

We communists should not forget this when the ruling circles of imperialist countries misuse their control of the mass media to defame countries of existing socialism. Exploiting unsolved problems and distorting reality, they vilify these countries, represent them as a "monster" allegedly flouting elementary human rights, opposing all freedom, and so on. To echo these falsehoods in any form or under any "plausible" pretext means, in our view,

to play into the hands of the imperialists and renounce the class approach.

Yet it is primarily the increased strength of the socialist community that has created the new balance of international forces, which has compelled imperialism to accept peaceful coexistence and largely curbs its aggressiveness relative to the national liberation movement. The imperialists are certainly not reconciled to this state of affairs. They seek to wreck the gains of the progressive forces and spare no effort to drive a wedge between developing countries and the socialist community, which is their reliable ally in the fight for independence. On the specious pretext of "defending" their sovereignty, countries that have freed themselves from colonial tyranny are urged to choose "passive neutrality" and pursue a policy of "equidistance" from imperialist and socialist countries. The Maoist catchwords adopted by bourgeois politicians are as demagogical as they are high-sounding. Without a solid alliance with the socialist community and the world proletariat, there can be neither real independence, nor anti-imperialist struggle. As for our region, the Lebanese Communist Party sees this alliance also as one of the main conditions for ending the crisis in the Arab national liberation movement.

The governments of imperialist powers spend enormous resources to suppress the peoples' legitimate aspiration for peace, détente and non-interference in the affairs of other countries. The forces of reaction hail the Maoist leadership because it openly advocates anti-Sovietism and hatred for the liberation struggle of peoples, who realize that "ultra-revolutionary" talk is a cover for hostility to progressive forces, and that rejection of peaceful coexistence is grist on the mill of imperialist aggression even if it sounds "revolutionary" and "radical."

Surprisingly enough, even in our own ranks, we occasionally hear voices against "attacking" the policy of the Peking leadership. It is suggested that the fundamental rupture of that leadership's current policy on the world scene with the positions of the international revolutionary movement should be regarded as an expression of "differences." Our party is convinced that the struggle for unity among revolutionaries and a closer alliance of the national liberation movement, the socialist community, and the world forces of progress is indispensable and should be carried on unrelentingly without, however, confusing friends with enemies, or allies with opponents.

In the national liberation area as well credulous people are still found who fall for propaganda identifying peaceful coexistence with maintenance of the international status quo, détente with surrender to imperialism, and the fight for peace with passive pacifism. However, the peoples are beginning to see through this propaganda. Leaders of national liberation movements realize more than ever that détente, peaceful coexistence, and the strengthening of existing socialism create greater opportunities for the struggle against imperialism.

The experience of the international revolutionary movement, said *Dimitris Sarlis*, alternate member of the CC Political Bureau, Communist Party of Greece, indicates that unity of action by the communist parties does not conflict with their cooperation with other progressive forces. On the contrary, it creates the conditions for organizing broad joint actions. We know from our own experience that disregard or underestimation of this kind of cooperation and rejection of unity of action by the communist parties of capitalist and socialist countries tend to weaken and split the world revolutionary movement and play into the hands of the imperialists.

The so-called new internationalism advocated by right-wing revisionists in Greece ignores this important lesson of history. For instance, they have condemned the Paris Conference of 22 European communist parties as allegedly harmful and divisive, whereas the conference is recognized not only by communists but by many other progressives to have contributed to mobilizing the working people against the danger of another war, for peace and détente.

It is said that there is now no need to call communist conferences and that preference should be given to cooperation between communists, socialist, and social democratic parties. We think statements of this kind come very close to calling for the liquidation of the world revolutionary movement.

International cooperation among political organizations implies a fundamental coincidence of political goals and ideological positions. It is this kind of unity that is typical of communist parties. As regards the communists and social democrats, there are ideological and political differences of principle between them which often prevent proper interaction. A striving for cooperation at all costs would result in an open or disguised drift to social democratic positions and hence in renunciation of Marxist-Leninist theory and policies. This would not be cooperation based on equality of the parties but subordination resulting from loss of independence.

Other negative consequences may arise from forsaking unity of action by the communist parties and renouncing our international conferences for the sake of cooperation with the socialists and social democrats. The past year has seen both socialist and social democratic parties hold more and more international meetings in an effort to coordinate their actions. If, in these circumstances, we in principle agreed to renounce holding our own international conferences, we believe this would only weaken the communist movement, undermine its influence on world developments, and benefit the international social democratic movement. The danger might arise that some communist parties operating in isolation would become the rearguard of that movement.

To be sure, we do not out of hand reject all cooperation between the communists on the one hand, and the socialists and social democrats on the other.

Indeed, there are many problems of paramount importance, such as the struggle for international détente or arms limitation, on which joint actions are not only feasible but necessary. If such mutual understanding were achieved even on one issue it could help to extend coordinated actions.

The lessons of experience convince us that the stronger the unity of the communist movement and the deeper the collective analysis of international problems by communist parties at meetings of different levels and character, the greater becomes the possibility of cooperation between the communists and other left-wing and democratic forces at the national and international level.

FOR A FAR-REACHING SOCIAL RENEWAL

At the conference there was a wide-ranging discussion of the social, economic and political development of newly-independent countries and the ways and means of transcending the legacy of colonial rule, freeing countries from neo-colonial exploitation, and overthrowing reactionary dictatorial regimes that stand in the way of progressive change. Speakers condemned every form of imperialist interference and attempts to throttle revolutionary and democratic movements.

No room for indifference

Vishnu Sharma, member, Political Committee of the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain, said that first among the many acute problems facing the developing countries is that of ending imperialist exploitation and overcoming the distortions in the economy arising from years of colonial and feudal domination. The economic task, and the building of viable economies capable of beginning to overcome the poverty and social backwardness inherited from imperialist control, is, in a sense, the central political question facing the developing countries. Failure to solve this economic problem produces acute political strains and stresses in the whole fabric of society and has the gravest consequences. Instability of governments and the mounting of military coups are among the major outcomes of such failure.

The exploitation, the robbery by big transnational companies continues, sometimes admittedly in new forms. Nationalization under conditions in which the government takes 51 per cent of the shares results in the former monopoly still obtaining high profits, without the added responsibility of controlling the labor force, which now becomes a government task. This continued large-scale extraction of surplus value means that the whole economy suffers.

The state ownership of enterprises, a state sector of the economy, raises questions as to what kind of state it is, what class and social forces dominate it. This raises another key problem facing the developing countries, namely, the lack of political power in the hands of the people. This is due to many reasons, including the fact that many developing countries have one-party systems based on a denial

of democratic freedoms to the majority of workers and peasants (with the exception of states where the single party is primarily the expression of the aspirations of the workers and peasants as, for example, in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere). Developing countries where political power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeoisie are incapable of leading their people to socialism, even if some individual leaders from these classes and strata sincerely desire to do so. If a different perspective has opened up for the people of Angola, Mozambique and some other countries, surely this is because, in the midst of their struggle for independence, the people of these states strove to ensure that national liberation was linked to social liberation.

The national question is complex and acute in Africa and Asia. There are nearly 50 independent states in Africa. Most contain a considerable number of different nationalities and ethnic communities. Sometimes people of the same nationality or ethnic origin are divided by frontiers originally imposed by European imperialist powers when they carved up the African continent a hundred years ago. It is important for developing countries to find solutions to these critical challenges which threaten to rend their new states apart.

In order to achieve complete liberation from imperialism and begin the advance toward socialism there must be an alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the middle strata, and sections of the bourgeoisie. These classes and strata have different aims and views as to the kind of independent state they wish to see established. Consequently, on the morrow of independence a struggle commences which, even if at times in very muted forms, is at bottom a conflict of classes.

Both the alliance and the conflict are expressed in political terms, but the form in which these political alliances and conflicts take place varies considerably from state to state. There are particular problems in those countries where communist parties exist alongside strong parties of the national bourgeoisie or parties expressing the interests and viewpoints of other strata and political tendencies.

The era which commenced with the Great October Socialist Revolution, said *Randolph Fitzgerald Kirton*, member of the Central Executive Committee, People's National Congress of Guyana, is one of deep and fundamental revolutionary changes. We are living in an epoch of socialist revolutions and national independence, an epoch of rapid scientific and technological developments. Our party recognizes the necessity for close cohesion and, if possible, unity of all democratic and revolutionary forces in this period. It supports the struggle for social change in order to ensure that the forces of peace and progress overcome the forces of war and reaction.

During the colonial period, Guyana was a raw material appendage to industrialized countries such as Great Britain, the USA and Canada. With the achievement of political independence, we inherited a legacy of poverty, social inequality and

economic dependence. Over the last decade, the strategic sectors of our economy came under state ownership and control in line with our party's policy of striving to be masters in our own land and molders of our destiny.

The People's National Congress of Guyana acknowledges that there neither is nor can be a single road to socialism. It has chosen the concept of cooperative socialism based on Marxist-Leninist theory and on the objective concrete conditions existing in our society. We are convinced that to build socialism effectively, we need a solid material and technical basis. Besides, building the new society makes it necessary to foster the people's revolutionary consciousness.

Kirton spoke in detail of Guyana's economic policy in the 1970s, of its cultural achievements and foreign policy principles. He drew attention to the difficulties encountered by the government due to the changed situation in the foreign market (above all, the soaring oil prices), as well as to other causes which have complicated the country's economic growth.

To finance major economic projects, Guyana, like most developing countries, needs capital and foreign exchange. The government expects to obtain the requisite funds from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other institutions. Our party's leader, *Forbes Burnham*, has stressed that agreements with these international organizations have been signed not only by capitalist countries but also by Yugoslavia, Romania and others. The socialist countries maintain relations with institutions of this kind, with no injury to socialism. Such relations cannot hamper the socialist development of our country, either.

During the last decade the government of Guyana has negotiated a complex of agreements on economic, scientific and cultural cooperation and trade with the Soviet Union, the GDR, Romania, Cuba, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and China. We have established diplomatic relations with nearly all the socialist countries and have made application for an association with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The socialist countries have provided training for our national personnel in a variety of disciplines. We are extremely grateful for this assistance since our country needs not only the transfer of technology, but also trained personnel for the development of our national economy.

In the opinion of *Raul Gonzales Soriano*, head of the CC Economic Research Department, Mexican Communist Party, the main development trend of contemporary capitalism is the internationalization of capital, the formation of international industrial associations that fuse with international banks and financial centers. To retain its hegemony, imperialism tries to modify the international division of labor. Due to the uneven development of the world's productive forces, liberated countries remain economic hostages to industrialized capitalist states. A differentiation is under way among the latter as well; imperialist powers are trying to form

new economic and military political regional blocs in order to preserve their dominance. Distinctions between countries, groups of countries and regions are deepening, with the result that the current crisis of capitalism is affecting developing countries in different ways. Thus, in the capitalist world system some countries or regions may show a certain economic upsurge, while others are burdened with increasing backwardness and poverty.

These new trends of capitalist development make it imperative to coordinate the actions of the proletariat so as to firmly resist the monopolies encroaching on the economic, social and political gains of the working class.

The working class is the main anti-imperialist force in the newly-free countries today, especially where capitalism is developing rapidly. The national proletariat accomplishes anti-imperialist tasks and comes forward as leader in the struggle against bourgeois rule in its own country.

The Mexican financial oligarchy is growing stronger as a result of the concentration and centralization of capital. At the same time, the proportion of the industrial proletariat among wage workers is growing and so is its importance in public life.

The national big bourgeoisie tries to use Mexico's oil resources as a means of transforming the nation into a country with a medium level of development. While continuing to exploit the national proletariat, it strives to win greater influence abroad.

Mexico supports various measures aimed at altering the existing international economic order. In reality, however, the Mexican big bourgeoisie has stopped playing a progressive role in the solution of international problems. It puts its class interests, which require growing exploitation of the proletariat, as well as the global interests of capitalism, above the national interest. This is confirmed only too strikingly by Mexican-U.S. relations and the country's hostile policy toward the socialist community.

It has become an anachronism to depend on aggressive blocs maintaining unity among the USA's allies by force. Because such blocs prevent the achievement of lasting peace, obstruct the development of international cooperation, and are an obstacle to the self-determination of their member nations, they must be disbanded. The proletariat and exploited masses have no use for them, just as they do not want a world war. Détente and peaceful coexistence are the main conditions for the victory of democratic and popular revolutions, the independent development of all countries and progress of the socialist cause.

Recent years, Soriano said, have seen armed conflicts involving both socialist and non-aligned countries: China attacked Vietnam; Vietnam sent troops into Kampuchea; the Soviet Union intervened in the affairs of Afghanistan, where the government was deposed; Somalia attacked Ethiopia; and Iraq invaded Iran. We consider that these actions hinder the development of revolution. Changes cannot be imposed from without; they can

only be a result of struggle by the people concerned. Forms of solidarity, including military aid, can only be specified by the country where a revolution is going on. This principle cannot be infringed upon, on consideration of national security or with a view to furthering strategic interests.

Now that the world's two main military political alignments are faced with an extremely complicated situation and many countries are eager to proclaim their non-alignment, it is possible to set up a broad front of diverse social forces, political parties and states. Its purpose would be to safeguard peace and security and bring about the disbandment of blocs, disarmament and the establishment of more democratic, anti-militarist and anti-imperialist international political and economic relations.

Sultan Ali Keshtmand, CC Political Bureau member, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, said that the April Revolution in Afghanistan is an example of applying the general laws that govern social revolutions in a backward, predominantly semi-feudal country.

The revolution which triumphed under the leadership of the PDPA and as a result of an insurrection by a majority of patriotic officers and soldiers supported by large democratic segments of the population and headed by officers belonging to our party was a direct response to the long-standing aspiration of the mass of our people for radical change. The revolution was the logical outcome of a clash of class interests in our society. In substance it was national and profoundly democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist (especially at its second stage).

In collusion with the Peking hegemonists, international imperialism unleashed an undeclared war against Afghanistan which took the lives of thousands of our countrymen. The treacherous actions of Hafizullah Amin and his clique dealt the revolution a heavy blow and derailed it. But in December 1979 the healthy majority in the party along with other patriots saved the revolution. Revolutionary legality was re-established at the second stage.

Our people look to the future with optimism and confidence, for we are not alone in our struggle. We have the support of the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world, the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, which is our people's tried and tested friend, a bulwark of security and a reliable supporter of all freedom fighters. Our people know that the fraternal assistance given by the Soviet Union is a guarantee of their victory in their struggle against internal and external reaction and in building a new, just society.

We have learned much from the revolutions in heroic Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Angola, Congo, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and, recently, Nicaragua and other countries which have chosen the path to independent progress and development. We have learned from their experience how deposed reaction and criminal imperialism create difficulties for peoples advancing to victory and revolutionary change. The heroic

peoples of these countries defend the achievements of their revolutions. They have the sympathy, solidarity and support of progressive people throughout the world. We, too, defend our revolution with the help of our friends all over the world and do not relax our revolutionary vigilance relative to imperialist conspiracies and subversion.

We regret that some of the delegates called the Soviet Union's fraternal internationalist assistance to revolutionary Afghanistan an "intervention." It was said here very correctly that the forms of solidarity, including military aid, can only be specified by the country where a revolution is going on. But I cannot understand why this formula was stated in a plainly reproachful tone as if the events in Afghanistan had taken an entirely different turn. They did not. It must evidently be made clear once again that every people and every government has the right to request assistance if they feel such assistance is necessary to repulse aggression. This is recognized by international law, particularly, by the provisions of Article 51 of the UN Charter. The lawful government of Afghanistan did just that. In conformity with the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighborliness and Cooperation signed on December 5, 1978, it repeatedly requested Soviet Union's assistance in repulsing the continuous attacks by U.S. imperialism, which acted in close alliance with the Peking hegemonists and other reactionary forces using Pakistani soil as a bridgehead for subversion.

It was in response to our request that a limited contingent of Soviet troops came to Afghanistan to help us raise a barrier to the attacks of aggressors and counter-revolutionaries. That assistance to the Afghan revolution was a disinterested act, for unlike the great imperialist powers which are intent on entrenching themselves in the Middle East, the great socialist power has no geopolitical aims.

It is shocking that while claiming to be spokesmen of the working class, some people fail for some reason to approach the events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea from a class position but borrow arguments from bourgeois propaganda, which sheds crocodile tears over Amin, a traitor who was overthrown by the people, and over the bloody Pol Pot regime. An accurate knowledge of the facts and a class approach are requisites of a Marxist analysis and appraisal of any political situation. We have repeatedly proposed that the parties which have to read our party's policy accurately, should send their representatives to our country in order to see the situation for themselves.

Imperialism is the common enemy of all peoples of the world; its activities are spearheaded against socialist countries and national liberation movements. Under these circumstances, nothing is more imperative than unity of action of all anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and joint struggle against imperialism, for national and social progress.

The international situation has undergone many profound changes, said Soumixay Khambou, alternate member of the Central Committee of the

People's Revolutionary Party of Laos. These changes have been positive in some regions and negative in others, but their overall outcome is in favor of peace, democracy and social progress. They are the result of the confrontation between the three revolutionary currents, on the one hand, and imperialism and reaction on the other. The peoples cannot remain indifferent to this struggle; they articulate their solidarity with the peace forces. One instance of this is the struggle of the peoples of Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea against imperialist aggression, a struggle which they won with the inestimable assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and with the support of other countries. The revolutionary process in our day is like a chain reaction. On the Asian, African and South American continents, the peoples of Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Iran and Nicaragua have risen in struggle and achieved national liberation. On the whole, this has created more favorable conditions for the growth of the global revolutionary movement and further aggravated the general crisis of capitalism.

Seeking to retrieve the positions they have lost, the imperialists have been casting about for new allies and have found these among the political leaders of Peking, Cairo, Mogadishu and elsewhere; they are deploying new nuclear weapons in Western Europe, in the Middle East and in the Indian Ocean region. Bourgeois propaganda is trying to deceive public opinion and disguise the reactionary intrigues against the three revolutionary currents. But with each passing day the peoples are realizing ever more clearly the true nature of the ongoing events, the true substance of the persevering struggle being carried on by forces of revolution and peace against those of imperialism and international reaction.

Imperialism is thrashing in the grip of a crisis, finding itself bogged down and suffering defeats. That is why international reaction has mustered all its forces for a scandalous collusion with imperialist stooges against socialism and national revolutions, against the working class and all other working people, against peace on earth. But the imperialist plots have been rebuffed, while the peoples of the whole world are uniting for a broad, massive struggle for peace, independence, democracy and social progress, and a solid basis for an improvement of the international situation is being created step by step.

Having won their historic victories over imperialist aggressors, the peoples of Indochina counted on lasting peace. But when Pol Pot, in collusion with the reactionary Peking leadership, set out on genocide and on armed provocations on the borders of Vietnam and Laos, their hopes were blasted. Three million Kampuchean people were barbarously exterminated, and the four million that survived had to live in near medieval conditions. The anger of the Kampuchean people was aroused and shock was voiced throughout the world. As communists and humanists motivated by proletarian internationalism and brought up on the age-old

traditions of solidarity, the peoples of Laos and Vietnam could not remain indifferent. They responded to an appeal from the Kampuchean people, their closest neighbor. With the assistance of Vietnamese troops, who acted in accordance with the UN Charter, the regime of genocide was overthrown. This is a source of joy and relief for all people, except those who sided with the killers.

The recent struggle of the three peoples of Indochina against Peking's great-power expansionism is a striking illustration of their traditional solidarity. A heavy blow has been struck at the hegemonistic ambitions of the reactionary Chinese leaders, who have made a deal with the imperialists. However, imperialism and international reaction have continued to cling desperately to the obsolete political, economic and social order, pressing on with their arms race, creating tension, stoking the hotbeds of war, and interfering in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Afghanistan and other countries.

The joint efforts of the socialist community, the non-aligned states, and other peace-loving countries to strengthen peace and international security, to end the arms race, achieve general and complete disarmament and develop equitable and mutually beneficial international cooperation will save mankind from a nuclear cataclysm.

Imperialism has lost its positions and strength, said the representative of the Communist Party of Pakistan. It can no longer strangle revolutions or blackmail small and newly-independent countries. The powerful socialist community, with its solid economic base, has inspired great confidence in the developing countries. The policy of economic blockade and embargo no longer yields the expected results and, in the case of the Soviet Union, it has boomeranged. Besides, the imperialist powers are not unanimous in their views and postures.

In the mid-1970s bourgeois propaganda started a new round of the slander campaign against the Soviet Union, focusing its pretensions on "human rights" and then on the issue of U.S. interests (read, the interests of the monopolies). The imperialists grabbed at the opportunity to make propaganda over the events in Afghanistan, especially since this propaganda is also a smoke-screen to hide their subversive maneuvers against Iran. They shamelessly support the reactionary military junta in Pakistan, which is not only crushing the democratic movement in the country, but has turned Pakistani soil into a base for conspiracies against India, Iran and revolutionary Afghanistan. After the natural death of SEATO and CENTO, talks are being held for a new pact between Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Sudan. The CIA mechanism is being used to stir up border clashes between developing countries, and the USA is setting up military bases in Egypt, Somalia and Oman.

Imperialism and reaction have been using every possible political weapon against peace and democratic movements. Pakistan is a multinational country. In contrast to the democratic movements, which are demanding equality for all the ethnic

minorities in the country, the reactionaries encourage diehard nationalism. The Pakistani nationalists had the support of the criminal Hafizullah Amin in Afghanistan. The political groupings in the country formerly oriented on Maoism have also become champions of the nationalism of numerically small peoples making a complete about-face.

As a last resort, imperialist-trained stooge generals in some developing countries step in with guns to put down democratic movements. In Pakistan, they have resorted to flogging and torture to curb the people's rights.

The new international situation calls for closer cooperation and joint struggle by the progressive forces. But some fraternal parties in industrialized and other countries did not correctly assess the events during and after the April Revolution in Afghanistan. Apparently they cannot visualize the conditions in a backward society with feudal and pre-feudal relations, and also the extent of imperialist penetration to stop social progress. We communists of Pakistan have witnessed the events in neighboring Afghanistan, and we know that Hafizullah Amin subverted the revolution, the party and the republic from within. He usurped power through base intrigues, adopted a policy of savage repression, and butchered thousands of patriots and true revolutionaries, alienating a large section of the masses from the revolution. The enemy started an undeclared war, and we could see for ourselves the hectic activities of imperialist agencies. Had it not been for the victory of the healthy majority in the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, a victory which cleared the way for the second stage of the revolution, and also the assistance given to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, which sent a limited contingent of troops to the DRA at the request of the Afghan government, both the Afghan revolution and the democratic movement in Iran and Pakistan would have been annihilated by brute force.

Wahab Goodluck, Vice-Chairman of the Socialist Working People's Party of Nigeria, said that since the end of the civil war his country has grown into a powerful community of African peoples of different cultures, traditions, nationalities, and religious and political persuasions. Imperialism has already felt the power of their unity. Our successes, Wahab Goodluck said, have been of great use and advantage to the whole African continent. Owing to the fact that Nigeria's progressive forces managed to unite the country during the civil war, it has now come to play a greater role in the massive campaign against imperialism, apartheid and colonialism.

But the imperialist powers, which still have a great measure of influence in the country's economy, have not left off their hold on Nigeria. In collaboration with the neo-compradore and national bourgeoisie, they are working strenuously to keep Nigeria on the capitalist road and entrench neo-colonialism under the guise of technological and other aid. In a bid to exploit the Nigerian people's urge to industrialize the Nigerian

economy, the monopolies are plundering the country's wealth by devious ways.

Nigeria's experience of capitalist development has shown that capitalism is certainly incapable of solving its numerous socio-economic problems even in the next century. In spite of Nigeria's enormous oil wealth and the large-scale injection of foreign capital and technology, the dominant feature of our society is still abject poverty, shocking illiteracy, a sickening public health system, an astronomically high unemployment rate, and a yawning gulf between the living standard of millions of poor people and the fabulous life style of the bourgeois élite. A sharp polarization of class and political forces is proceeding, and social contradictions are being aggravated.

Our party, deeply rooted in the working-class movement, aims to mobilize the working people in order to win political power and then build a state based on the principles of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism.

Our people are aware of their great role in the continental struggle for decolonization and equality, for social progress. Nigeria gave political, diplomatic and material support to Angola in its difficult hours of need. We also supported the national liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Zimbabwe, and are now supporting those in Namibia and South Africa.

The forces of peace, progress and socialism in Africa know they can rely on the constant support of the socialist countries and the international working-class movement.

For us Zambians, said Wesley Pilsbury Nyirenda, member of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of Zambia, imperialism is the incarnation of exploitation of man by man, of robbery and blackmail, of oppression and repression, of selfishness and immorality, of lies, distortions and slanders. Imperialism does not recognize the right to self-determination of peoples struggling for independence. It dubs freedom-fighters as terrorists. This is because the victory of national liberation movements ever more often means expulsion of the imperialists and transition to the road of social progress.

Our country, Zambia, has taken the road of socialist construction based on the scientific laws of social development. But the philosophy we preach — we call it Humanism — differs from scientific socialism. In the first place, it makes room for the existence of God, and regards socialism as a transitional stage on the way to higher Humanism. In a nutshell, it could be said to be objective idealism.

Like scientific socialism, however, the philosophy of Humanism accepts change and development. It also believes in the class struggle, the revolutionary nature and the centrality of human labor in social development. Nor do we maintain that belief in God should be a necessary attribute of every fighter for Zambia's progress, and there are atheists among the republic's leaders.

At the present stage of our socialist development we are in the process of establishing a true workers'

and peasants' political party. This process, in effect, coincides with our work to decentralize state power and give it to the people. The latter is a basic tenet of our philosophy.

The program of decentralization is openly opposed by our trade unions, which are manipulated by the social-democrats in imperialist Britain (advocating the ideas of the Fabian Society) or West Germany. The social democrats believe in evolutionary rather than revolutionary changes. They believe in a gradual spilling over of capitalism and imperialism into socialism. They also believe in parliamentary activity where mass participation and revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants are excluded. Thus, social democracy is a real threat to Zambia and Africa as a whole.

So, our trade unions rejected this program because they do not want mass participation by the workers and peasants, they do not want revolutionary changes, which is how we spell out the concept of decentralization. The trade unions want all decisions to be made by a few representatives in parliament. Another aspect of our program, which is also unacceptable to the trade unions, is that decentralization gives supremacy to the party over all other social and political organizations and institutions in the country. The trade unions do not want a coherent system of political power, but some vague expression of "political will."

As for our party, it is internationalist in character. The international community knows only too well that it has made great sacrifices for the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and, of late, Zimbabwe. We have not stopped supporting liberation movements. We are, to this very day, extending that same hand of internationalism to our SWAPO brothers of Namibia and to the ANC of South Africa. We shall not rest until the whole of southern Africa is free from the clutches of apartheid and imperialism.

It is appropriate to point out that our national war of liberation was also supported by socialist countries. Zambia remembers very well the assistance given by the Soviet Union, especially during the period of the cruel air raids by Smith and Abel Muzorewa. Without the Soviet Union's support during that period and after, the history of southern Africa might not have been what it is today. The German Democratic Republic played no small role in that support.

We in Zambia are very happy about the solid and everlasting social, political, economic, trade, cultural and military links that we have today with all socialist countries. Such favorable relations have taken shape thanks to our wise and revolutionary leader, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. We are proud of his contribution to the consolidation of friendly relations with socialist and workers' movements throughout the world.

In Namibia, said Moses Garoeb, member of the National Executive Committee and Administrative Secretary of the Southwest Africa People's Organization, the struggle continues. Our party's clearly-set objective is to root out capitalist oppression and exploitation of man by man. SWAPO seeks to estab-

lish in Namibia a new society governed by the laws and norms of new economic relations. It foresees in Namibia a country that will cherish people's power and freedom, a base of peace and social progress founded on the immutable principles of scientific socialism.

The immediate and primary objective of SWAPO is to achieve national independence for Namibia. The armed struggle is considered, by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, as the most effective means to achieve that independence. This strategy coupled with the mobilization of the masses in Namibia and the diplomatic action to rally international public support behind SWAPO, is bound to bear fruit.

Fearing SWAPO's inevitable victory, imperialism and the local bourgeoisie are conducting a campaign to "conquer the minds and hearts" of the oppressed masses of Namibia through lies and bribery. In their wishful thinking they hope to pit the people against their own liberator, which is SWAPO of Namibia. And they are failing dismally.

The U.S.-led imperialist and capitalist circles and their multinational companies are vigorously assisting occupationist South Africa, while hypocritically they present themselves before the Namibian people clad in sheepskins. Superficial changes in apartheid laws, increased pay for those who work for the system, and creation of puppet trade unions are some of the measures taken by the occupation regime to popularize the puppet Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in the hope of pulling the rug from under SWAPO's feet.

At the same time, the enemy makes every effort to infiltrate SWAPO and destroy it from within. Imperialist and racist South Africa hope that if they cannot defeat SWAPO they may at least influence the assension to independence in such a way that neo-colonial possibilities will exist. It is for this reason that they are attempting to strengthen the so-called third force in Namibia. This is not only impossible, it is too late.

The struggle will triumph in southern Africa. The frontline states that are supporting the liberation movements are resisting the maneuver of the enemy to place them under the control of racist South Africa economically.

The summit held in Lusaka in early 1980 by nine African states in the region pursued the objective of strengthening their economic cooperation and making themselves less dependent on South Africa, which hopes to create a so-called constellation of states with Pretoria as its economic heart. The progressive forces must combat these attempts of imperialism by assisting the young states of southern Africa to develop and strengthen their national economies.

For democracy, against dictatorship

Ananias Maidana, member of the CC Political Commission of the Paraguayan Communist Party, noted that for more than 40 years his country has been ruled by a dictatorial regime and been in a constant state of emergency, that concentration

camps are functioning, and patriots are being murdered en masse.

However, even this mass terror unleashed by the tyrant Stroessner at the instigation of the Pentagon and the CIA has not stopped the spread of the people's struggle for the economic and democratic demands, against the corrupt, traitorous policies of the dictatorship, against the anti-national treaties and agreements with the imperialist monopolies. The anti-dictatorship forces are uniting and the regime is finding itself in growing isolation.

In this situation the ruling classes and imperialism see the only way to maintain their dominance in preserving the Stroessner dictatorship by rigged elections.

The new election farce is only part of the plan being put into effect on the continent by U.S. imperialism in support of the most reactionary, anti-people regimes which allow the Yankee monopolies to exploit the peoples of our countries ruthlessly. Imperialism continues to accord Stroessner the role of subservient puppet in the suppression of the struggle not only of the Paraguayan but also of other fraternal peoples. This was demonstrated by the intervention in the Dominican Republic, the joint intervention by the dictators Garrastazu Medici and Stroessner in Bolivia's internal affairs with the aim of deposing the anti-imperialist government of General Juan José Torres, the Stroessner regime's active involvement in the overthrow of the revolutionary government of Salvador Allende, and the conspiracy against the progressive government in Peru. There is little doubt that alongside the Argentinian military, Stroessner took part in suppressing the heroic struggle of the Bolivian people. In alliance with other reactionary Latin American regimes, the Paraguayan dictatorship is aiming to check and brutally crush the liberation movement of our peoples.

In connection with the campaign to "re-elect" the dictator Stroessner and the threat of a military take-over aimed at preventing the spread of resistance to the regime — which is yet another "card" of imperialism — the Paraguayan Communist Party calls for intensified coordinated actions by all opposition forces without exception, for the formation of a broad and powerful front to clear the way for the dictatorship's overthrow and its replacement by a provisional civilian-military government of democratic and patriotic unity. This government should chart the way to deep-going democratic, anti-imperialist and agrarian reforms, the way to socialism.

Lincoln R. Maiztegui Casas, representative of the Socialist Party of Uruguay, said bitterly that difficult times were setting in for his party and all the other democratic and progressive political forces and trade unions in Uruguay. The nation is ruled by a dictatorship without a dictator. Rule is exercised by the armed forces and is serving international imperialism. Uruguay is no longer an independent country. It is a colony harnessed to imperialism's chariot.

Maiztegui said that following the Second World War Uruguay entered a period of crisis from which it has been unable to extricate itself to this day. In the 1960s two fundamentally different ways were proposed out of the unbridled inflation, the catastrophic devaluation of the national currency, the unemployment and the growth of the foreign debt. The ruling classes wanted to absolve themselves of all social commitments to society, abolish democracy, and place the country under the control of foreign capital. The program worked out by the left forces and other democratic and patriotic circles in the interests of the working people called for struggle to extend democracy, a radical agrarian reform, and the nationalization of the banks and foreign trade.

In those years the Uruguayan working class had made dramatic headway in strengthening the people's unity. The National Convention of Working People (a trade union association embracing the unions of industrial and white-collar workers and also students' organizations) was set up and the Broad Front, uniting the main contingents of progressive forces in Uruguay, was founded. This coalition drew up a concrete program of democratic reforms.

In 1973, frightened by the successes of the Broad Front, the finance oligarchy, which is linked to big international capital, brought a clearly anti-democratic regime to power by a coup. Since then Uruguayan reaction has been systematically destroying all democratic institutions and the social and cultural gains of the working people.

Without the support of the political forces representing those segments of society, which, like the working class, suffer politically and economically from the neo-liberal, pro-U.S. dictatorship, the workers' and socialist organizations of Uruguay cannot achieve their main aim of restoring the democratic climate to our homeland. We have raised the banner of a broad alliance of democratic, anti-fascist movements, and this has led to the formation of the Democratic Convergence, whose sole, concrete aim is to restore democracy and freedom. In Uruguay we are mustering forces for the struggle against the common enemy.

Unity among the democrats of Uruguay, the solidarity shown for them by the socialist countries and the revolutionary movements, particularly in Latin America, and fraternal relations with democratic parties and organizations throughout the world will sooner or later bring down the dictatorship, which is threatening the viability of our nation. We believe the hour of socialist construction will come also for Uruguay. In our country, as in other states, this process, led by the working class, will proceed in accordance with the general principles of scientific socialism and, at the same time, it will have its own, specific features for it will allow for objective reality, the nation's historical traditions, and its people's way of thinking. The Uruguayan socialists reject the idea of leading parties or nations and will not blindly copy the experience of others. However, we are prepared to draw

lessons from the experience of the struggle of other peoples and modestly offer to share our experience fraternally.

Member of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party *Felipe Cirino Colon* (who spoke on behalf of the Puerto Rican Communist Party as well) said that Puerto Rico is a U.S. colony in the classical sense of the word, a vivid example of the lengths to which imperialism goes to preserve and consolidate its predominance. At the same time it is an economic, political and cultural model of an industrial neo-colony that is being "perfected." The policy of intensifying Puerto Rico's dependence, the continued repression, and the interference in its internal affairs are coupled with outwardly liberal and democratic socio-political measures. But these are only a decor for the regime of violence that is prepared to act ruthlessly at any moment.

Imperialism is building up a system of all-embracing control over the life of the Puerto Rican people, a system that includes political, social, economic and psychological measures to isolate the revolutionaries and the working class from the rest of the population. We cannot defeat the enemy by staking on destroying his military strength. For this strategy our forces are much too unequal. For that reason the party is orienting the people on a long multiform mass struggle that will become an armed struggle at the decisive stage. By steadily eroding the enemy economically, politically, psychologically and militarily it will be possible to create the conditions for the conquest of power by the Puerto Rican working class and its allies.

Pedro Ortega Diaz, member of the CC Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Venezuela, said that the forms of imperialism's predominance in Asia, Africa and Latin America have undergone significant changes. It camouflages its reactionary essence and seeks to delude the forces fighting for social, economic and political emancipation.

These changes did not occur through the good will of the imperialists. They were brought about by the struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples. The decisive landmark on the road to national and social emancipation in the world was the October Revolution of 1917, which shook the foundations of the old order.

The political rule of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie in Venezuela has had the shape of a two-party system for nearly a quarter of a century: the social-democratic and the social-Christian parties alternate in power. The present social-Christian government pursues a reactionary foreign policy, demonstrating its hostility for socialist Cuba and the Central American peoples fighting for liberation, and supports the criminal junta in El Salvador. On the domestic scene it is conniving at the growth of inflation and the speculations of the big industrialists. The masses have no intention of remaining silent; they are waging an unrelenting struggle in which our party is active. Although the government, for all practical purposes, outlawed

strikes, the strike movement is not stopping. Hundreds of strikes are staged every year.

Two events are of extraordinary significance in the class struggles of the recent period. First, the nation's largest workers' union (the Confederation of the Working People of Venezuela, which follows the social democrats) along with the United Center of the Working People of Venezuela (most of whose leaders are communists) submitted a bill on higher wages in connection with rising prices. The government rejected this bill; it was also opposed by Fedecamaras, the organization of Venezuelan industrialists. In response general strikes were staged in some industrial centers and a wave of military actions by the people swept across the entire country. This forced the passage of the bill. It is noteworthy that in this case the Communist Party acted in unity with the Social-Democratic Party and even some social-Christian trade union leaders. The masses, who took to the streets, likewise acted in unity.

The second event is the signing of a labor agreement in the textile industry. We did not get the support of the Confederation of the Working People. The struggle was conducted under difficult conditions because in the leadership of the movement there were extremist elements, while the factory owners skillfully justified their policy by references to the economic crisis. Nevertheless, as a result of the entire class conflict, the agreement was signed, although we failed to prevent dismissals at some factories. We did not succeed in acting jointly with the trade union associations, but the textile workers rose almost to a man to defend their interests. These two strikes with the most active participation of communist union leaders demonstrated that the masses are ready to fight.

Pedro Ortega Diaz noted that the two-party system in Venezuela is beginning to run into difficulties: serious disagreements have surfaced in both parties. Government policy is apparently losing the support of the people, who realize that it is leading to a deterioration of the condition of working people and small and medium proprietors and helps the state bureaucracy and the big bourgeoisie to build up fortunes quickly and easily out of oil revenues.

The Communist Party has proposed an alternative to the government's present line and is working to bring about unity among the left forces of Venezuela, a unity that would create the conditions for challenging the state power of the ruling circles.

In suggesting this tactic, we proceed from the fundamental possibility of rallying the peasants, intellectuals and the middle strata, including small and medium proprietors, around the working class under the slogan calling for the winning of economic independence, which would open the way for socialism. Soberly weighing the adversary's actual chances for retaining power, we see the need for uniting the progressive forces around a reasonable and realistic program. This is reflected in the strategy and tactics worked out by the Communist Party of Venezuela at its sixth congress.

Rubens Iscaro, member of the CC Executive Committee and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Argentina, said that whenever imperialism, abetted by the oligarchy and internal reaction, strikes crippling blows at democracy and temporarily emerges victorious, as has been the case in Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile, it owes its victory to the lack of unity among the democratic and progressive forces. An analogous situation is to be observed also in Argentina, where having achieved the most impressive upswing in its history the working-class and popular movement has suffered a setback.

Imperialism's counter-offensive on the Latin American continent following the victory of Popular Unity in Chile, made some circles believe that fascization had become the predominant trend and sole prospect of Latin America's development in the coming decade. This is a misconception. Under the new balance of strength in the world, in a situation witnessing an upsurge of the mass democratic movement in Latin American countries, the democratic revolution in Nicaragua has triumphed, democratic processes are developing in Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, and a revolutionary movement is gathering momentum in El Salvador.

For many years our party has been advocating the creation in Argentina of a broad democratic front uniting and coordinating the activities of all progressive forces. Resistance to the economic policies of Martinez de Hoz has become the uniting factor making it possible to lay the foundations for such a front despite all manifestations of sectarianism.

The incipient tendency toward the formation of democratic fronts is savagely obstructed by ultra-left elements, who engage in provocation and hinder the growth of the people's consciousness. The counter-revolutionary actions of these extremists must be resolutely exposed.

Apart from the communists, the revolutionary process has been joined by other left forces. The parties of the working class must define their attitude to them. In Argentina, for instance, a swing to the left is taking place among large segments of the Peronists. Back in 1962 Victorio Codovilla advanced the idea of forming a united, Marxist-Leninist party composed, along with the communists, of Peronists and members of other left currents. Lately there has been a marked strengthening of the unity of the communists with Peronist workers and many leaders of that movement.

In Latin America today there should no longer be a non-differentiated approach to the military. Militarization is proceeding almost throughout the continent. But we should distinguish between groups of military, who cede power to other forces after a short period of dictatorship, and the relatively stable military governments that hold all power and institutionalize this situation by laws.

Under the impact of the deep structural crisis in the Latin American states a segment of the armed forces is beginning to move from anti-communism to a democratic posture, understanding the legitimate aims of the anti-imperialist struggle. This mood is not always visible, it is not clearly ex-

pressed in all cases and, moreover, is manifestly nationalistic. It would be a mistake to believe that consistent democratic views have become predominant in the armed forces, but they are unquestionably spreading. The struggle going on in our countries dictates the need for a military-civilian alliance, and for that reason we strongly condemn liberalist and vulgar anti-militarism with undertones of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism. Regrettably, to this day a rejuvenation of the battered nihilist attitude to the military is still to be encountered frequently. The reason for this is the bitter experience of the innumerable coups and counter-coups in Latin American states (for example in Argentina in the period after 1930, and in other states following the 1964 coup in Brazil).

The revolutionary process in Latin America remains anti-imperialist, agrarian, popular and democratic. The aims of this struggle have by no means been exhausted and the potentialities for its further development depend on the establishment of the hegemony of the working class in alliance with large segments of society. This is the way opening the prospects for advancing toward socialism.

The overriding trend of the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America reflects the growing participation in it of the broad masses, especially of the working class. This extremely complex and, at the same time, indisputably democratic process is to be observed in many countries despite their diverse specific features and different levels of development. We were surprised, Rubens Iscaro

said, that those who at this conference urged us to refrain from polemics, themselves attacked the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. This is obviously a contradiction that we find hard to understand.

Antonio Castro Mayen, member of a CC Political Commission, Guatemalan Party of Labor, expressed the conviction that together with other revolutionary forces in the world the national liberation movement will speed up the present-day processes of social development. The struggle of the peoples for the assertion of their national interests and their striving for social changes are more and more distinctly influencing the confrontation of the forces of peace and progress with the forces of war and reaction.

The liberation movements of oppressed peoples can win decisive victories only if they strengthen and develop the alliance with the other streams of the international revolutionary movement, notably with the socialist-community countries.

The developments in Central America are attracting the attention of public opinion worldwide. The victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua has seriously shaken imperialist predominance in Central America. In our region the liberation movement has entered a new qualitative phase, evidence of this being the visible spread of the socio-political struggle and, in particular, the heroic battles of the people of El Salvador. All this is worrying imperialism and reaction, who are trying to find a way out, check the revolution, stabilize the situation, and work out a new pattern for maintaining their supremacy in the region.

The victory of the revolution in Nicaragua has activated extreme right-wing forces in Guatemala, who lay claim to being the bulwark of the counter-revolution in Central America. Following the failure of imperialism's attempts to use the military junta in El Salvador as an "intermediary," there is the growing danger of broad overt interference by troops of Guatemala and Honduras, armed and trained in the USA, and also by Yankee troops in El Salvador's affairs to prevent the victory of its people. Our party urges all of the nation's democratic and revolutionary forces to combine their efforts to frustrate the plans of the fascist military dictatorship. Solidarity with the people of El Salvador must be strengthened, and U.S. imperialism and Central American armies must be prevented from starting a military intervention. Progressive people throughout the world must realize that this is a real threat, that a conflict may break out in our region with unpredictable consequences that may gravely endanger world peace.

The Guatemalan military dictatorship will not remain content with the fact that it is holding our country in a state of terror; for the sake of its own security it is prepared to engage in aggression and intervention against other peoples in the region. In their struggle the people of El Salvador count on support from the other peoples of Central America, on the latter not permitting foreign invaders to tramp their land at will. We are confident that the common struggle will be victorious.

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The new decade: conflicts and prospects

Herbert Mies
Chairman, German Communist Party

In preparing for its sixth congress, to be held in Hanover in May 1981, the German Communist Party has set itself the task of answering some difficult questions that are bound to arise in the foreseeable future. In so doing it proceeds from the program adopted by its 1978 congress in Mannheim. Naturally, to frame an active and realistic policy for the 1980s it is imperative to take the actual situation into account and respond to the new challenges generated by the dynamics of the national and international class struggle.

I

The Federal Republic of the 1980s will differ considerably from that of the 1960s and 1970s. This is not merely a statement that one comes across in numerous political speeches, newspaper editorials and scholarly works, but an opinion expressed by many working people in our country.

By voting for an SPD/FDP government, the majority of the population made it quite clear that it wanted continuation of the policy of détente adopted in the 1970s. This majority apparently holds that life should follow its usual course, although nobody denies that it may become harder. There is mounting concern about what to expect. Public opinion polls reveal disillusionment and a visible growth of universal pessimism: they show that "'anything is feasible' is no longer the basic mood,"¹ as a public opinion research institute phrased it.

The mood of the people reflects fundamental changes in both the world balance of strength and the political and economic context of the Federal Republic's existence. I am referring to changes that have been taking place for years, although their effects are becoming perceptible and palpable to many only now. Recently a West German illustrated weekly tried to depict the situation in our country with the heading "The Fat Years Are Over."² A conservative journalist commenting on Chancellor Schmidt's government declaration late in November 1980, described the situation as "a peace become fragile, growing insecurity and an alarming slackening of economic drive."³

We communists should pay special attention to the international situation, for it is strongly affecting the political climate in the Federal Republic, which lies at the junction between two world systems. However, the political situation in our country, too, is visibly influencing international relations. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the shift in the world

balance of strength and the change of mood in the country compelled the ruling circles of the FRG to abandon the doctrine of non-recognition of the results of the Second World War and drop their cold war policy at home and abroad. They had to normalize relations with the socialist countries and proceed to a domestic "reform policy." To this day the greatest influence in our country is exercised by sections of the big bourgeoisie that want no abrupt or total renunciation of the détente policy, which benefits them, and that avoid steps imperilling "internal peace."

On the other hand, it is perfectly evident that forces inclined toward a confrontation strategy are becoming active again. This is seen not only in the viciousness of the anti-socialist pronouncements reminiscent of the 1950s and 1960s but also in the subordination of West German foreign and military policy to the United States, as well as in the undisguised approval of the Peking leaders' collusion with the U.S. imperialists. The trend is most pronounced in the active support given by both the CDU/CSU and influential spokesmen of the leadership of the ruling coalition to NATO plans for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

It follows that German imperialism remains aggressive. If Bonn were to go back on its policy of the 1970s, a policy prompted largely by a realistic assessment of the world situation, and swing along with Washington and in increasing measure toward adventurism in foreign policy, the national interests of our people and other European peoples and world peace would be greatly endangered. This clearly makes it necessary for our party to make a thorough analysis of the new trends in the policy of West German imperialism and evolve the appropriate strategy and tactics in championing peace.

When examining the reasons why the ruling class is increasingly inclined to jettison important elements of the détente policy, the following circumstance should be pointed out. It would seem that present-day realities ought to make sober-minded spokesmen of West German imperialism discard the idea of a fresh confrontation with the socialist countries. But one has the impression that West German politicians who declare for the arms race, an increased nuclear threat to countries of the socialist community, and the transformation of the policy of détente into a policy of interference in the affairs of these countries do not proceed from a sober estimation of the actual balance of power.

They proceed from the illusion that a "policy of strength" and a strategy of subversion will help them alter this balance in their favor.

Nor should it be forgotten that it is a long time since the international standing of the FRG was defined by the phrase "economic giant and political dwarf." In the 1970s West German imperialism became the most powerful force in capitalist Europe. Its political leverage in the world grew perceptibly. So did its preparedness for active global moves in defense of both positions won by it and the positions of the imperialist system as a whole.

The rulers of the Federal Republic are deeply concerned about growing crisis-like convulsions in the capitalist world economy. They see developments unfavorable to imperialism, such as its loss of many political and economic positions since the mid-1970s — in Indochina, Iran, Afghanistan, Africa and Latin America — as a threat to their own interests, power and profits. What fuels their tendency to opt for confrontation on the world scene in alliance with their EEC partners and the United States is the reverses suffered by imperialism and, not least, the inability of the USA to perform the function of world policeman as in the past.

Most West Germans are greatly disturbed by international developments. Many of them realize that such dramatic events as the disappearance of Reza Pahlavi, Thieu, Haile Selassie, Somoza and their ilk from the political scene were not accidental, that it was indicative of an inevitable process. However, only a few of them understand the law-governed developments that rouse the anger of the oppressed masses in vast areas of the world. Imperialist propaganda plays a notable role in this respect by suggesting to the population that the processes it does not like cut across the interests of the people and that communist and other revolutionary "trouble-makers" are a threat to their "well-being" and "security." It presents the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as a "menace" that must be countered by new armaments, by giving the United States, or the "leading power," greater support, and by adopting a "tougher" foreign policy.

While this propaganda is by no means ineffective, attempts to induce the population to accept a policy of confrontation and arms race meet serious obstacles. Even at the height of the anti-Soviet campaign over Afghanistan, three-fourths of the West German population declared, according to polls, that the policy of détente should be continued.⁴ Our people want to live in peace and refuse to give up the benefits of détente. The arms race and the saber-rattling may be called anything but popular.

In these circumstances one of the tasks facing communists of the Federal Republic is to go on informing the people, to lay bare the imperialist lie about the "Soviet threat." We must bring home to people that peace is imperilled not by socialism but by imperialism, and that security can be achieved only through disarmament and détente and not through an arms race and confrontation. We must do our utmost to ensure that the anti-war senti-

ments of the majority of our people are translated into more vigorous actions for peace and that the country's peace movement gains in breadth and depth in the 1980s.

In the closing years of the past decade our country encountered new problems in both foreign policy and the economic field, and the dimensions of these problems are only coming out gradually. It should be remembered that up to the 1970s and even at their beginning, the Federal Republic had the most stable economic growth rate among the main capitalist countries of Western Europe. It was only the 1974-1975 crisis that made people realize that the West German economy was no exception, that the crisis-prone character of the capitalist mode of production also manifested itself there and that unemployment and inflation were also possible in the country of the "economic miracle."

True, the view still dominant in the 1970s was that the Federal Republic had handled the crisis much more effectively than other capitalist countries. Indeed, the republic's international standing grew stronger in those years and the ruling circles could publicize (not unsuccessfully) the presumptuous nationalist thesis of the "German model" as an example for other countries.

However, the beginning of the new decade saw official propaganda and the "German model" lose their appeal, primarily because the capitalist crisis had proved to be much more deep-rooted and more protracted than had been expected. The conclusion drawn by a prominent representative of West German monopoly capital, who said that the Federal Republic "does not necessarily belong any more to the forces determining the trend and pace of structural changes in the world economic set-up,"⁵ shows that the ruling class has realized the limitations of economic maneuvering and is forced to disclose its plans step by step. What comes out in the process is far worse than expected.

It has long been a question not only of a steady decline of the economic growth rate, mounting unemployment and a continuing inflationary devaluation of currency irrespective in large measure of the business situation. It is now fair to say that the ability of the capitalist state to offset such adverse processes and ease their social consequences has been seriously undermined. In conformity with bourgeois economic theory, the state should have invested more, increased the purchasing power of the people, made more money available to meet society's requirements, and so on. But the growing burden of armaments and the government's additional international commitments to "ease the burden" of the United States (by extending military aid to Pakistan and Turkey and in other ways) leave the government less and less room for such measures.

The situation is compounded by the fact that in the crisis years — beginning with 1973 — the government used credits to cover a substantial budget deficit. As a result, the national debt at the federal level rose from DM47 billion in 1970 to DM225 billion in 1980; in the same period, annual

expenditures on the payment of interest and the repayment of these credits increased from DM6.3 billion to DM37.5 billion. It is estimated that in 1983 the national debt will stand at DM300 billion and that interest and credit repayment will amount to DM57.5 billion.⁶

As economic growth is expected to be low (with inevitable consequences for tax revenues and expenditures for such purposes as unemployment relief) and as further investments will be required (they should add up to roughly DM750 billion between now and the year 2000 for energy alone⁷), there is no escaping the conclusion that a policy of "both guns and butter" would be unrealistic. Already now budget appropriations fall short of military programs⁸ and a continued arms race is certain to result in an attack on the working people's social gains. The policy of the new federal government points in precisely this direction, which has prompted Eugen Loderer, Chairman of the IG Metal Workers' Union, to state: "This conservative policy of redistribution will lead to a serious crisis sooner or later."⁹

Exceedingly adverse changes have lately occurred in foreign economic relations as well. Whereas the balance of payments in 1978 was favorable (DM17 billion), in 1979, for the first time in 14 years, we had a deficit of DM 10 billion. In 1980 the deficit was expected to rise to DM 28 billion, and there is no sign that the situation may change in the foreseeable future.¹⁰

The result is that the FRG's reputation as having the most stable currency and the largest foreign exchange reserves has been damaged. Bonn ought to ask itself earnestly whether it would not be wiser to check this kind of foreign economic development by, say, making larger appropriations for more rapid scientific and technological progress and using the nation's coal deposits to a greater extent, as well as by expanding trade with socialist countries and refusing to finance U.S. client regimes. It is only measures of this nature that could assure the necessary preponderance of exports over imports and normalize the balance of payments. Even an industrial country like the Federal Republic will ultimately lose its economic, scientific and technological positions if it goes on spending more and more on armaments as it is now doing.

The issue of "arms race or disarmament" is one of the big economic problems confronting the Federal Republic. But what is at stake is much more than the economy. It is not enough to point out that the escalation of the arms race and the deployment of new U.S. missiles in West Germany will have negative economic and social consequences. Above all else, this undermines international détente and increases the danger of our own country's nuclear destruction.

And so the question "War or peace?" is the cardinal challenge of the 1980s. This makes unrelenting struggle for peace a central task for the GCP. We must explain and prove to our people by word and deed that from the standpoint of their national and

social interests there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

II

Neither the Bundestag elections in October 1980 nor the SPD/FDP coalition government declaration of last November satisfactorily answered the question of how to solve the difficult problems of the Federal Republic's foreign policy, security and economic development. The electoral defeat of the CDU/CSU (and the still more patently negative attitude to Strauss, who lost his bid for the Chancellery) showed once more that most of the population is opposed to a return to the outworn political doctrines of the 1950s and 1960s. Elected Federal Chancellor, the social-democrat Helmut Schmidt is expected by the people to pursue well-considered and sensible policy. Yet West German political reality is regrettably such that distinctions between the two party alignments in the Bundestag — the SPD/FDP and CDU/CSU — are much less important than the uproar accompanying election battles and parliamentary debates.

During the election campaign the Bundestag parties did not move farther apart; on the contrary, they drew closer together, and this on positions that had on the whole plainly shifted to the right. The "alternative" posing of Helmut Schmidt and Franz Josef Strauss against each other, no matter how virulent their mutual accusations were at times, merely disguised a general swing to the right in the Federal Republic. This swing brought on the danger of a government being formed under Strauss, a danger against which the GCP fought in common with other democratic forces. It is no longer a potentiality but has for some time now been a real political trend, which all the Bundestag parties objectively foster. This is not surprising: they differ little on fundamental political issues. They all favor the FRG's and NATO's unconditional acceptance of U.S. leadership, a stepped-up arms race and, first and foremost, the deployment of new U.S. systems of medium-range nuclear weapons on our territory. They are all intent on putting the growing burden of economic crisis and the arms race on the working people's shoulders by a "red pencil policy."¹¹

Long before October 5, 1980, it was clear that the real winner of the elections would be the big bourgeoisie, whose interests all Bundestag parties defend. The majority of the big bourgeoisie had banked on the "Social-Liberal" coalition, seeing its policy as more judicious and predictable than that of a government under so scandalously notorious a man as Strauss. But the main reason why it backed Schmidt was that it considers the SPD leadership more qualified to influence the working class, trade unions and progressive intellectuals in a way making it possible to preserve "internal peace" and prevent a swing to the left.

Should the SPD leadership, for some reason, cease to meet these expectations in the future, the bourgeoisie would have no difficulty in switching to another government coalition. This eventuality

should not be ruled out altogether. Indeed, the problems facing the new government are generally far more complicated than those encountered by any previous cabinet. It has to grapple not only with internal contradictions, such as that between trade-union-oriented SPD forces and the right wing of the FDP, but also with CDU/CSU tactics, which have grown more flexible than in the past. Above all, it is up against a mounting contradiction between its own policy and the working people's aspirations, against the likelihood of new labor actions and greater militancy on the part of the forces of democracy and peace.

Besides, the government's opportunities for economic and social maneuvering are much more reduced — owing, in particular, to the magnitude of the problems facing it — than they have ever been in the history of the Federal Republic. The forecast made by a bourgeois newspaper, which wrote that "Schmidt is taking the coalition and the country into the hardest of his three terms in office,"¹² apparently reflects the majority opinion of the West German big bourgeoisie. Should the government prove too weak to maintain the planned scale of attack on the working people's social gains, big capital might take advantage of the fact that all the Bundestag parties can in principle enter into coalition among themselves. Hence it would not be too difficult to "change horses."

The position of the social democrats, primarily the wing associated with the working class and the labor movement, has grown very complicated. It must answer the following questions: How to induce the workers to accept a policy aimed at undermining the prerequisites of détente while giving assurances of loyalty to détente? How to justify the sacrifice of important social achievements of the past to the arms race and the capitalist drive for maximum profit? But even those SPD leaders who identify themselves with monopoly capital and imperialism, to the extent that they have long since lost all internal connection with the working people's interests find themselves in an impasse. Theirs is a difficult problem, for they must ask themselves how most of the workers influenced by the social democrats, the SPD rank and file and union members, are going to react to a situation in which the SPD-led government increasingly fails to live up to their expectations.

The GCP intends to raise these questions and answer them by word and deed from a consistent class standpoint. We believe one of the main problems of the future development of the Federal Republic and its labor movement is the role which the working class will play in the 1980s, that is, whether it will submit to the bourgeoisie and its political spokesmen or prove strong enough to vindicate its own class interests through struggle. The road to be followed by the FRG in the new decade will depend on the answer to this question.

Accordingly, the GCP has set the task of fighting for stronger trade unions, working-class unity of action, and an alliance of all left-wing forces and all socialism-oriented organizations of our country.

The GCP will strive to operate as the motive force uniting all working people.

The ruling circles' nationalist and anti-communist propaganda under the demagogical slogan "Work more, demand less" does not leave the working class unaffected. Nevertheless, while the overwhelming majority of workers still see no acceptable alternative to the policy of these circles and while fear of unemployment is still a demoralizing factor, the social climate at the factories had changed appreciably by the beginning of the 1980s. This was confirmed at the end of 1980 by a mass demonstration of steelworkers in Dortmund and a strike of postal workers.

The fact that the West German economy has been advancing for a quarter of a century has not only helped stabilize established political and social relations but led to a high level of demands which the bourgeoisie refuses to satisfy. Polls show that the economic crisis has forced people to substantially moderate their hopes but not their desires. A well-known bourgeois public opinion analyst wrote about "a certain discrepancy between desires and expectations, a movement which contemporary research into revolution has diagnosed as being particularly fraught with tensions."¹³ This conclusion aptly defines the existing problem and is expressive of the concern of far-sighted bourgeois leaders that their social system is likely to lose its appeal. The GCP must, as well as giving the working people a day-to-day political orientation in defending their social gains, publicize the socialist alternative more actively than ever.

Against the background of a growing capitalist crisis that has dispelled the working people's illusions, conflicts stand out, which will in the 1980s claim the attention of all the political forces in the Federal Republic and which we have pointed out in our party program. What is the substance of these conflicts? The working people are at the threshold of new price and tax increases; there is to be a sharp cutback of government spending on social needs. At a time when economic growth is negligible, rationalization measures are pressed forward recklessly, which in our conditions inevitably increases unemployment; moreover, in such important industries as steel, whole plants face the threat of closure. Big business tries to divest the workers of the right to participate in the management of the steel and coal industries, a right won as far back as the 1950s. The working class as a whole comes up against the bourgeoisie's intention to reduce real wages drastically. Destruction of the environment is continuing. The situation in the educational sphere, already deplorable, is going from bad to worse. The housing problem, which in the 1970s seemed to have been all but solved, is again threatening to develop into a burning social issue due to the shortage of more than a million apartments.

The more militant trade union forces are becoming aware that the dimension of these problems exceeds all that the working class has had to contend with so far. The debates at union congresses

held in 1980 and the resolutions passed, confirmed that many unions are determined to defend the workers' social interests. As for the organized actions by the steelworkers to safeguard their jobs or by the postal workers, who demanded a higher pay for shift labor (that is, not only defended existing gains but fought for additional rights), they revealed the workers' indomitable will for struggle.

True, the postal workers' strike showed again that when the aims of a strike clash with the main line of the social democratic government's policy many union leaders quite quickly accept a compromise, settling for very modest gains in comparison with what might have been achieved and what the strikers had counted on. This kind of "moderation" not only has negative social consequences but may disappoint and dishearten both union members and unorganized workers.

The GCP does all in its power to counter this trend, which is particularly dangerous today in political terms. The problem is by no means a purely social one; it is not a question of whether the working class can win this or that economic demand and if so, to what extent. The problem is political: what the growing social contradictions may produce and whether they will push the masses to the right or the left. This is still a moot point.

The workers show signs of both growing militancy and despondence. There is a visible trend toward stronger criticism of capitalism but also in evidence are the negative results of massive propaganda intended to divert the mounting discontent in the wrong direction by fomenting anti-Sovietism, anti-communism, nationalism and xenophobia.

How the increasing social contradictions and class conflicts are settled depends on many factors, of course. First among these is whether the working-class forces seeking "social partnership" with capital are able to preserve and strengthen their influence, or whether it is the forces putting the working people's class interests first that will win a stronger position. It is only energetic, united action by the working people in the social and political struggles ahead that can stop the disastrous drift to the right in the Federal Republic and reinforce the positions of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress. The GCP clearly sees what is happening and will certainly draw the proper conclusions at its sixth congress.

III

The communists' growing activity in recent years has shown that the GCP is an effective extra-parliamentary force. On the other hand, the Bundestag elections re-emphasized the weakness of our parliamentary positions. It is beyond question that the party's political and ideological influence is much greater than election returns suggest. Nevertheless, the GCP must by all means show itself to be a political force that can be trusted not only at the factories and municipalities but also nationwide. We must reinforce our ranks and build up more influence among the masses, and we shall do so.

This is to be the main line of the GCP's activity both during the preparations for its sixth congress and throughout the 1980s.

Our intention to win new members concerns all segments of society. However, the relevant resolution of the GCP Board says in so many words that the party should draw its strength mainly from industrial workers. We are steadfastly carrying out this resolution. Only by strengthening our standing at the factories, especially the large ones, and by maintaining constant and close links with the working people can we successfully implement our role as the revolutionary party of the working class. The opportunities for the party's political activity at the national level also depend primarily on how strong our positions are among the working class. In other words, which way the West German working class goes in the 1980s, whether it joins in political actions as an independent force and influences the country's choice of the course of further development, will also depend largely on how far the GCP, its members and organizations at the factories succeed in accentuating the class approach in the workers' thinking and actions.

Area and district party organizations and party groups at factories and in residential neighborhoods have the concrete task, recommended by the guidelines of the GCP Board, of bringing the largest possible number of industrial workers into their ranks. While we are not yet satisfied with the results we have achieved to date, we can put it on record that we are making headway and that the whole party rightly sees this orientation as our main activity for a long time to come and not as a transient campaign.

Another important task of the party is to continue working among women and young people. All the major extra-parliamentary movements of the 1960s and 1970s derived much of their strength from the political militancy of the progressive section of the rising generation. The development of the GCP was also based primarily on the admission of young people into its ranks. This trend will be upheld. We have reliable associates in youth organizations friendly to us: Socialist German Working Youth and the Spartacus Marxist Union of Students, which are a notable force in the West German movement of young workers and students.

To be sure, young people do not join the revolutionary working-class movement automatically, nor do members of revolutionary youth organizations find their way to our party spontaneously. Typical of many young men and women is a certain aloofness from various manifestations of the way of thinking and behavior born of the capitalist system, and emotional rejection of the injustice and callousness of the existing social system. They look perseveringly for a political alternative. We communists must admit in all honesty that in spite of some gains, we have yet to learn to listen to young people attentively and to speak to them convincingly about our anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist alternatives. We must realize that our ranks will only be joined by young people whom we have

helped to see their ideals in our struggle and world-view, in our theory and practice. (Incidentally, we know how painfully young people react to what they see as a discrepancy between words and deeds of not only bourgeois parties but the communists as well.)

Combining effective ideological work with actual struggle for a better future is indisputably of vast importance to everything the party is working on. Research conducted on assignment from the GCP Board has corroborated that most of the new members have come to us from different movements in which the communists have been operating productively. This invites the conclusion that the task of reinforcing the party and extending its influence is inseparable from specific actions, from how actively the communists champion the interests of the workers and the people as a whole. We have every reason to say that in this struggle for peace and in defense of social and democratic rights the party aims at cooperating with the social-democrats and Christians, with all the forces of peace and democracy, within the framework of joint or parallel action.

The GCP is prepared to accept the political and ideological challenge of the 1980s resulting from the mounting class struggle in our country and the world. We know that we have a strong and experienced opponent who also tries to influence our own ranks. This makes ideological steeling and education of the party's membership increasingly impor-

tant. The history of the working-class movement and contemporary international development indicate that the forces of progress have made further advances and that the world communist movement has grown stronger. On the other hand, the imperialist forces are becoming more active as they try to stop social progress. The dialectics of the class struggle makes it the duty of communists always to take a principled and committed class approach to problems.

West Germany's communists never lose sight of what goes on outside their country. In preparing for our congress we scrutinize and learn from the experience of the forums of fraternal parties. We are certain that the 26th congress of the CPSU and the congresses of the fraternal parties of other socialist countries will produce fresh evidence that the communist movement is the strongest force of our time. However, the problems that crop up in the course of socialist construction indicate that to build socialism is not to follow a smooth asphalt highway and that there may be painful setbacks, as has happened in socialist People's Poland for example. All this prompts us to reaffirm our internationalist stand and, at the same time, probe deeper into the problems of existing socialism so as to be able to give an honest and well-argued answer to the questions put to us by many workers. The GCP sees the increasing tendency of world imperialism toward closer coordination of its strategy and tactics against the forces of socialism as a serious challenge to the communists of all countries. We consider that we should meet this challenge by strengthening the unity and cohesion of our movement if we want the world balance of forces in the ninth decade of the 20th century to go on changing in favor of peace and socialism.

We have every reason for optimism as we prepare for our sixth congress. We have real opportunities to organize extensive actions in defense of the working people's interests, become the motive power in the imminent class battles and contribute in growing measure to the assertion of peace, democracy and social progress in the Federal Republic.

1. This conclusion was drawn by the Allensbacher Institut für Demoskopie (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, January 4, 1980).
2. *Der Spiegel*, No. 37-40, 1980.
3. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, November 25, 1980.
4. *Die Welt*, February 1, 1980.
5. This is the opinion of Otto Wolff von Amerongen, President of the Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce (*Die Welt*, December 5, 1980).
6. *Der Spiegel*, No. 38, 1980, p. 213.
7. *Blick durch die Wirtschaft*, September 3, 1980.
8. Official statistics say that the Federal Republic is short of DM10 billion for the realization of its armaments programs up to 1985 (*Die Welt*, October 8, 1980).
9. *Die Welt*, December 5, 1980.
10. *Die Welt*, December 8, 1980.
11. Crossing out budget appropriations for social needs. — Ed.
12. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, November 25, 1980.
13. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, January 4, 1980.

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OUR INTERVIEWS

THE THING WE NEED IS PEACE

An interview with a Pakistani communist

Q. Would you characterize the situation in which your party has to function? What do the Pakistani communists regard as the main line of their activities?

A. For more than a quarter of a century the Pakistani communists have been working underground or, at best, semi-underground. Since 1954 the key posts in the nation have been held by the military bureaucracy. The transnationals and their subsidiaries are steadily tightening their grip on the economy. As a result Pakistan is now almost entirely dependent on world imperialism. Lately, this has come into particularly bold relief. The U.S. and British intelligence services are operating unchecked in Pakistan in cooperation with the intelligence services of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and other reactionary regimes.

On top of everything, the economic crisis is growing worse. The huge amounts of money coming from abroad are used least of all for development. After Iran dropped out of the imperialist orbit on account of the revolution, the above-mentioned countries have been displaying growing interest in our armed forces. Only recently Pakistan was at the end of the list of nations receiving U.S. armaments; today it has moved high up that list. We have an enormous army (500,000 effectives) but the money for its maintenance is not there. For that reason the USA and Saudi Arabia are extending the government financial assistance for the purchase of armaments and equipment.

What motivates this interest of the imperialists? In pursuance of their global objectives they would like to provoke conflicts between, for example, Pakistan and India or Pakistan and Afghanistan. Moreover, they are making good money on the sale of military hardware. But we, all the Asian peoples, want peace. It is wanted more than anything else by ordinary people. This is a question of saving the lives of millions of people, perhaps the whole of humanity. We witnessed limited military conflicts in 1948, 1965 and the 1970s. Their consequences were horrible. They left ruin and suffering. The land in the border regions was not cultivated for a long time. The class, socio-political aspect, which we communists constantly keep in sight, is also of the utmost importance. When there is peace, people

understand their problems better, know what they are fighting for, and look for ways and means of refashioning the socio-economic system. Peace, I am quite certain, brings nearer the hour of liberation for the peoples of Asia. Wars only inflame nationalistic feelings, and social problems recede into the background, as it were. When there is peace I know who is responsible for my poverty and unemployment, for the fact that my family cannot afford, say, sugar, who is to blame for the low living standard. In wartime, everything is seen in a distorted light because of chauvinistic hysteria and people see the enemy not in their own exploiters, not in imperialism, but in another, probably similarly exploited people.

Thus, in Asia peace is needed not only to safeguard that continent's enormous population against the horrors of war. People need peace so that they may clearly see the source of their troubles — the capitalist system — so that they may fight against it for their demands, for social, intellectual and cultural emancipation, for the emancipation of labor and the individual.

THE STORY BEHIND THE FACT

A FITTING REBUFF

A nationwide drive for donations to a fund for the rebuilding of the Communist Party's national headquarters, which was razed by fire in June 1980, was conducted in response to an appeal by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada. This drive quickly brought nearly \$322,000.

A ceremony was held during which the foundation stone was laid for the new headquarters, which is to bear the names of Tim Buck and Norman Bethune, outstanding personalities of the communist movement in Canada.

(from the press)

Norman Bethune House, the central headquarters of the Communist Party of Canada for over 23 years, was razed by fire in the early morning hours of June 24, 1980. Normally, the Canadian mass media subject all news of the Communist Party to a deep freeze. This time the news was carried far and wide. What lay at the back of this attention? Was it a change of heart? Was it a form of glad tidings for its side that the Communist Party was seriously crippled? Or, was it a signal for the way to deal with communists and all genuine anti-monopoly forces in Canada?

On Labor Day, September 1, 1980, the national headquarters of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers was hit by arson, causing extensive damage. The union had been involved in bitter battles

The person interviewed described himself as a rank-and-file political worker of the Communist Party. Our correspondent met him at an international conference. Due to the harassment to which the Pakistani communists are subjected, WMR withholds his name.

with the federal government over wages and conditions of work. The union president had been sentenced to a prison term for defying a government edict ordering the striking postal workers back to work.

By all normal indications both fires were the result of arson. But, five months after the fire at Bethune House, the Toronto Fire Marshal's office investigating the blaze had not been able to come up with any conclusions as to the cause of the fire.

The Fire Marshal's special investigator Renn told the *Canadian Tribune* (July 14, 1980): "The time of day of the fire (4:30 a.m.), the fact that it was the Communist Party's headquarters, and that someone witnessed two people running from the scene, all lead to a strong suspicion of arson." Despite this, his report said the fire was the result of "undetermined causes."

But let us leave this aspect of the arson case aside for the moment. The news of the fire-bombing of the Communist Party national headquarters in the city of Toronto was also carried round the world. The messages of shock, of condemnation of the act coupled with sympathy and support for the Communist Party of Canada, which started flowing in from all over the country, were matched by similar messages from around the world.

What had to be done to remove the effects of the blaze? Shortly before the fire, the Communist Party's documents and materials were moved to temporary quarters; Bethune House was being renovated, after which it would be known as the Tim Buck-Norman Bethune Educational Centre. The Toronto Historical Society had already designated the structure as a heritage building. The renovation was basically inside. The outside, architecturally, was to be retained. The cost of the entire project was set at \$300,000, of which more than half had already been raised or pledged. Renovation had already started and money had been spent. That was also consumed by the blaze. It was estimated that it would cost \$500,000 to put up a new structure conforming to the original architectural style. In the beginning, some questions were raised about the feasibility or need to rebuild on the same site. The expressions which came from party members and supporters left no doubt. They wanted "24 Cecil Street," as the party headquarters is referred to in a more intimate way, rebuilt — to stand up to the enemy, to stand our ground. The rebuilding of the party headquarters was the symbol of that determination.

A party membership meeting in Toronto, held three days after the fire, met with applause and cheers the statement of the party leader William Kashtan that the CP Central Executive Committee had unanimously recommended rebuilding the party headquarters at 24 Cecil Street. The membership meeting backed up its enthusiasm with donations of \$22,000 to the rebuilding fund. An equal sum was raised at a similar membership meeting of the party in the city of Vancouver. Similar meetings were held in Hamilton and other cities. They were a true reflection of the reaction throughout the coun-

try. People who had already contributed to the renovation donated additional money. People who did not agree or sympathize with the party expressed their condemnation of the arson, called for apprehension and punishment of the guilty parties. They expressed their conviction that the CP, as a legal party, has the full right to carry on its activities without any harassment, legal or otherwise.

Readers of the ethnic press came forward at once with offers of aid. Messages of support came from various democratic organizations, among them the Canadian Association of Concerned Guyanese, Canadian Aid for Nicaragua, and the East Indian Workers' Association. Communists in their work places had been approached by fellow workers who wanted to contribute, in defiance of what Kashtan had earlier called "fascist-type kooks, stimulated by the cold war, and the dirty tricksters."

The Vancouver and District Labor Council, the Metro Toronto Labor Council, the United Electrical Workers and other unions demanded a full inquiry into this criminal act by elements hostile to the principle of democracy, whose methods are terrorism and violence, an act which is seen as a violation of civil and democratic rights and a threat to the labor movement.

At the Toronto meeting William Kashtan had every reason to declare: "We are surrounded by friends."

This act by the reactionaries is evidence also that they are acting in a common front. A week after the fire, phone calls allegedly made by a member of the Jewish Defense League, an extreme right-wing organization, to the *Globe and Mail* and CITY-TV took responsibility for setting the fire. However, a check with the headquarters of the JDL in New York could not confirm this. JDL spokesman Brett Becker denied his organization was responsible, but added "this doesn't mean we don't applaud the act." The Jewish Defense League describes itself as a group "dedicated to the fight against international communism." A split apparently occurred within the organization in Toronto. CITY-TV has since received a second call from another member of the JDL who said the arson attack was the work of the "new revolutionary arm of the League." The Fire Marshal's special investigator Renn said he and the police were checking out this new lead. Since the finding of arson has been submitted, this "checking" is very, very low-key.

Could it be a coincidence that a few days after the incendiaries razed the Communist Party headquarters the Ku Klux Klan announced that it had been operating in Canada for the past five years and was now opening offices in Toronto, Ottawa and other communities. Most of their members in Toronto are former members of the fascist Western Guard, which over the years has attacked the city's minorities and left-wing political groups, including the Communist Party.

According to the press, Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry says "the Klan (is) unwelcome in Ontario." But, as the open letter to the Premier of Ontario from the Ontario Committee of the Com-

munist Party says, "McMurtry, and you as the Premier, would better serve the interests of the people of Ontario by declaring the KKK illegal rather than 'unwelcome'."

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party had earlier called for the banning of the Ku Klux Klan. Many trade unions and other democratic organizations have expressed the same opinion. In response to official statements that nothing can be done about the Klan until they commit a criminal act, it is declared that the dissemination of racial hatred is a criminal offence, that the goals and purposes of the KKK are transgressions of the law.

The organizers of the burning down of the national headquarters of the Communist Party mis-

calculated very badly when they thought the act could cripple the work of the party, the vanguard of the Canadian workers, in leading the struggle against monopoly capital. A fitting rebuff has been given to this malicious manifestation of anti-communism. While the government authorities drag their feet in apprehending the culprits, the communists and all progressives have shown their ability to overcome difficulties.

In a festive ceremony, the construction of the new headquarters of the Communist Party was started with the receipt of the building permit. The project is targeted to be completed by May 1, 1981.

Peter Boychuck

CEC Candidate Member,
CC of the Communist Party of Canada



Why Latin America wants détente and who hampers it

Enrique Rodríguez

CC Executive Committee member,
Secretary, Communist Party of Uruguay

The problem of peaceful coexistence is a truly global one. No state, government, class or nation could declare that they are not concerned with this problem. It is, of course, also of concern to Latin America. As on other cardinal issues of our day, there are two standpoints on this score: that of the ruling bourgeoisie and the oligarchy (which claim that wars in Europe or Asia mean additional profits for the countries in the region) and that of the working class and the other progressive social sections, which express the vital historical interests of the peoples.

The First World War and, in particular, the October Revolution, the great historical event which took place in the course of it, had a profound impact on the minds of broad political and social circles on the continent. Many of the then socialist parties opposed the imperialist slaughterhouse, and the attitude to that war as a matter of heated dispute in the emergent trade union movement as well. The proletarian revolution in Russia stimulated the emergence of communist parties in most countries, and these resolutely condemned the imperialist war.

Later, when capitalism "came to," one could say, after the world upheaval, Latin America also became a constant arena of armed conflicts sparked off by imperialism. There are any number of examples: the Chaco war (1932-1935) between Bolivia and Paraguay, which broke out over the clash of interests between the U.S. and British oil monopolies,

and the conflicts between other countries.¹ The peoples of the region came to realize very well that the moves by imperialism were the cause of all these armed clashes.

Anti-war sentiments were also intensified as a result of the intervention by fascist Italy in Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) and the tragic events of the Spanish epic. However, the internationalist consciousness of Latin Americans was much more tangibly enhanced by the Second World War, the four years of mammoth battles, culminating in the victory of the USSR and its allies over nazism. Latin America's forward-looking circles learned to discern better the causes and class character of wars.

During the cold war, imperialism sought to turn its strength against the Soviet Union and the newly emergent People's Democracies. Behind a screen of loud noises about some "Soviet threat" and efforts at intimidation by means of atomic weapons, U.S. ruling circles mounted their aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (1950). In Latin America, they feverishly foisted bilateral military agreements, in line with the Rio de Janeiro Pact (1947). President Harry Truman and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles tried to use these treaties to involve Latin America in the first postwar imperialist venture and to make its governments send their troops to Korea. Some countries succumbed to the pressure, while others, including Uruguay, rebuffed imperialism.

Having unleashed a wild anti-Soviet and anti-

communist campaign, imperialism strove and not without success, to blot out from the memory of the peoples both the lessons of the Second World War and the fact that it was the Soviet Union that had saved civilization from fascism and had shown the way to a life in peace.

The problems of war and peace, détente and general disarmament in Latin America are closely bound up with the struggle against the chief enemy, U.S. imperialism, against its aggressive policy. This connection is easily explained: U.S. ruling circles are regarded by our nations as a concentration of evil and the bastion of die-hard reaction. Let us recall the tide of protest that rolled across the whole continent against the military pacts and bases imposed by the United States in the 1950s, the storming of the Moncada barracks by the Cuban insurgents in 1953, the condemnation by progressive opinion of the intervention in Guatemala in 1954 and the Dominican Republic in 1965, the anti-American demonstrations during the visits to Latin American countries by Rockefeller, Nixon and Johnson, and the tempestuous upswing in the anti-imperialist movement, first after the glorious triumph of the Cuban revolution and the rout of the mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs, and then after the advent to power in Chile of the Popular Unity government. Finally, let us recall the revolutionary epic of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua and the heroic martyrdom of the Salvadoran people.

The current desperate attempts by reaction to act from a position of strength have once again put on the order of the day a theoretico-political problem of exceptional importance: is another world war inevitable?

The international meetings of communist and workers' parties in 1957, 1960 and 1969 and numerous documents adopted by communists since then gave an analysis of the new balance of world forces and drew the conclusion that war can no longer be regarded as inevitable. In the report to the First Congress of the CP Cuba (December 1975), Fidel Castro described the impact of the trend toward peaceful coexistence on Latin America as follows: "International détente has been the most characteristic feature of the recent period. Without a consideration of this factor it is impossible to understand the changes on our continent... Détente became possible after long struggle, in the course of which the possibility in principle and the advisability of peaceful coexistence of states... won recognition despite fierce resistance by the most reactionary circles of imperialism. This occurred as a result of the economic, political and military victories scored by the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community, and also thanks to the growing might of the USSR and the other socialist states, on the one hand, and in consequence of the steady weakening of imperialism, notably U.S. imperialism, which has been shaken by the general crisis of capitalism and the latest world economic crisis, on the other." Fidel Castro's analysis, made five years ago, is still valid today. The socialist

community led by the Soviet Union has been able to invalidate the military superiority of the United States on which it so plumed itself in the period of its nuclear monopoly.

The understanding of the terrible danger of the use of thermonuclear weapons has had and continues to have an influence on international relations. The objective importance of this factor is so great that, despite the stubbornness of the cold war advocates, from Dulles and Kissinger to Carter and Strauss, détente, being a prerequisite of peaceful coexistence, has definitely contributed to the normalization of the world political situation. The failures and temporary defeats (which cannot be avoided) do not mean that the process of détente, whose indicator was the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, has been cut short.

In the recent period, the international situation has worsened. Has this increased the danger of a world war? That is the question which the inhabitants of our planet ever more frequently ask themselves.

Some politicians suggest that the Helsinki principles have been forgotten and have eroded, and that they are no longer relevant and important. That is, of course, not so at all. Stately wisdom and the quiet confidence of a revolutionary permeate the words of Leonid Brezhnev who said that "in the complicated international situation, the importance of the Helsinki results tends to increase, instead of being reduced... It was emphasized at Helsinki that its decisions should not be shaken at the first bout of bad weather. We have repeatedly warned, and this was subsequently confirmed, that the policy of détente can have its ebb and flow. But for all that, there is good reason to compare the Final Act with a good breakwater, which prevents the pillars of détente from being washed out... If the course of European development is seen in the historical perspective, and not through the prism of the given moment, one will find that there is no road leading from Helsinki into the past."⁴

Fidel Castro has also dealt with this problem: "Now and again one is left with the impression," he said in connection with the dangerous policy pursued by the U.S. ruling circles, "that we live in a period similar to the one which preceded Hitler's election to the post of chancellor of Germany. I do not want to say that the situation then and now is absolutely similar. At that time some maniac, like Hitler, could start a war in the hope of winning it, not bothering to think that mankind would be destroyed. However, a straitjacket will be found for the present-day madmen: the changes that have taken place in the world, the new balance of forces in the international arena."³

Consistent advocates of peaceful coexistence have never believed that détente will arrive by itself, without a struggle. The Helsinki Conference is a result of many years of patient and well-considered efforts by the USSR and other socialist countries, by statesmen and public figures in the capitalist world taking a realistic view of mankind's

future and aware of their own responsibility for its future.

The assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence is the result not only of the persevering efforts of their supporters, but also of the realization of the historical moment, when there is a growing urge for détente and an increasing condemnation of confrontation.

The dynamic of the development of present-day society calls for adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence and requires mutual respect. Otherwise confrontation and nuclear war cannot be avoided. After all, there is ultimately no alternative to détente. And no matter to what lengths those who in the international arena act from positions of strength go in brandishing arms, they will sooner or later meet with a resolute rebuff of the peoples. The general uniformities of world development, the existence of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community (objective factors) and the persevering struggle for peace which has now gone on for more than 60 years (subjective factor) — all of this warrants our assumption that the trend toward détente will continue.

Over the past 20 years, events have taken place which have given the problem of war and peace in Latin America an especially sharp edge.

One of them was the so-called missile crisis of 1962, which gave Latin Americans a real opportunity to feel how close the danger of war was, to sense "what it means," if I could put it that way, when people speak of a missile and nuclear war.

In that alarming period, never before known by the continent, many Latin American governments realized that the mercantile hopes that war could bring nothing but benefits were an illusion, pure and simple, and that not only Europe or Asia would have devastation, bombings and destruction of whole cities in the event of a world conflagration. The sinister image of the atomic mushroom over Hiroshima and Nagasaki ceased to be something remote and obscure.

At the time, the progressive political and social circles and the peoples of Latin America not only realized the tremendous danger latent in war, but also duly appreciated the Soviet Union's firm principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceable foreign policy, and the actual balance of forces in the international arena. Even before that, the clashes between our peoples and their historical enemy frequently reached a critical point, and these filled the pages of the national history of many countries. But the emergence of socialist Cuba within 90 miles of the citadel of world imperialism, and that in the nuclear age, was a qualitatively new phenomenon, while the resolve of the revolutionary people to resist the oppressors could entail consequences on a world scale, because the Soviet Union, true to its internationalist duty and guided by its sense of fraternal solidarity, was prepared to do everything to prevent an armed invasion of Cuba.

The results of that incident are well known: the security of the Island of Freedom was consolidated.

Today Central America has been put to a severe test. Free Nicaragua is ready to repulse a counter-revolutionary invasion whatever form it may take. There is growing solidarity with the struggle of the people of El Salvador. In the meantime U.S. imperialism is preparing direct aggression, which may spread to all the countries of the sub-region. Given the present balance of forces in the world, an intervention, which certainly will be rebuffed by the peoples, may have unpredictable consequences.

The emergence, primarily in the Southern Cone, of fascist governments with militaristic propensities was another event, or rather, political phenomenon. We also consider this to be a highly important circumstance, since the struggle to topple these governments coalesces with the struggle against the threat of war, for the liberation of all the peoples.

The strategic goal of the United States in Latin America is to create a "docile hinterland" that would give it freedom of action and make it possible to engage more freely in the game of "cold" or "hot" war in various parts of the world. The cornerstone of this strategy was provided by the above-mentioned military agreements of the 1950s, the Rio de Janeiro Pact, which is the basis of U.S. domination in the Western Hemisphere. Specialized military establishments have been set up in the Panama Canal zone, where Latin American officers are being trained in the "art" of overthrowing democratic governments or governments which the United States simply dislikes. Instruction at these schools and academies proceeds in a spirit of primitive anti-communism, denial of any social requirements which are qualified as "Marxist or Castro-ite infiltration," and a gut hatred of democratic political forces.

Some military and civilian governments in the countries of the Southern Cone have gone too far in their urge to serve the United States, which promises them a "brilliant" future. Their projects for constitutional reforms amount to fascist legislation designed to maintain a constant stage of siege and to ensure the dictatorship of the military hierarchy. In practice, this entails unbridled corruption and all manner of benefits and privileges for the ruling military élite. The latter tries to justify its anti-communism by referring to the doctrine of "national security" and "ideological" or "mobile borders," in an effort to get the continent to accept the idea that the military has the mission of ridding Latin America of politicians over the next half-century.

But many authoritative and patriotic-minded military men refuse to be venal puppets and to be members of an "occupation army" in their own countries. The extremes of fascist methods of government are not to the liking even of some oligarchic circles which have supported military coups and amassed fortunes because of them.

The anti-fascist movement is growing from strength to strength throughout the continent. Evidence of this is the recent condemnation by the

military-civilian dictatorship. Despite the terror, despite the fact that the people were actually denied any opportunity to voice their opinion, they voted against the new draft constitution (of an obviously fascist type), which the government wanted to push through by rigging the results of a referendum. The solidarity and militancy of the masses did not permit the authorities to carry out their intentions. This victory opens new prospects in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Fearful of the possible overthrow of tyrannical regimes, imperialism and the fascist-minded military camarillas have coordinated their provocations in our countries, following them up with counter-offensives whenever these have failed. Witness the abduction of Uruguayan anti-fascists in Brazil, of the leaders of the Paraguayan Communist Party in Argentina, the coup in Bolivia, which according to the participants in a meeting of representatives of democratic parties of Latin America in Quito, followed upon the 13th conference of armed forces commanders of the Organization of American States in Bogota.

One cannot but pay attention to the repeated attempts to cobble together a South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) with the participation of the racist regime of South Africa. This treaty, which is being advocated by the dictatorial regimes of the Southern Cone, notably Uruguay, is designed to complement NATO's aggressive policy. The establishment of SATO could entail the participation of our countries in actions which imperialism is undertaking in regions that are of special interest to it.

What has been said shows that our people's struggle for peace is also a struggle against the plans of the USA aimed at our continent, against the military treaties and bases imposed on it, and against the fascist governments, which are, in a manner of

speaking, the Pentagon's "shock brigades." It is a fierce struggle which assumes the most diverse forms, including armed actions.

The upswing in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America and its radicalism do not in any sense contradict the struggle for détente. It is worthwhile to give a reminder that the revolutionary forces constantly appeal to the broadest masses of people, urging them to support the international campaigns against imperialist aggression and against the atomic bomb. Let us recall that the first Stockholm Appeal — an appeal against atomic war — was signed by millions of Latin Americans, and that they have carried out hundreds of other campaigns in defense of peace.

We have never asserted that the simplest forms of struggle will suffice to consolidate the successes of détente and keep the warmongers in check. The broad spectrum of popular forces involved in the peace movement (including those who do not take a revolutionary stand) is a positive phenomenon, and their concrete acts are necessary and important provided these are combined with other and higher forms of popular action. It is the latter that is crucial. But on no account should one contrast the various forms of struggle, for that would harm the common cause.

We believe, and want to re-emphasize, that the revolutionary and democratic struggle itself serves the cause of peace. This is a fundamental theoretical proposition that is being ever more convincingly confirmed in Latin America.

Imagine how much poorer the anti-war movement would have been without the participation of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Panama, Mexico and other countries taking a different stand but actively opposing imperialism, the arch-enemy. Would not the positions of peace have been stronger if imperialism had not managed to overthrow the Popular Unity Government in Chile and General Torres in Bolivia? Will not the forces of peace and détente on the continent be strengthened once the fascist dictatorships in the Southern Cone are eliminated?

The democratic and revolutionary movement on the continent is a factor which has served and continues to serve the cause of peace, and which has restrained the aggressive urges of imperialism. In many cases, the revolutionary struggle assumes the form of armed operations and frequently even of sanguinary war, and this is due to the fierce resistance on the part of imperialism and local oligarchy, and not to any refusal by the progressive forces to take the peaceful road of social transformations.

There is no sign at all that the nature of this struggle will change. It will continue to run in difficult and frequently tragic conditions (witness the developments in El Salvador and Bolivia), but will ultimately end with the victory of the forces of reason and progress.

1. For details see the article "Imperialism and Border Conflicts" by Julio Laborde in WMR, November 1979.
2. Pravda, July 30, 1980.
3. Granma, July 28, 1980.

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The substance of our comprehensive approach

Leopold Ler

• Alternate Member, CPCz Central Committee, Minister of Finance,
and Chairman of the
Governmental Committee on Planned Economic Management

SOCIALISM: TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will soon be holding its 16th congress, which is to map out further targets in the building of developed socialism in Czechoslovakia. At its 18th plenary meeting in October 1980 the CPCz Central Committee determined the basic orientations for the economy for the period up to the congress. In assessing the fulfillment of the party's economic and social policy, the General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee Gustav Husak made the reminder that the problem of enhancing the economy's efficiency, accentuated in the documents of the party's 14th and 15th congresses, constantly holds the attention of the Central Committee. It is now becoming increasingly imperative to resolve this problem.

The extent to which socialism's objective advantages are used for dynamic and balanced economic development and society's requirements are satisfied depends on how social processes and, in particular, the economy are managed. However, an immaculate system of management cannot be created once and for all. It has to be continuously developed in accordance with the fundamental principles of economic management formulated by Lenin.

When we set out on our first steps we drew upon the Soviet experience, which remains of key significance for us to this day. In the 1950s and 1960s our own experience and the experience of building the economic mechanism in the USSR enabled us to improve somewhat the methods and structure of the management of our national economy, including the provision of more material incentives for the people, and this played its role in the fulfillment of the economic and social tasks of those years. For a number of reasons we did not simultaneously work out the measures to ensure a transition from extensive to intensive economic development through a visible acceleration of scientific and technological progress and effective participation in the international division of labor. These problems were analyzed under the party's guidance a little later, and the January 1965 plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee passed the appropriate resolutions. However, due to the crisis political and economic developments in 1968-1969, these resolutions were not carried out. The role played by the party and the government in the economy

weakened and the Leninist principles of management were violated.

The new CPCz leadership headed by Gustav Husak used these principles to stabilize the national economy; the 1970s witnessed significant progress in the fulfillment of the party's economic program. However, practice showed that the obtaining system of economic management did not adequately stimulate the intensive factors of growth, and did not always conform either to the internal conditions of reproduction, which had grown objectively more complex, or to external economic influence. The 15th congress of the CPCz stressed that the level of economic management had to be raised and mapped out the main directions of what had to be done in this area. In 1978 the government started a circumstantial experiment in the management of efficiency and quality. At first this experiment involved 12 production associations (150 factories with an aggregate personnel of nearly half a million), and then it was spread to another five associations and its conditions were specified. We sought to test concrete levers inducing executives and employees to work with their sights on the long-term, on end economic objectives, on the efficacy and quality of their contribution. In the course of two and a half years it became clear that most of the innovations in economic management, tested in the experiment, could be used in the seventh five-year plan period on the scale of the entire national economy.

We were greatly assisted by the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on improving planning and turning the economic mechanism into a more effective instrument for enhancing production efficiency and improving quality. The basic directions for improving the management of the Czechoslovak economy and some of our concrete decisions coincide with the measures that have been adopted in the USSR.

A year ago the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee and the government of Czechoslovakia passed a resolution on a series of measures to improve the system of planned economic management for the period after 1980 with the objective of adjusting this system for a much more effective use of sources of intensive growth than ever before.

In fact, this series of measures is a program. Although it has begun to come into force, the pay-off will be gradual. Simultaneously, experiments are

being continued on some problems that await their solution. The series of measures does not claim to produce some new model of management. It is oriented on improving the existing model, in the course of which extensive tendencies are being abolished or inhibited and levers are being reinforced or created to stimulate the transition to all-sided intensive reproduction in accordance with the strategy of promoting efficiency and quality. We thus expect in advance that the measures being put into effect will continue to undergo modifications and will be enriched on the basis of the collective experience of party, state and economic bodies, the trade unions and other public organizations.

Our main objective is to improve planning, give it a stronger scientific base, enhance its potential for efficiency, and make it more comprehensive and balanced. In order to ensure the needed structural and qualitative changes in the economy more is to be done in the way of drawing up long-term plans and prognostications taking into account Czechoslovakia's growing participation in the realization of long-term special-purpose programs for international specialization and cooperation, especially with the Soviet Union. In particular, provision has been made for giving key industries long-term comprehensive programs, the vital elements of which will express important qualitative changes in the nation's economic and social development.

We see the five-year plan as the chief instrument for the implementation of the party's policy, an instrument made all the more significant by the fact that we have to act in a difficult and, in addition, constantly changing foreign economic situation. In the five-year plan attention is focussed on basic tasks. It establishes fund limits, the norms for material incentives, and other important indicators that determine the economic conditions for drawing up annual plans. In this way we strive to reinforce every organization's sustained responsibility and incentive and thereby transcend the short-term approach to management and, specifically, end the practice of setting annual assignments mainly on the basis of the results of the preceding year. In the past, this practice led enterprises to understate plan indicators, conceal production potentials, and sometimes make inexpedient use of the funds allocated to them for the current year.

Parallel with the five-year plan there are to be special-purpose programs for the nation as a whole. Their function will be to consolidate the main structural changes in the economy as envisaged in long-term comprehensive programs. The special-purpose programs, whose drafting is to begin for the seventh five-year plan, will chart the main directions of scientific and technological development and the assignments for the rational utilization of material resources and the build-up of the export potential. Also, account will be taken of the commitments springing from international long-term special-purpose programs of cooperation. The spectrum of assignments in our national programs will be limited in order to make it possible to work on what are in fact key problems, on which the

development of the entire national economy or entire industries depends.

As regards annual plans, their function is to ensure the successful fulfillment of the five-year plan and respond quickly to new phenomena and requirements. In particular, we want our economy to respond sensitively to promising breakthroughs in science and technology, and to changes in the foreign trade market and in domestic consumer demand. Without this it is impossible to increase the export potential to any marked extent or flexibly satisfy the demand for high-technology output requiring frequent modifications and special servicing.

The series of measures is geared to improving the management of material links in the national economy and developing a system of balances that would make it possible not only to distribute available resources more accurately but also actively manage the structural changes in the economy. Under the new five-year plan the range of material balances nation-wide is to be widened to cover more than half of the industrial output. It must also be mentioned that the links between supplier enterprises and the consumer are being strengthened. We intend to make cooperation between them more definitive and impose a larger measure of responsibility for commitments.

In the series of measures the problems of the level of technology and output receive considerable attention. The CPCz Central Committee stated at its 18th plenary meeting that the latest scientific and technological breakthroughs should be used as the starting point of planning. Plans would really be prestigious only if they were aimed at implementing these breakthroughs. This can be ensured only if the plan for science and technology serves as the pivot of the entire economic development plan and its provisions continue to be materialized in the programs for production and capital construction. In naming the subjects for research and development, setting prices for new products, and defining other economic norms we accentuate efficiency and quality. Whether it is a question of promoting labor productivity, saving outlays or using basic assets, the factors influencing the rate of scientific and technological progress are invariably taken into account. Very much depends on the effort that enterprises put into readjusting their work and using sophisticated machinery and technology to rationalize their use of raw and other materials and manufacture high-quality goods. Under the seventh five-year plan modernization of production is to proceed rapidly with the enlistment of large resources.

Investment preparation and planning are being modified and a heavier accent is being placed on cost accounting in order to improve the efficiency of capital construction and the reproduction of basic means. While formerly a large proportion of the investments came from the state budget, today it is a question of repayable investments of the self-financing of associations and individual enterprises, of new construction and modernization paid

from own funds or from bank credits. Further, investments must be made dependent on the technical and economic merits of the suggested projects.

The series of measures emphasizes the importance of developing cost accounting as a method of planned economic management, of purposefully regulating the economic links between society as a whole and individual economic units. The relations of material responsibility are being enhanced between production associations and enterprises and the latter and their various departments. Here the purpose is that each unit should operate with a sense of economic responsibility and that the funds invested in production should yield the maximum returns. This involves modifying the indicators determining the merits of individual collectives and workers and their contribution to end economic results. Hence the increasing significance of indicators of production efficiency, the technological level, and quality of products, and the extent the consumer demand is met. Cost accounting is the cardinal factor promoting the people's participation in the fulfillment of the plan, while only a well-considered, substantiated plan allows making effective use of the levers of cost accounting.

Experience has thus convinced us that the work of production associations cannot be judged by gross output: this makes the assessment one-sided. Hence the fundamental importance of the fact that the series of measures introduces a new indicator, namely, own output. Without going into economic details it may be said that this indicator embraces wages, depreciation deductions, and profits, in other words, it only represents the cost added by the enterprise to what has already been produced by its predecessor along the cooperation chain. The own output indicator will serve as the basic criterion of the plan's qualitative targets and be used in calculating productivity. One more indicator is being introduced, namely, the profitability of production assets, this being understood as the correlation between the use of basic means and potentials, on the one hand, and the profit on the other. Own output and the profitability of production assets will determine the size of wages and thereby make it possible to apply the principle of remuneration according to work more consistently.

The system of prices, the forms of remuneration for labor, the various normative dependencies, the terms of credit and so on, provide economic incentives for high-target plans, while the results, if they are productive, will through the mechanism of cost accounting, increase the funds for material incentives and the development of the enterprises concerned. The enterprises will thus have a larger incentive for increasing their own funds more rapidly and using them more expediently for financing technological development and meeting the social and cultural requirements of their personnel. The scope for economic maneuvering will also be enlarged by the planned decrease of deductions from the net profits of enterprises to the state budget.

Enhancement of export profitability is an important assurance of the further development of our economy. The series of measures provides for larger incentives in this area not only to achieve the planned volume of exports but also to induce enterprises to manufacture goods yielding a large return in foreign currency. State assignments in foreign trade are accorded the decisive role as early as the stage of drawing up comprehensive programs and scientific, technological, investment and production plans. Special fiscal and economic instruments are being envisaged to stimulate large-scale and profitable export.

Some other measures are being planned to involve our economy more profitably in the international division of labor. These include the specification of currency coefficients and a re-consideration of the wholesale prices of fuel and raw and some other materials. Domestic prices will be brought into conformity with the outlays on the purchase of raw materials and commodities abroad so that the use of imported raw materials influences the economic results of production associations and individual enterprises more objectively. In our conditions such raw materials must be used more rationally and only for the manufacture of high-technology, top-grade goods that may be exported with the maximum profit. It is our purpose to gradually differentiate wholesale prices so as to bring down the profits from export-ineffective commodities as far as possible and, on the other hand, increase the profits to above-average from goods that can compete in external markets.

A key question in our efforts to improve planning and management is that of remuneration for the labor of entire collectives and individuals. First and foremost, there has to be greater conformity between remuneration for labor and its end results and the importance of these results to society. We are introducing a new principle for the formation of the wage fund, which will take labor efficiency and quality and the rational use of material resources into account more accurately. This fund will now consist of two parts: basic (guaranteed) and incentive (bonuses, and so on). The basic part of wages (approximately 80 per cent) depends on the fulfillment of the plan indicator of own output, while the incentive part depends on the profitability of production assets (in some cases — on export profitability). The indicator of own output, which shows more accurately the contribution of the enterprise concerned to the national income, impels the enterprise to make more rational use of labor, materials and energy. The method for forming the incentive part, proposed in the series of measures, provides larger incentives for promoting the overall efficiency of production. The links between the actual results of labor and remuneration are growing more tangible: the share of wages amounted to approximately 17 per cent in gross output and to over 30 per cent in own output.

Hitherto, the size of the wage fund was established in annual plans and this often placed lagging enterprises in an advantageous position, nullified

the efforts of leading enterprises, and diminished interest in quickly mobilizing potentials. The dependence between wages and production results will now be determined for a five-year period. The series of measures envisages perceptible material advantages for collectives that adopt maximum assignments (especially in efficiency and quality). For enterprises it will now be more profitable to fulfil this plan rather than to overfulfil deliberately understated assignments. The principal criterion for evaluating the work of an enterprise will be the fulfillment or an economically justified overfulfillment of the five-year plan assignments.

The series of measures provides for favorable conditions for local planning, for the people's active and innovative participation in economic management. This is part and parcel of our program, while local planning is one of the basic orientations. There is to be a simultaneous enhancement of its other forms linked to the activities of the trade unions and other public organizations and also of elected representative bodies of power.

Naturally, an improvement of the forms of material incentives leads to increased demands on the substantiation of plans, the price-forming system, and the utilization of funds. Moreover, the principle of wages depending on the results of work must be consistently applied in all sectors of production. In turn, this means that at this level the indicators of own output and of the profitability of production assets are subject to a transformation making it possible to weigh the contribution of each unit and accurately determine the measure of its actual merits. Material incentives depend mainly on fulfillment of mandatory indicators of the plan (for instance, own output and the profitability of exports). We feel that in our national economy it would be expedient to differentiate wages depending on the labor-intensity of assignments and on the

achieved results. Here the decisive role will be played by the incentive part of wages. Fulfillment of plans means that larger deductions will be made to the fund of the enterprise concerned, that its personnel will receive bonuses, while non-fulfillment, on the contrary, spells out fines for the enterprise and a tangible drop of the wages of its personnel (especially as a result of the reduction, up to the abolition of their incentive part). In this case there will be a glaring difference in the remuneration received by production managers.

Economic practice dictates the need to specify and, to some extent, redistribute powers and responsibilities between the production management bodies. For instance, it is planned to reinforce the coordination and control functions of central bodies, enhance their role in the elaboration of the concepts of scientific and technological development and structural policy, and heighten their responsibility for the drawing up of economic development plans. As regards production associations they are, in accordance with the spirit of the resolutions of the party's 15th congress, becoming the basic unit of industrial management, for which purpose they are being given the necessary funds and powers. They are charged with the conduct of a well-considered and purposeful technological, investment, commercial and fiscal policy, the improvement of subordinate management structures, and the promotion of the initiatives of enterprises in the utilization of potentialities. As relatively independent units, the various enterprises are responsible for production efficiency, for the quality and conformity of their output to consumer requirements, and for the social development of their collectives.

Implementation of the series of measures is a big, multifaceted and complicated task that, among other things, entails surmounting deep-rooted views and attitudes, bureaucracy and inertia. At the 18th plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee Gustav Husak warned that there may be "deafness" on the part of executives and attempts to circumvent strictly economic criteria. He repeated the reminder that even the most successful organizational measures cannot replace political work among people, the purpose of which is to make them understand the new economic situation and the decisions demanded by that situation.

In the complex economic situation at the beginning of the 1980s we see our task mainly in embodying the principles of the series of measures solidly in the new five-year plan, in applying them consistently and flexibly in the work of production associations and of enterprises and their departments, and bringing them home to each collective and every individual worker. This demands concentrated efforts by the party and by state and economic agencies, the trade unions, and other public organizations.

To ensure an improvement of planned economic management is a significant aspect of the party's economic strategy and a highly responsible task as the party prepares for its 16th congress.

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Combines in social reproduction

Wolfgang Biermann

CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Director-General, Carl Zeiss Jena Combine

The GDR's work collectives are putting in a great effort to implement our party's program for economic growth, greater well-being and stable economic development. The consistent realization of the line adopted by the SUPG's eighth and ninth congresses for an integral economic and social policy is expressed both in the results that have been achieved and in the new goals that the working people set themselves in preparing for the party's 10th congress.

Deep qualitative changes connected with the accelerated application of scientific and technological achievements and enhancement of intensive growth factors have been taking place in the GDR's economic development. That is why the SUPG's theoretical and practical work is aimed to discover and apply the most effective forms of economic management. Priority here is given to the shaping of economic units that would be able — on the basis of the binding, centrally set state plan targets — to effect independently and with full responsibility a closed reproduction process and ensure a steady and stable increase in the national income. The party has substantiated and proved that in the GDR it is combines that are to play this role. The SUPG's ninth congress in 1976 said that combines had become the main unit in the system of industrial management. It set the task of turning "the combines into economic units that would be capable to solve with even greater effect and as a complex the main problems in expanded reproduction with an eye to the new requirements of the morrow."

This means that a form of management and planning has been found in line with the level of development of the socialist relations of production and the productive forces in the GDR, and with the objective requirements of the process of socialization. A decree issued by the Council of Ministers on the establishment of combines describes them as the basic economic unit in material production, "a modern form of management and organization in industry, construction and other spheres of the national economy on the basis of the integral state people's property."¹ The need to set up combines springs from the fact that the scale of social production has grown markedly, while economic ties have become more complicated because of the deepening of specialization and the development of concentration and cooperation.

There are now 123 combines in central-subordination industry and construction in the republic. They account for over 90 per cent of the persons employed in these spheres (in 1976, 36 per cent),

turn out nearly 90 per cent of all the marketable manufactured goods and have nearly 90 per cent of the research, development and engineering potential in the sector.

Our economists emphasized that "the basic idea underlying the establishment of combines is to lock the reproduction cycle on the level of the combine. That is why the combine has the assets and operates in strict conformity with economic-calculus principles."² Consequently, the need is to invest the processes of management and planning at every combine with a qualitatively new content and to boost the production potentialities on that basis. Whether the combine becomes a stable economic unit or remains a formal administrative measure not consistent with the actual economic conditions crucially depends on the organization of labor.

We at the Carl Zeiss Combine began, back in 1976, to shape an effectively functioning industrial complex. It transpired in the process that there was a need to improve fundamentally our work. It is not right to reduce the formation of combines to a formal repatterning of structure; this must entail the solution of the sum-total of the problems arising in the management and planning of reproduction. Stable results can be obtained only if the organizational changes are prepared in advance on the strength of a thorough analysis of the level and conditions of development, and also of the existing interconnections, and only if the restructuring is effected in accordance with the peculiarities of the reproduction process, an effort regarded as being of great political and economic importance.

The general principles underlying the improvement of the organizational structures of industrial production in the GDR can be reduced to five basic propositions. First, in order to obtain a closed reproduction process, there is a need for unified management of scientific and technical work, production and marketing, and also for efficient division of labor within the framework of the combines. Second, the enterprises within the combines are allowed much economic independence: they are responsible for planning and calculations. Due attention is given to specialization and concentration of production for creating efficient forms of the division of labor, with the question of centralization and decentralization being decided in the light of efficiency on the scale of the combine as a whole. Third, improvement of planning is aimed at consistent application of the socialist principles of economic management and extensive use of economic calculus. This accords with the level at-

tained in the division of labor and makes it possible more completely to master the production ties between the component parts of the combines. Fourth, it is highly important to set up a system of management which enables the combines to formulate a long-term strategy of intensive expanded reproduction and to secure uninterrupted fulfillment of plan targets. Such a system should be uniform and should consist of a minimum of management levels and structural units. Fifth, in deciding on the make-up of the combines, there is a need to reckon with the vertical and horizontal structure of the national economy.

The organizational changes in industry were carried out gradually, by stages, at each of which concrete and specific problems were solved, with simultaneous efforts to expand the volume of production and enhance efficiency. Practice shows that this is a correct approach.

Our combine, for instance, has secured a qualitative leap over its level in the 1971-1975 five-year period as a result of the complex operation of intensification factors in production. The high demands we have constantly made on science and technology have had a tangible effect on every sphere of reproduction and helped to make the process more dynamic. Since 1976, labor productivity, the volume and sales of marketable goods have grown by an average of 11-12 per cent a year, and exports by more than 20 per cent. It has been proved that these rates are the results of our accelerated development and production of new items, of the renewal of a sizable part of our product-mix through the manufacture of scientific precision instruments, and of our purposeful organizational activity.

Our practice provides much confirmation of the correctness of the SUPG's strategic approach to improving economic management and planning. Experience shows that the production results of the combines can be substantially improved if their leaders are consistently oriented on the effort to create conditions of reproduction ensuring a stable and growing increase of the national income; if the whole process of reproduction is guided as a complex: research, development, engineering, production and marketing at home and abroad; and also if the division of labor is so organized as to meet the requirements of boosting economic efficiency, allowing the use of personnel, material and financial resources for the rapid development of production.

The task of combines in the GDR is to realize the long-term goals and to create the conditions necessary for reproduction, while ensuring systematic fulfillment of the plan and maintaining a high pace of growth over the next few years. That is why the Carl Zeiss Combine, for instance, has worked out a long-term concept of development covering every aspect of the reproduction process. The effort to formulate the concepts of intensification, long-term programs for the individual items and the creation of reserves in research, scientific and technical prognostication, etc., has become a solid component part of management and planning. Scientific and technological progress is being consistently

used to accelerate the reproduction cycle and also to solve long-term problems. Our aim is to make goods, whose consumer properties, when the goods appear on the market, would either determine or accord with the world standard, constantly renew our product-mix, take account of the scientific and technological achievements in economic indicators like costs, prices, etc. It is a long-standing tradition at Carl Zeiss to keep enhancing the consumer value of its high-quality precision instruments by steadily raising the level of their automation, productivity and reliability.

In this context, much importance is attached to cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For instance, efficient and concerted division of labor in the development and production of instruments for the micro-electronic industry of the USSR and the GDR has made it possible to create the prerequisites to supply their economies with highly integrated micro-electronic units. This successful experience is taken into account in the further improvement of scientific and technological cooperation within the CMEA framework.

The inclusion of realization of their products on the external markets within the competence of the combines is a special problem in the complex management of the reproduction process. When goods with high scientific and technological parameters are marketed, traditional and purely commercial methods no longer apply. The definition of the sphere in which these items are used, consideration of the especially complex scientific and technological requirements of consumers, the growing level of automation and the ever more extensive use of micro-electronics call for close interaction between research, development, engineering, production and market research. Only then can the whole process of reproduction be mastered.

The Carl Zeiss Combine has within its framework a foreign-trade enterprise which is an organic part of it. This makes the ties between foreign trade and the export production sectors much closer and more efficient and helps to bring about effective cooperation between the enterprises and the research centers of the combines, all of which makes it possible to respond sensitively to the state of the market. The importance of a novelty does not boil down to a mere administrative measure — the integration of export-import organizations with the combines — because it entails the closing of the reproduction cycle.

The transfer of foreign-trade functions to the combine does not at all question the state's monopoly in this sphere. On the contrary, the close ties between foreign trade and industry make it possible to attain better results in fulfilling the state targets in the sphere of exports because of the knowledge of the business and efficient operations.

Combines can function successfully provided the enterprises within their framework make use of the right vested in them to act on their own responsibility, the production results of the individual collectives are assessed with adequate precision, while

the sphere of their competence is clearly defined by the plan and the contracts concluded within the combine. Their establishment entailed some decentralization as a result of which the enterprises were provided with material potentialities and cadre which made it possible to carry on reproduction independently. The responsibility was extended mainly through the improvement of planning and the broad introduction of economic calculus. All the enterprises within the combine were given a uniform economic status and, accordingly, have an equal status in the process of management.

The new organization allows the concentrated use of funds and resources, especially for the faster solution of key research, technological and engineering problems, for rationalizing production and improving the people's working and living conditions. The structure of management at our combine has been remodelled clearly and uniformly; clear-cut and straightforward lines of management running from the director-general through the intermediate units reduced to a minimum have been laid down; the concentration continues.

The elaboration and realization of uniform regulations on planning at the combines allow the extensive use of unified organizational processes, including the electronic processing of data for the purposes of economic calculus. As a result, the additional outlays incidental to the decentralization at the Carl Zeiss Combine, for instance, have been compensated by means of organizational decisions and the use of computers.

The GDR's achievements mark a substantial stride forward in creating effectively operating industrial complexes. The vast Soviet experience in the establishment of large-scale production associations has been thoroughly studied and taken into account. Generally speaking, the exchange of information on achievements in management between combines in the GDR and also between socialist-community countries is highly important. Executives in the fraternal countries, who are not hamstrung by competition, share their experience and advanced methods to enable everyone to learn from the others and to organize his work better for the common good. The working-class party in the GDR has consistently encouraged this effort, and a three-day conference of centrally-run combine directors held by the SUPG Central Committee in March 1980 provides convincing evidence of this. Its purpose was to exchange experience in boosting the productivity of combines and eliminating the still substantial distinctions between them in this respect.

The shaping and development of combines sets new tasks before the management of the GDR economy as a whole. The enhanced responsibility of these units requires consistent observance of the principles of democratic centralism in the activity of ministries and the State Planning Commission. It is especially important to define, even more precisely, the qualitative and quantitative scale of development of the combines in the light of the long-term goals of the country's economy and with an

eye to the socialist division of labor. There is also the need to realize consistently the decisions in the sphere of structural policy and to formulate long-term concepts for the development of the economy as a whole, further to consolidate the ties between state agencies and combines, and cut administrative and management costs on that basis. Consequently, to improve management in the course of the construction of a developed socialist society, it is necessary to consolidate democratic centralism and look to the use of all the reserves in enhancing the efficiency of the economy. The decisions we have taken in this sphere are aimed to improve management at the combines, and also in the ministries and other central state institutions.

The constant attention which the fraternal parties of our community have given to the problems of management and planning is an objective necessity which springs from the socialization of production. Bourgeois propaganda, however, has tried to use this normal process as a pretext for loud declarations about shortcomings and insoluble contradictions in the socialist economy. But the evidence provided by the GDR's history of more than 30 years shows that these inventions are not new. Whenever we have tackled new tasks, consolidating and developing the socialist relations of production and the productive forces, campaigns have been launched in the capitalist world in an effort to discredit these steps. But such attempts are absurd. Nor will they slow down the steady consolidation of combines in the GDR as stable and dynamic economic units. At the higher level of the socialization of production, the economic activity of the combines assumes quantitatively and qualitatively new proportions, as ever more confidently they assert themselves as a modern form of management and planning in the socialist industry of our republic.

1. Verordnung über die volkseigenen Kombinate, Kombinatbetriebe und volkseigenen Betriebe vom 8 November 1979. *Gesetzblatt der DDR*, Teil 1, No. 38, p. 355.

2. G. Friedrich, C. Krömke. "Kombinate — Grundlage höherer Qualität der Leitung." *Einheit*, No. 12, 1979, p. 1267.

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Myth is myth indeed

In contrast to the war hysteria that has swept the United States, various sections of U.S. public opinion have grown increasingly vocal in denouncing the fabrications about a "Soviet military threat" and demanding an end to the arms race, a normalization of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Ever since the October 1917 revolution in Russia, right-wing forces in and out of government have used the monopoly-controlled mass media to spread the "Soviet threat" myth in attempts to frighten the U.S. people. Especially intense during the cold war years, the anti-Soviet barrage was muted somewhat during the early 1970s when elements of the ruling class who understood their self-interest in détente had a major role in determining U.S. policy. This barrage took on a new quality in the summer of 1979, with heightened pressure for major increases in military spending, acceptance of the MX missile, etc. There followed the U.S. arm-twisting of the NATO countries to secure agreement for deployment of Eurostrategic medium-range missiles on their territories. The Carter administration brought anti-Sovietism to a new peak in its response to developments over Afghanistan.

The focus around which this right-wing pressure has built up is Senate ratification of the SALT II treaty. Refusing to recognize the essential parity between the USA and the USSR, on which the SALT process rests, the Pentagon and segments of the monopoly business community and their allies in Congress and the administration continue their efforts to return to concepts of U.S. dominance characteristic of the years immediately following World War II. Even before Presidents Carter and Brezhnev signed the treaty in June 1979, these forces were doing all in their power to make the treaty hostage to enormous increases in military spending, to the development of new weapon systems designed to destabilize the balance. Their primary tool was perpetuation of the "Soviet threat" myth through skillful manipulation of the media. The administration used Afghanistan as an excuse for a move to shelve the agreement altogether.

Throughout this period there have been influential individuals and groups, within and outside the ruling class, which have sought to bring to the fore a more reasoned view. They have seen the dangers of U.S. intensification of the arms race, both for world peace and for the U.S. people, and have upheld the necessity for continued U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations and improved relations between the two countries.

A mainspring of anti-Soviet propaganda in the U.S. since World War II has been the constant allegations that the Soviets are striving for military

dominance. In the recent period, organizations such as the Committee on the Present Danger and the American Security Council have stated repeatedly that the Soviet Union has outstripped the U.S. in military capability and is engaged in a massive, continuing arms build-up.

Is that so indeed? This issue was analyzed in the June 1980 *Defense Monitor*, published by the Center for Defense Information in Washington, DC. The Center is headed by Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRoque, U.S. Navy (Ret.), and includes on its staff and advisory board former high-ranking army, navy and marine officers and administration figures as well as prominent business people. Its statement of purpose indicates that it "supports a strong defense but opposes excessive expenditures or forces."

Defense Monitor approaches the issue of the U.S.-Soviet military balance as follows:

"There is an ingrained tendency in our government to overstate Soviet military power and understate U.S. and allied strengths ...

"Even utilizing the CIA's questionable methodology for comparing military budgets (which assumes that the Soviets pay as much as the U.S. does for soldiers and weapons), combined NATO military spending has exceeded that of the Warsaw Pact for many years ...

"From all reliable reports, the Russians look at their armed forces primarily as reasonable defensive measures to protect the Soviet Union from pressing military threats ... Military security is a serious business in the Soviet Union, but it is perceived as a painful burden thrust upon the Soviet people."

Former CIA staff member Arthur Macy Cox, speaking in May 1979 at a symposium on "Myths and Realities of the 'Soviet Threat,'" sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, DC, commented on the origins of perceptions of the Soviets as number one militarily:

"In March 1979 Charles Duncan, Deputy Secretary of Defense, said, 'Why, you may ask, do some have the view that the Soviet Union has become the world's number one military power? The answer is that to a large extent we have created the image ourselves in the understandable desire to reverse the anti-defense mood and the propensity for reduced defense budgets of the early 1970s.' That is a blatant admission that these perceptions have been generated by our own government, repeated by our own leaders in their speeches, and promoted by Secretary of Defense Brown, running completely counter to other arguments that need to be made in light of the politics of arms control."

The methodology of developing the Soviet threat myth was the subject of former Defense Department intelligence analyst Henry Nash. Now a professor of

political science at Hollins College in Virginia, he wrote in April 1980: "Another facet of DOD research was the practice of developing reports in terms of the so-called 'worst case' situation. With regard to assessments of Soviet military capabilities, for example, analysts strained to depict the most extreme and threatening dimensions of the Soviet Union's ability to develop the full resources of its military potential. The worst case approach to 'research' was encouraged by the Department of Defense since, to the extent that Soviet military potentialities were described in their most horrendous dimensions, the Department strengthened its chances to motivate Congress to provide increased defense funds. Furthermore, the worst case approach imposed no constraints on the analysts' imaginative freedom to estimate future levels of enemy weaponry."²

George F. Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to Moscow and now professor emeritus at Princeton University's Institute for Advanced Studies, wrote in the March 19, 1980 issue of *Inquiry*: "I find myself unable to accept the reasons commonly offered to justify this wave of alarmism. The main one of these is the alleged menacing growth of Soviet military capabilities — a growth greater, we are told, than defensive considerations could alone justify, and thus indicative of aggressive intentions. I have the deepest doubts about this thesis. The image it reflects of the Soviet leadership — its nature, its concerns, its situation — is distorted and unreal. And the figures used to support it are in many instances tendentious and misleading."

Later in the same article, speaking of the motivation for the upsurge in anti-Soviet propaganda, Kennan observed: "What is most disturbing about this recent vogue of uncritical American anti-Sovietism is the subjective nature of the motivation. It is obviously not based on any careful scrutiny of external reality; nor do its devotees seem to be particularly concerned for the external effects of their positions. It appears to be designed primarily to serve internal objectives."³

One tangible result of the anti-Soviet propaganda barrage has been the approval for research, development and production of a variety of new mass-destruction weapons systems, each more alarming than the last. Former Lockheed senior engineer Robert C. Aldridge writes in the January 19, 1980 issue of *The Nation*:

"Behind the development of these unthinkable weapons systems lies another crucial element of military strategy — the systematic deluding of an already uniformed public. Most prominent here is the Russian scare. To prevent meaningful reductions in weapons during treaty talks⁴ (with a corresponding reduction in business profits), the American public is told about all the devices the USSR could be or might be building. The Russians are achieving a hard-target kill capability, it is said. Yet this rhetoric fails to make a qualitative comparison with U.S. arms research. A careful analysis of the entire picture, which can be extracted from official documents, if one has the technical knowl-

edge and patience to do it, reveals that the United States is leading in every aspect of weapons development."

A penetrating analysis of U.S. military power and strategy prepared in recent years is *The Price of Defense: A New Strategy for Military Spending*, published in 1979 by Times Books, New York. Its authors, who call themselves the Boston Study Group, include a former researcher with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology physics professor who was a nuclear physicist with the Manhattan Project which developed the atomic bomb, and a Harvard University political scientist who has been an intelligence specialist in Soviet affairs for the U.S. Army Security Agency and a staff member of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In his introduction to the book, J. William Fulbright, former chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, says the book is "precisely the kind of study that should receive careful attention and analysis by our highest ranking military officers as well as the civilian heads of our military services."

The Boston Study Group characterizes the relative military strengths of the two countries and concludes that the Soviet armed forces "are more defensively oriented" and that "the overall impact of current and likely future developments in Soviet forces does not warrant any new or special concern for the security of this country or its allies."

"Recent allegations of a drastic Soviet military buildup and a 'Soviet threat' are," the Group concludes, "grossly exaggerated and often based on limited analyses and data. Simple numerical comparisons of troops, expenditures, and weapons inventories present misleading and oftentimes false conclusions. Proper analysis of the Soviet-American military balance is complex and permits much less than firm, exact conclusions."

Richard J. Barnet, author of *Global Reach* and *The Giants: Russia and America* and co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies, was quoted on the consequences of the U.S. commitment to arms development, in *The Churchman*: "It is the U.S., not the Soviet Union, that is approaching a theoretical first-strike capability . . . To be obsessed by the Soviet threat in a world in which more than one billion people starve, half the global work force is projected to be without a minimally paying job by the year 2000, and industrial civilization is close to collapse because political paralysis and greed have kept us from solving the energy crisis is, quite literally, to be blinded by hate . . . hate is death."⁵

Jerry F. Hough, professor of political science at Duke University and a frequent visitor to the USSR, observed in *The Nation*: "... we are a long way from accepting the kind of restraints on ourselves that we demand from the Russians and from tolerating Soviet behavior that we take for granted as permissible for ourselves. The same forces that are leading the charge against the Soviet Union will be the first to call for invocation of the Monroe Doc-

trine if Guatemala or El Salvador undergo internal Communist revolutions."⁶

Coleman Young, Mayor of Detroit, Michigan, observed: "The chief danger to this country is in the poverty and deprivation that too many Americans live in and not Afghanistan."

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, which has a large component of "defense" workers among its members, stated: "War and the threat of war serves America's corporate interests but it doesn't serve the people's interests. Let those who propose war go fight it. We offer economic conversion (from military to civilian production — M.B.) as the different solution."

The necessity that the U.S. administration accept the essential equality of the Soviet Union in world affairs was a major theme of former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance when he spoke at Harvard University on June 5, 1980: "There is a pervasive fallacy that America could have the power to order the world just the way we want it to be. It assumes, for example, that we could dominate the Soviet Union — that we could prevent it from being a superpower — if we chose to do so. This obsolete idea has more to do with nostalgia than with present-day reality."

"Spread over the widest territory of any nation on earth, the Soviet Union has its own strategic interests and goals. From a state of underdevelopment and the ravages of war, it has built formidable military and industrial resources. We should not underestimate these resources any more than we should

exaggerate them. We must preserve and manage a position of essential equivalence with the Soviet Union. It is naive to believe that the Russians will play by our rules any more than we will accept theirs. It is naive to believe that they — any more than we — would willingly accept a position of second best in military strength."⁷

Many public organizations and individuals in the USA are coming out ever more resolutely against the dangerous foreign-policy course of the U.S. ruling circles. The above statements show clearly that there are divisions within the U.S. ruling class in the approach to the crucial problems of today. The existence of this more realistic view of Soviet intentions and actions, and of the need to improve U.S.-Soviet relations, is an important factor in the fundamental struggle of peace champions in the USA. They demand governmental policies which treat the Soviet Union as an equal partner in a vitally necessary search for peace and mutually-agreed disarmament measures.

Marilyn Bechtel
editor, *New World Review* (USA),
(Daniel Rosenberg of the NWR staff
assisted in compiling the statements)

1. *Defense Monitor*, June 1980.
2. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April 1980.
3. *Inquiry*, March 17, 1980.
4. SALT II. — Ed.
5. *Churchman*, October 1979.
6. *The Nation*, March 1, 1980.
7. *The New York Times*, June 6, 1980.

Stay the butcher's hand

AGAINST REPRESSION AND PERSECUTION

At the end of November 1980 three ANC combatants, Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi aged 28, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo aged 19, and Naphtali Menana aged 24, were sentenced to death for high treason by the Pretoria Supreme Court; six other freedom fighters in the same trial were sentenced to a total of 90 years' imprisonment on the notorious Robben Island prison.

Throughout the trial the "accused" demonstrated optimism, courage and heroism. Every day in their cells they would sing freedom songs, including the popular American protest song "We Shall Overcome." After the racist judge had imposed these severe sentences, the nine militants gave the ANC clenched fist salute and sang the National Anthem of the oppressed masses with pride and dignity. The friends and relatives in the public gallery responded by shouting *Amandla Ngawethu* (Power to the People) and *Amandla Africa* (Power to Africa). In the face of the heavily armed police with vicious dogs, the people outside the court-room

sang freedom songs and expressed their solidarity with those sentenced.

Those sentenced to death have been given leave to appeal. The ANC and SACP are calling for a massive worldwide campaign to compel the racist regime to commute the death sentence. The international community should do all it can to save the lives of the three ANC fighters and Marcus Kateka, a member of SWAPO, the sole organization legitimately representing the people of occupied Namibia, who was sentenced to death a few months earlier. Their only "crime" is hatred of racism, apartheid, colonialism and imperialism. Such a campaign would once more demonstrate that the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia enjoy the moral and material support of the international community and that their struggle against racism and colonialism is just and legitimate.

At the time the death sentences were passed, the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, signed on behalf of the ANC and its military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation), the relevant Geneva Conventions on the humanitarian conduct of war. This

is the first time that the International Red Cross has received such an official declaration, comrade Tambo said, "In consequence, we demand that the South African regime make a similar commitment in accordance with the present-day rules of war, to treat the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe as protected combatants."* The campaign to save the lives of the four fighters for freedom and national

*Morning Star, November 29, 1980, p. 5.

liberation is closely linked to the struggle to compel the racist regime to respect and adhere to the above-mentioned Geneva Conventions.

The South African regime's resistance is growing more fierce, its actions more brutal. But the struggle for the liberation of South Africa from racism and apartheid is rapidly gaining momentum. Freedom fighters are not to be intimidated!

Essop Pahad
South African journalist

Book review

PUERTO RICO'S RIGHT TO ITS OWN CULTURE

Juan Flores, *Insularismo e ideologia burguesa en Antonio Pedreira* (The Insularism and Bourgeois Ideology of Antonio Pedreira). Havana, Ediciones Casa de las Americas, 1979, 98 pp.

An important objective of the oppressed peoples' struggle for independence is to free national culture from colonial and neo-colonial fetters. This is central to the essay under review, whose author is a noted Puerto Rican literary critic; it has been awarded a prize by the Casa de las Americas cultural center of Havana.

This essay has aroused interest in Puerto Rico itself and among that country's intellectuals living in the United States like the author. It has enlivened discussion on the destiny of national culture and its role in the national liberation struggle.

Puerto Rico, a small island in the Caribbean, has been under colonial rule for centuries. The Spaniards who settled there shortly after Columbus' second expedition ruthlessly exploited the indigenous population, which was gradually exterminated. Descendants of the conquistadors and of the slaves brought from Africa founded a new nation in Puerto Rico.

In 1898, when the Puerto Rican patriots' victory over the forces of a declining Spain seemed imminent, the United States occupied the island and turned it into a virtual colony. The status of a state "freely associated" with the USA — a status nominally granted to Puerto Rico and laid down in its 1952 Constitution — left the country's colonial dependence unchanged.

In its interpretation of the ups and downs of Puerto Rican history, bourgeois propaganda insists that the Puerto Ricans lack national consciousness and culture and have become assimilated by the Americans. The obvious purpose of this contention is to justify the nation's increasing subjection to U.S. imperialism.¹

"Who are we?" The Puerto Ricans, who speak Spanish and use the U.S. dollar as their monetary unit, ask themselves this question more and more often. Many have tried to answer it. One of them was Antonio Pedreira,² whose book *Insularism*:

Notes on Puerto Rican Reality, published in San Juan in 1934, was long considered the last word on the problem of national culture.

Juan Flores' essay is the first serious attempt to take critical stock of the views held by Pedreira, a man unquestionably prominent in Puerto Rican letters. It shows Pedreira's bourgeois sectarianism, which led him to deny the contribution of Indians and Blacks to Puerto Rican culture, and describes this as an approach playing into the hands of the U.S. imperialists and of traitors, who call for submission to the foreign oppressor.

According to Pedreira, "Spain was primarily a transmitter of civilization and culture to the Americas" (p. 29). Flores objects by quoting José Martí, Cuba's national hero, who said that "the barbarous inhumanity of conquest and slave-trading ran counter to the humanist declarations accompanying the arrival of the printing press" (pp. 31-32).

"We honestly believe," Pedreira remarked, "that there exists a potential Puerto Rican soul — disjointed, divided and brightly fragmented, resembling a painful puzzle whose pieces have never been put together." That "soul" is devoid, in his view, of all folk content and is only "felt" by a negligible minority. In other words, Pedreira in effect denied the existence of a Puerto Rican culture and his countrymen's ability to be another Latin American people like the Mexicans, Argentinians, Cubans or Brazilians.

Flores traces the roots of Pedreira's historical pessimism to the irrationalism of Ortega y Gasset, a Spaniard, and Oswald Spengler, a German, who, in turn, began with Nietzsche and ended with Franco and Hitler. Drawing an artificial line between culture and civilization, Pedreira claimed that "we are more civilized today but were more cultured yesterday." "In reality," Flores rejoins, "the alleged dynamic concept of culture expounded by Spengler and Pedreira is ultimately a static and isolated vision of the actual processes of social history. Their attempt to formulate a spiritual protest against the reification of human life is, in the final analysis, an act of surrender to it" (p. 78).

Flores also refutes the utopian idea of "cultural national autonomy" advanced by Pedreira, who

failed to see the only way to save the country and its culture in revolutionary action for national liberation and social change.

Credit is due to Flores for proposing a specific, new approach to the cultural patrimony of Puerto Rico. "The task now," he suggests, "is to begin by restoring the authentic history of our culture and to recognize in it a proletarian perspective with its contradictions" (p. 93).

As far as the divided Puerto Rican people are concerned,³ the problem of creating their own culture is now, as in the past, an important part of their struggle for independence. Flores' essay, which is directed against the treasonable ideology of reactionary elements of Puerto Rico's bureaucratic and compradore bourgeoisie, is an indisputable con-

tribution to the solution of this problem.

Raul Valdez Vivo

1. In 1976, President Ford submitted to Congress a bill intended to annex Puerto Rico. The bill was voted down but the ruling circles of the USA, backed by a subservient colonial administration, persist in attempts to put its provisions into effect.

2. Antonio S. Pedreira (1898-1939), Puerto Rican writer, literary critic and university lecturer. He expressed the sentiments of a section of the local bourgeoisie that was reconciled to U.S. domination in spite of its hostility to U.S. imperialism. His views formed the basis for diverse reactionary concepts alleging that culture can only have a bourgeois content and is outside political and economic struggles.

3. Half of the three million Puerto Ricans are compelled to seek employment in the United States.

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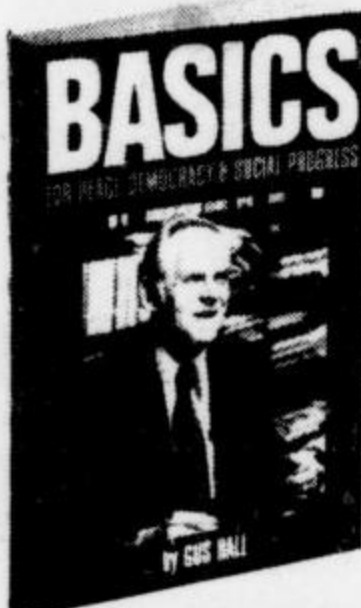
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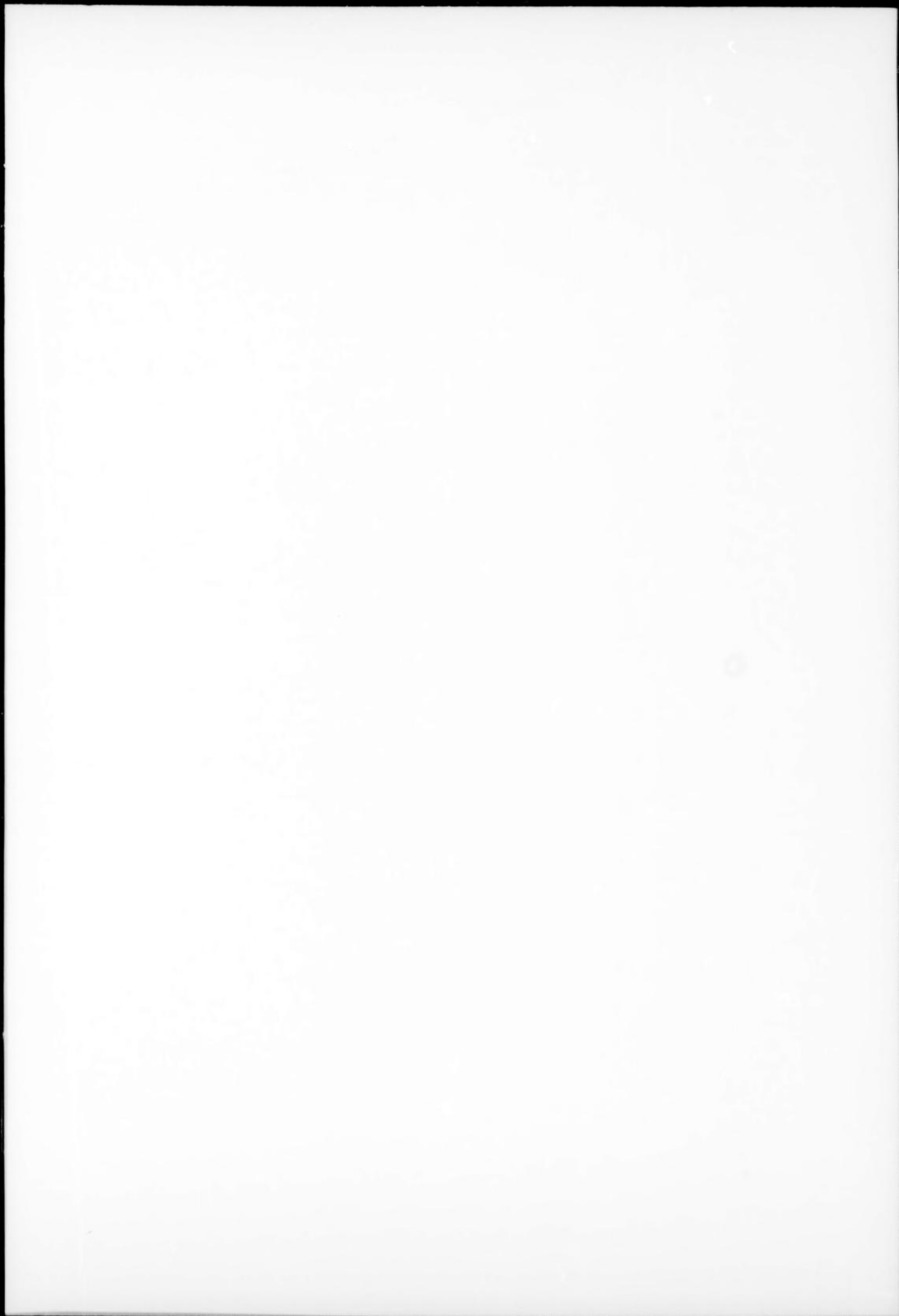
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