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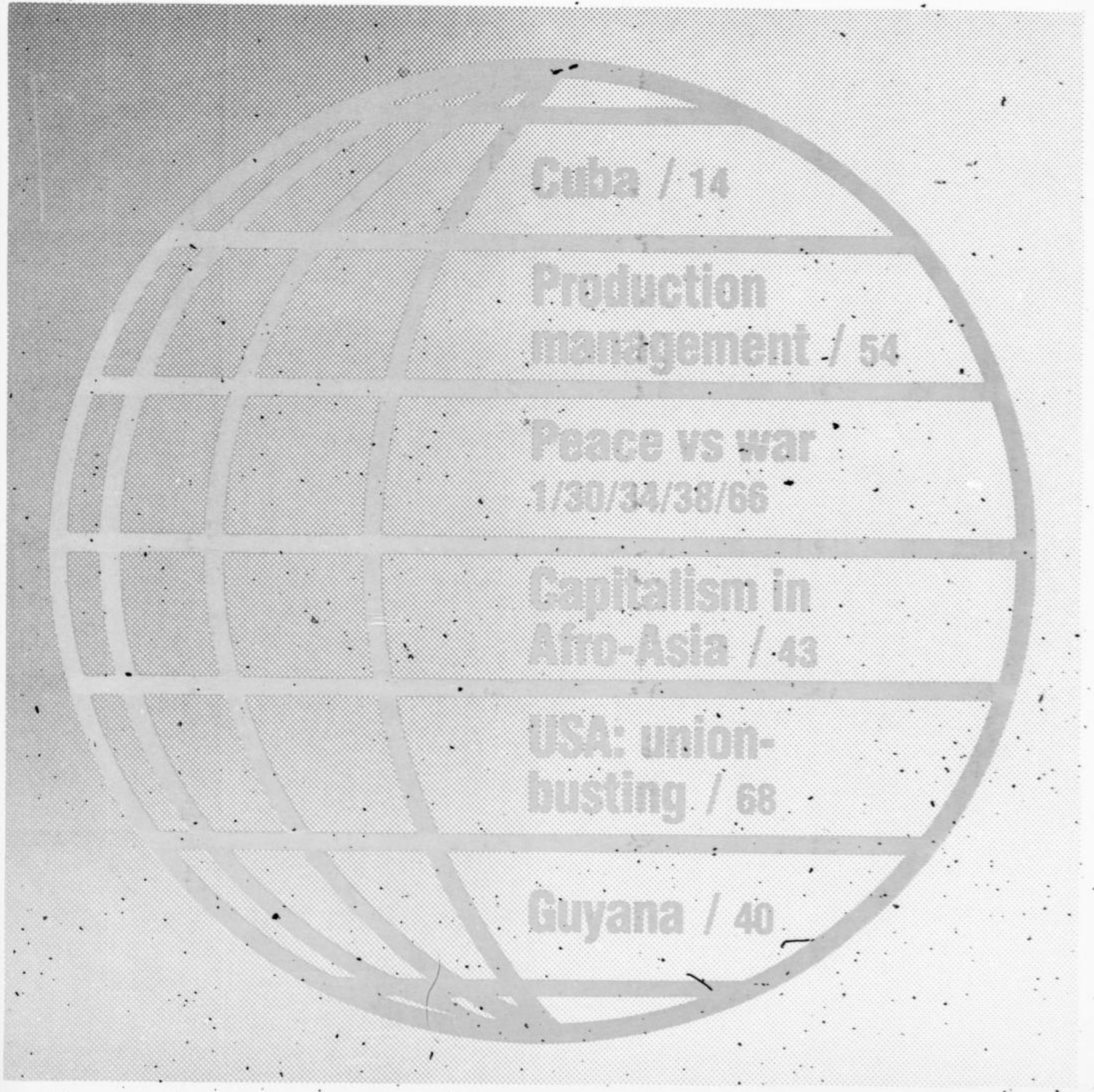
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

December 1981, Volume 24, Number 12 \$1.00



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

December 1981, Vol. 24, No. 12

Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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To our readers

Dear Comrades,

You will have this issue before you in the closing days of the year 1981. The Editorial Board, the Editorial Council, and the entire multinational collective of the journal *World Marxist Review* cordially extend New Year's greetings to you and wish you happiness, health, success in work and struggle and, above all, peace to your home, your family and friends, your people, and all the peoples of our great common home — the planet Earth.

Peace is the imperative of our day, the main concern of millions upon millions, bringing them together in a common front against the threat of war. As always, the problems of preventing war, maintaining peace, and speeding social progress will be the main themes of our journal in the coming year. The editorial staff will bend every effort to make the journal conform more fully with its designation, that of

a collective rostrum of communists, a publication in which, cooperating voluntarily and on a basis of equality, fraternal parties exchange experience and information, and discuss topical problems. As before, we count also on support from our contributors and readers, publishers and distributors. Every year we get a growing stream of letters, and the editorial staff strives to publish more and more of the material desired by our readers. Thank you for these letters, for your participation in the work of our journal, a participation which we hope will be more active than ever in the coming year.

We wish, dear friends, that 1982 brings to each of you new achievements and contentment in your life and work, and that to all of us, to the communists of the world and all working people it brings further successes in the struggle for peace and socialism, for a radiant future.

A Happy New Year!



Cardinal theme of the year

LEADING PERSONALITIES OF THE WORLD ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT STATE THEIR VIEWS

If we look back to our planet's life in the departing year of 1981 we shall get a multiplex picture. Each country and each people was busy resolving its own problems. Every family and every person had things to do, and joys, sorrows, hopes and plans. But over all this diversity of affairs and concerns, there was a common concern — the exceedingly complex and most urgent of tasks, namely, the defense of peace.

Not for a single day, not for a single hour did the struggle against the threat of war lose its significance, a significance that will not be lost in the coming year. In our age it is equally

acute and urgent (this is still not always appreciated) for the Europeans, the population of the two Americas, the peoples of Africa, and the inhabitants of Asia and Australia. This struggle was the theme of contributions to our journal from party leaders, statesmen, civic personalities and scientists. On the eve of the New Year the journal sent the following questions to a number of leaders of international democratic organizations:

— What were the most salient features of the international situation in the outgoing year?

— What must be done in the incoming year to uphold and strengthen peace?

We publish their replies.

REALISM, OPTIMISM, STAUNCHNESS

Romesh Chandra

President, World Peace Council

In the outgoing year the sharp and dangerous change in the foreign policy of the leading imperialist power, the USA, was seen as an incontrovertible fact. The hallmarks of the Reagan administration's line are a giant drive for armaments, an unparalleled growth of military spending, renunciation of the principles and understandings underlying détente, bellicose anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, and a resurrection of the postulates and morals of the cold war years. To this must be added its piratical actions on the international scene and its blunt statements that it was prepared to use force, including nuclear weapons, to secure to U.S. imperialism the possibility of dictating its will to the peoples of the world, of oppressing them with impunity, and plundering the wealth of foreign nations.

Let us recall how things developed:

— As early as January, Ronald Reagan made it clear that he would pursue a policy of strength.

— The White House decided to go ahead with the production of neutron bombs, MX missiles, B-1 bombers, and Trident submarines. The U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared that there were things more important than peace.

— Washington proclaimed a new military doctrine in accordance with which the USA and its allies had to be able to fight two big wars simultaneously.

— The USA steps up its interference in the affairs of Latin American and Caribbean states, uses bacteriological weapons against Cuba, extends undisguised military assistance to the criminal junta in El Salvador, and organizes a military provocation against Libya.

— With the aid from Pakistan and China, Washington is continuing its undeclared war against Afghanistan. The USA is building up its military presence in the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, and the Persian Gulf which is fraught with the danger of intervention. In the Far East U.S. imperialism is bringing Japanese militarism back to life.

— The Pentagon and NATO are pressing on with their plans to turn Europe, a continent where détente was born and achieved its greatest successes, into Washington's nuclear hostage, a theater intended for the hostilities contemplated by it.

This list could be continued. With the vigorous support from the world's strongest

imperialist power, the forces of reaction and war have reinforced their activities in various parts of the world. Had this support been withheld, there would have been no provocations against Lebanon, no barbarous Israeli bombing in Iraq, and no South African aggression against Angola.

In short, it would be hard to name a place in the world that is not menaced by the USA's military and political line. There is no longer any doubt that Washington has its sights on creating an eve-of-war situation in the world. *Never before had humankind seen the threat of an all-destroying nuclear war with such intensity and clarity as in 1981.* This threat has never been so ominous.

While we realistically assess the magnitude of the threat to our planet, we should assess, just as realistically, the growing potentialities for averting it. Broad sections of the public are outraged by the resurgence of imperialism's notion that the 20th century, even if only its very end, can be turned into a "century of the USA" by force of arms. *The year 1981 has witnessed a further growth of the struggle for peace.* The anti-war actions have been more massive than the biggest actions of the peace champions in the past.

The geography of the peace movement has widened. Last September more than half a million Americans in Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco and other cities demonstrated in protest of the White House's nuclear program. The slogan of young American peace fighters, "Better active today than radioactive tomorrow," is finding a response among different strata of the U.S. population. Anti-war actions are developing even faster in countries regarded by the USA as its allies and which it intends to use as cannon fodder in the big war it is planning. The peace movement in Europe is acquiring diverse forms. In the FRG hundreds of thousands of people are taking part in marches, rallies and demonstrations demanding that the Bonn government deny the country's territory for the deployment of U.S. weapons. Massive actions are developing against U.S. medium-range missiles in Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark and Norway. The movement is spreading to neutral states. Large anti-war actions have taken place in India, Japan and other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The awareness is growing among their participants that there is an inseparable link between the struggle for full national and social liberation and the struggle against the military threat from imperialism.

An encouraging fact is that the mass, social

base of the peace movement is broadening. Today it is a coalition of diverse organizations and institutions and embraces all strata and all age groups. Among the fighters against the threat of war there are World War II veterans and people who were born and reached adulthood under conditions of peace, atheists and believers, members of different political parties, trade unions, and youth and women's organizations. It is becoming ever clearer that people in different countries and of different political persuasions and religious beliefs, of different classes are concerned about the seriousness of the situation and see their responsibility for the destiny of humankind. They are prepared to conduct a broad dialogue in the interests of peace and declare their desire for cooperation. It is becoming imperative to develop international joint action platforms making it possible to unite the peace forces in an anti-imperialist front of peace, progress and democracy.

It seems to me that a good foundation for defining common aims and drawing up such platforms can be provided by the resolutions of the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament, the appeal for peace issued by the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, and the set of Soviet proposals on strengthening peace known as the Peace Program for the 1980s. No unbiased person can fail to see these documents as telescoping the demands of progressive humankind.

I feel that it is very important to emphasize that the realization of the initiatives envisaging measures to end the arms race and strengthen peace and international security and cooperation does not spell out "unilateral benefits." It holds out no benefit only for those who grow rich on war preparations. It benefits all who see themselves as part and parcel of humankind and are aware of their responsibility for its present and future. That is why I say that these initiatives are a good foundation for uniting all the forces acting against the threat of war.

Under the conditions characterizing the planet's life at the close of one year and the beginning of the next, the task of consolidating peace is becoming the national and international mission of all people of good will. The second special UN General Assembly Session on disarmament is to be held in 1982. The participation of the peace movement in the first such session was expressed by 700 million signatures that were, in fact, 700 million votes for disarmament. Our participation in the second session will be an even larger mass action.

The United Nations Organization has adopted many good resolutions, important documents aimed at lowering the level of the war threat. It is not beyond the power of the peoples to contribute to their compliance, to compel the governments unwilling to abide by these resolutions to modify their policies and abandon plans of aggression.

It is gratifying that a decision has been taken to begin talks on the medium-range missiles deployed in Europe. But the peoples are adamant on the point that these talks must not be reduced to a delaying tactic; they must lead to the removal of the very discernible threat of war. The world cannot approve talks that will only postpone the use of weapons that can destroy us 20 times over.* These must be talks that will limit armaments today and lead to the total prohibition of nuclear and all other weapons of mass destruction.

Perhaps today, despite its unparalleled dimensions, the peace movement is not yet strong enough to achieve this aim. But it will most certainly be strong enough tomorrow. As for the World Peace Council, it will spare no effort to promote further unity among the peace forces.

A PHENOMENON OF THE 1980s

Freda Brown

President,

Women's International Democratic Federation

The outgoing year has been rich in developments that have a direct bearing on the main problem confronting humankind, namely, the problem of peace or war. As I look back to these developments — to acts of good will and peaceableness, and to the undisguisedly aggressive actions of militarist circles — I think I can say that one of the deepest imprints was made in my mind by the Peace March-81. It began in Copenhagen on June 22 and ended with a most impressive anti-war demonstration in Paris on August 6. Its participants, who numbered thousands, marched more than 1,200 kilometers across the territory of five European countries. However, I feel its importance is not in its numbers but in the fact that it introduced a qualitatively new element into the anti-war movement.

The idea of the march was not suggested by any organization: trade union, women's, youth, or other body. It came from two Norwegian women, who belong to no political party.

*The annual arms allocations in the world has reached the astronomical figure of \$500 billion. — Ed.

Seemingly, it was hard for them to expect any organized support for their idea. But the fact is that there was a very quick response from thousands upon thousands of people united neither by a common social status, religious belief, nor political persuasion. What united them was something else: their understanding of the simple truth that they live in one and the same world.

Our world is not a passenger train. A train driver, noting a damaged bridge, for instance, may be able to stop the train and save the passengers. But the world has no driver, while the militarists with the Reagan administration at their head are assiduously digging a hole in the path of humankind into which it may vanish. The bombs used in the Second World War left craters measuring 10-odd meters across. The nuclear weapons in present-day stockpiles have an aggregate explosive power of roughly 60 billion tons of TNT. Nobody will undertake to predict the effects of an explosion of such power, but I believe that they would eclipse the horrors of an Apocalypse. The danger is much too great for anybody to have the shadow of a doubt about the need to intensify the struggle for peace and use all available means in this struggle. Without exaggeration it may be said that this is now understood by millions of people.

This, in my opinion, is what generated the phenomenon of the early 1980s, namely that the impetus to a mass political action (as the Peace March-81) can be given by the initiative of ordinary people who had never before had anything to do with public actions. Rising above their narrow interests, political and religious prejudices and convictions, the Peace Marchers united and moved in step to express their desire to live in peace.

Albeit over a relatively short distance, I marched with them. Alongside were different people: young, older, and old; men and women, and mothers with children, many of whom were infants in arms. There was rain. There were spells of cold. But they never left the column. Opening umbrellas and taking children up in their arms they moved on. A young woman said: "If a neutron bomb exploded, this carriage may possibly survive, but my son will perish. I cannot let that happen and that is why I am here." Later she returned home, but her place was taken by another mother with a child. This was an unforgettable relay race, with the difference that runners pass on the baton, while Peace Marchers passed on the idea of defending and strengthening peace

to everyone they met, to everyone living in the towns and villages on their route.

The struggle for peace is visibly growing in all countries, and women are now much more involved in this struggle than even in the 1950s, when the cold war was at its height. Precisely women are initiating mass anti-war actions more and more frequently. Virtually on the day the World Congress of Women opened in Prague news arrived of a demonstration organized by the New Women's Association of Japan. Delegates from Tokyo brought petitions of protest against the threat being created by the arms race started by the imperialists. The petitions contained 242,000 signatures, and not only those of women.

At our congress attention was focussed on ways and means of defending and strengthening peace. First, because the Women's International Democratic Federation that convened the congress had itself come into being soon after the Second World War as a manifestation of the striving of women of different countries to prevent a repetition of the horrors of war. Second, because the danger of a world nuclear conflict breaking out has loomed large. Needless to say, other issues were also discussed at the congress. The stand of delegates on individual issues far from always coincided, of course. But we were of a single mind in the main, in believing that peace is the sole condition under which all our hopes and aspirations can be fulfilled, including the attainment of full equality in all countries and in all spheres of public life, and the achievement of national liberation. Only under conditions of peace can we look forward to a happy future for coming generations. The concept "peace," as the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev pointed out in his message of greetings to the Prague congress, had indeed become all-embracing.

The incoming year of 1982 will evidently witness important international meetings and negotiations. But for us, women, as for all public opinion, merely negotiations are not enough. We want to see concrete steps toward disarmament, the consolidation of security and confidence-building.

Conscious of their responsibility for the life of present and future generations, the congress participants expressed their belief that peace can be preserved if we all fight resolutely for it. We shall move together with all who really want peace, whether they are communists, socialists, or liberals, Catholics, Buddhists, Orthodox Christians or Moslems, civilian politicians, businessmen or generals — it is a fact that in the NATO countries some generals

are urging disarmament. We shall act together. This is our program for the next and subsequent years. The threat of war must be removed once and for all.

THE WILL OF WORKING PEOPLE

Ibrahim Zakaria

Acting General Secretary,
World Federation of Trade Unions

Questions related to the struggle for peace, disarmament and détente receive the unremitting attention of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In 1981 these questions have acquired special significance for, as was noted at the 32nd session of the WFTU General Council, the international situation is causing well-founded anxiety.

Workers, office employees and professionals are seeing the threat of war with growing clarity and in their millions are joining the broad movement against the nuclear danger. I am not speaking of episodic actions by individual personalities, by representatives of progressive public opinion, and political activists — the struggle for peace has become a mass movement not only in Europe. The changes that have taken place in the stand of the trade unions of developing countries are indicative. Formerly, these unions showed no particular interest in the anti-war movement, believing that for them it was of minor importance. The situation is different today: in Asian, African and Latin American countries trade unions are increasingly tying in their aims of surmounting social and economic backwardness, building up a national economy, and raising the people's living standards with the problem of war and peace.

In mobilizing the masses for struggle against war, our Federation accentuates the need to end the arms race, which is devouring incalculable material and human resources. A glaring illustration of monstrous militarist waste is the recent decision of the U.S. government to spend more than \$180 billion on increasing its arsenal of strategic nuclear and other modern means of warfare. Let me remind you that this is being done at the expense of a drastic cutback on social programs.

The view is sometimes aired that renunciation of weapons production would create further unemployment. On the basis of conclusions drawn from studies conducted in Europe and other regions of the world, our reply is that far from increasing unemployment a switch to civilian production would be a

major factor creating new jobs. A world trade union conference on the social and economic aspects of disarmament is to be convened in mid-December in Paris to show the destructive consequences of the arms race and, at the same time, the need and realistic possibilities of utilizing the funds released by an end to that race for the solution of acute global problems, an enlargement of social programs, and aid to developing nations. This conference is being sponsored by trade unions of different orientations from socialist, capitalist and developing countries. We expect the conference to go beyond a theoretical consideration of problems and give concrete answers to the question of what the trade unions should do in the ranks of those who are trying to erect a barrier to the stockpiling of armaments.

For the trade union movement that is upholding the interests of working people, resistance to imperialist interference, defense of social gains and the democratic rights of working people, and action countering the threat of war are indivisible. This is a guideline principle of our Federation. Whereas four or five years ago it was practically the only international association of trade unions that gave special attention to the struggle for peace, today this struggle is being joined by trade union organizations of a different orientation that are far from subscribing to all our guidelines. It can only be regretted that the leadership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions remains deaf to the voice of the masses and refuses to cooperate with the WFTU in this area. However, despite this negative stand, many large trade unions affiliated to the ICFTU support the anti-war initiatives of our Federation and actively participate in their implementation. The gravitation toward unity is growing at different levels of the trade union movement, especially at the grass-roots level, and this is a manifestation of the general striving to remove the threat of war hanging over the world. Were the policy of the ICFTU more in keeping with the will and aspirations of the unions affiliated to it, we believe it would contribute to the success of the joint struggle in the interests of the working people the world over.

We are confident that 1982 will provide more convincing evidence than ever that the peace forces are able to close the road to militarist madness. The question of how working-class organizations can and should contribute to this will undoubtedly hold a central place at the 10th World Trade Union Congress scheduled to be held in Havana next February. This congress will give representatives of more than 250

million unionized working people the opportunity to exchange views and work out a coordinated action program that will help to avert the threat of a world conflagration. Nothing but peace creates the situation conducive most of all to the realization of the social aspirations of the working people.

A WORLDWIDE REFERENDUM

Bishop Karoly Toth

President, Christian Peace Conference

Mankind stands before a sort of worldwide referendum on the question of whether it can continue its existence on a peaceful earth or whether it will retreat and thereby open the road for nuclear omnicide, in other words, total annihilation. Members of the Christian peace movement believe that religious organizations likewise have a role of no little significance to play in this referendum.

For 23 years our Christian Peace Conference has been active in opposing the nuclear war threat and the arms race and urging peace, détente and understanding among nations. Acting on our religious convictions and in the name of Christian humanism we have joined the anti-war movement. Christianity teaches that life is a gift to the human being from above. To defend it, to uphold the right of people to life we are prepared to cooperate with all forces, regardless of their ideology and world view. I should like to accentuate the fact that the standpoints of Christians and the communists coincide on this question.

The Christian Church and all its work are most closely linked to the social conditions in which it exists. In socialist countries Christians have been participating in the struggle for peace for three decades. In capitalist countries the need for this struggle was realized by Christians somewhat later. Only recently the label of communist agitators was tagged to clergymen who called for the defense of peace. Today the Church speaks freely of peace, champions peace and understands that its defense is the most important task today.

Religious organizations opposed to the threat of a nuclear war have sharply stepped up their activities of late in countries like the Netherlands, the FRG, Britain, and even the USA. In these and other countries the anti-war movement of religious circles has become a significant political factor.

Of course, the calls of the communists for joint and parallel actions by various social and

political forces in the struggle for peace are read differently by the different Christian organizations. Some want such cooperation despite ideological and political differences; others feel they have to work out their own, special solution. Moreover, there are groups of Christians, notably in the USA and a number of West European countries, who are guided by a spirit of bellicose anti-communism. The task of preserving peace is not central to such groups; they give priority to fighting communism. However, a point is that groups of this kind are a minority, and they have found themselves in isolation.

As regards the Christian Peace Conference it makes a diverse contribution to the anti-war movement. First, it is largely to its credit that a change has taken place in the thought pattern of people toward the need for defending peace and for broad cooperation with all people acting for peace. Second, within the framework of our movement we have helped to set up a large number of regional organizations in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. Today religious associations in more than 80 countries are members of the Christian Peace Conference. Third, we took a committed part in the World Conference of Religious Leaders for Lasting Peace, Disarmament and Equitable Relations Between Nations that was held in Moscow in June 1977. The conference denounced the U.S. administration's intention to manufacture neutron bombs. Of the latest campaigns, in which our organization participated, mention may be made of the anti-war demonstration that took place last October in Bonn (it was the largest-ever in the FRG) and of the Church Peace Week last November.

During the outgoing year the Christian Peace Conference was able to contribute to strengthening the peace movement. However, we should be clear on the point that alone, without allies, we cannot defend peace effectively. For that reason we advocate unity among all the peace forces.

As we see it, the most important thing in the coming year is to ensure peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations and to get the political leaders of countries with different social systems to sit down to negotiations. If they talk to each other, guns will be silent. Otherwise there may be a further rise in tension, and it may happen that guns will talk instead of people.

We are moved by hope. We believe that the world was created for life, not for destruction. In the name of life, we shall fight.

Revolution and the intelligentsia

Isaac Mints

Member, USSR Academy of Sciences

No sooner was Marxism evolved, than all of its postulates came under attack. The fiercest and most frequent attacks were made on Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the classes supporting it, and of the role and place of the intelligentsia in social development. The years passed, one epoch was succeeded by another, the arguments of Marxism's adversaries were reconstructed, but through the history of this ideological struggle, up to the present, there have been two major orientations, two lines along which the Marxist theory of the intelligentsia was misrepresented. The first is the assertion that Marxism gives no consideration for the intelligentsia and denies it a role in the building of the new society; the second consists of attempts to play the intelligentsia, as an educated élite, off against the "ignorant" working masses, to inflate the role of the intelligentsia to the point of seeing it as society's leading force.

Marx and Engels ridiculed and exposed the misinformed charge that the revolutionary working-class movement takes a negative stand toward the intelligentsia. They repeatedly made the point that socialism would need more intellectual forces than capitalism ever did because under socialism the task would be to run not only the political apparatus but also the entire national economy. Just under a hundred years ago, on December 19, 1893, Engels wrote to an international congress of socialist students: "The bourgeois revolutions of the past required universities to provide lawyers as the best raw material from which their political leaders were molded; for the liberation of the working class there will be a need, in addition, for doctors, engineers, chemists, agronomists and other specialists, for then it will be a matter of learning to run not only the political machine but also the whole of social production, and for this there will be a need not for sonorous rhetoric but for extensive knowledge."¹

With equal definitiveness and constancy Marxism rejected the playing off of an "educated" élite against the allegedly illiterate proletariat. In a reply to a question from Otto von Boenigk, who was planning to deliver a lecture

on socialism and doubted the expediency and likelihood of socialist changes under the existing distinctions in education, consciousness levels, and so on of the different classes of society, Engels wrote: "I cannot see how you can speak of the ignorance of the masses in Germany after the eloquent proof of political maturity that our workers gave in their victorious struggle against the law on Socialists. It seems to me that the pseudo-learned presumptuousness of our so-called educated is a much more serious obstacle. Of course, we are still short of technicians, agronomists, engineers, chemists, architects and so on, but at worst we can buy them for ourselves as the capitalists are doing, and if some traitors — such are bound to be found in that society — are properly punished as a lesson to others, they will realize that it is in their own interests not to rob us anymore."²

This was also Lenin's approach to the intelligentsia and to enlisting specialists for the building of socialism. It did not fall to the lot of Marx and Engels to personally apply their theory of the intelligentsia in such construction — they articulated general theses, which served the communists as guidelines in the political struggle against falsifiers of Marxism. The problem of translating these theses into the practice of building the new society was resolved by Lenin. He amplified the general theoretical premises of Marxism on the intelligentsia and enriched them with conclusions from concrete reality.

Lenin's doctrine on the intelligentsia

In elaborating the question of the motive forces of the socialist revolution Lenin wrote that these forces are the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasantry. Marxism teaches that not every class or social group joining the revolution is its motive force. The participants in the revolution of February 1917 in Russia included the liberal bourgeoisie, but its sole interest was to depose the autocracy and place itself in power. It did not enter into its calculations to continue and deepen the revolution. Upon seizing power it turned its back on the revolution and became counter-revolutionary.

Marxism regards as motive forces of a revolution the classes interested in consummating that revolution. In Russia only two classes could bring the socialist revolution to its consummation. These were the proletariat and, in alliance with it, the poorest sections of the peasantry. The intelligentsia as a whole did not play the role of the motive force of revolution because it was not a separate, independent class and did not have a definite place in production, as did the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It served the ruling classes in different societies — in feudal and capitalist societies. In a class respect it is heterogeneous.

Early in the 20th century, foreseeing the imminence of revolution, Lenin defined the role, significance and behavior of individual classes in a revolution in *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*. Relative to the intelligentsia, he wrote: "Educated people, and the 'intelligentsia' generally, cannot but revolt against the savage police tyranny of the autocracy, which hunts down thought and knowledge; but the material interests of this intelligentsia bind it to the autocracy and to the bourgeoisie, compel it to be inconsistent, to compromise, to sell its oppositional and revolutionary ardor for an official salary or a share of profits or dividends" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 335).

Repeatedly returning to the question of the intelligentsia, Lenin came to the conclusion that it is a social stratum serving the interests of different classes and acting on their side: there is a proletarian, a petty-bourgeois, and a bourgeois intelligentsia. Because of the intelligentsia's class heterogeneity, Lenin mapped out different tactics toward its individual strata: the proletarian intelligentsia had to be seen as a component part of the motive force of the socialist revolution; the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, as all other petty-bourgeois elements, had to be seen as a vacillating mass and neutralized; the bourgeois intelligentsia, united around big capital and supporting capitalism, had to be fought and its resistance broken.

Lenin gave the question of the intelligentsia a particular attention when the socialist revolution was on the very threshold. He analyzed this question most thoroughly in two fundamental works written on the eve of the October Revolution: *The Impending Catastrophe and How It Must Be Fought* and *Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* With his usual accuracy, profound persuasiveness and crystal clarity, he gave the lie in these works to all the arguments of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois critics who predicted the destruction of the Bolshevik Par-

ty, which was insisting on the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies taking over power, and dispersed the doubts of some party leaders. "Since the 1905 revolution," he wrote, "Russia has been governed by 130,000 landowners, who have perpetrated endless violence against 150,000,000 people, heaped unconstrained abuse upon them, and condemned the vast majority to inhuman toil and semi-starvation.

"Yet we are told that 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party will not be able to govern Russia, govern her in the interests of the poor and against the rich" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 111).

The Bolsheviks were the party of the proletariat, most of them being workers themselves. But there had always been intellectuals in the party. Statistics do not give us exact figures, because intellectuals were listed under the heading of office employees. According to a census, 23 per cent³ of the party's membership at the beginning of 1918 were office employees. These included professional revolutionaries, who had devoted themselves entirely to the cause of the proletariat and were highly educated persons and staunch and tested fighters. The Bolsheviks came to power with competent specialists in their ranks. They were led by political personalities of the caliber of Vladimir Lenin, Yakov Sverdlov, Felix Dzerzhinsky and Joseph Stalin. The party had eminent scientists and publicists (Anatoli Lunacharsky, Mikhail Pokrovsky, Yemelyan Yaroslavsky), brilliant diplomats (Georgi Chicherin, Maxim Litvinov), outstanding engineers (Gleb Krzhizhanovsky, Leonid Krasin), and future military leaders (Mikhail Frunze, Kliment Voroshilov). This group of leading revolutionaries was augmented by thousands of workers steeled by years of political struggle.

Few parties in history have had such a large body of gifted persons. Moreover, the Bolsheviks, who became the ruling party, had a means that no bourgeois party could have. Lenin wrote: "... we have a 'magic way' to enlarge our state apparatus tenfold at once, at one stroke, a way which no capitalist state ever possessed or could possess. This magic way is to draw the working people, to draw the poor, into the daily work of state administration" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 111-112).

The Bolsheviks used this "magic way" with staggering breadth and unequalled daring. The entire country was covered with a huge network of schools and courses where technical and political illiteracy was rapidly wiped out. People of proletarian and peasant origin were given easier access to institutions of higher learning. A mass of talented people, whom

capitalism had rejected and held in a stranglehold, filled the Soviet state apparatus. Together with revolutionary sailors, advanced workers of the Siemens-Schuckert subsidiary in Petrograd reorganized the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; workers of the Putilov factory helped to set up the apparatus of the Ministry of the Interior; workers of the Vyborg district of Petrograd, among whom propaganda and agitation was conducted by Bolsheviks headed by the brilliant pedagogue Nadezhda Krupskaya, helped to reinforce the Ministry of Education. The "magic way" seen by Lenin played an enormous role also in giving the state apparatus executives devoted to the Soviet power, and in training new intellectuals. The proletarian intelligentsia discharged its role in the development of the main motive force of the socialist revolution.

From neutralization to an alliance with the main mass of intellectuals

It proved to be more difficult but nonetheless possible to draw the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia into the building of the new society. A leading role among all the non-proletarian working masses was held by the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties. This was the result of the rapid enlistment into politics of millions of people who had hitherto kept aloof from it, and to the small numerical strength of the proletariat. "A gigantic petty-bourgeois wave," to use Lenin's words, burst upon the political scene and to some extent infected the unstable segments of the proletariat with its ideas. Organizations of different strata of intellectuals mushroomed after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution. All hastened to set up their own associations outside the general trade unions. These organizations were headed not only by Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who called themselves Socialists, but in many cases by members of the bourgeois Constitutional Democratic Party, for instance the All-Russia Teachers' Union, to say nothing of academic circles. These were far removed from the desire to deepen and develop the revolution, and in most cases acted in opposition to it. No society, much less a society under construction, can do without these masses of intellectuals. It was impossible to suppress their vacillation in favor of capitalism, for there were hundreds of thousands, even millions of them — teachers, engineers and doctors.

The counter-revolution set about alienating these masses from the Soviet power, not scrupling to use any means — the slander that the

new power was destroying the intelligentsia, and sabotage to induce intellectuals to refuse to work. Strike funds, which the bourgeoisie — Russian and foreign — kept filled, were formed. Strikers were paid wages two or more months in advance. Sabotage involved government officials, a section of the teachers and, to some extent, even doctors. This was how parties that boasted of their humanism reacted to the power of the people. This alone shows the class egotism and deadly hatred of the bourgeoisie and its accomplices for socialism.

As a matter of fact, to this day the "Sovietologists" assert that sabotage by intellectuals all but wrecked the Bolsheviks' plans for building the new system. However, the scale of this sabotage should not be exaggerated — very far from the entire mass of petty-bourgeois intellectuals was involved. The organizers of sabotage by teachers, for example, admitted that a section of the teachers in Moscow and Petrograd cooperated, while in the provinces they could depend only on a few individuals. In Petrograd, not more than one-seventh of the total number of teachers went on strike.⁴ Vitukhnovsky, a researcher into the history of sabotage by teachers has drawn the correct conclusion that the failure of the strike in Petrograd predetermined the failure of a similar action throughout the country.⁵ In Moscow the teachers demanded a referendum in February 1918: more than 90 per cent voted against strikes.⁶

The sabotage organized by élite organizations of the intelligentsia was put down quite quickly, in two or three months, but it served as additional evidence of the heterogeneity and vacillation of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, and this fact had to be taken into account. After the October Revolution Lenin set in motion the tactic of neutralizing the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. This tactic was violently opposed by all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties with the argument that it was inciting the people against the intelligentsia. In reply to one of them, that was repeating this slander, Lenin declared: "Had we 'incited' anybody against the 'intelligentsia,' we would have deserved to be hanged for it. Far from inciting the people against the intelligentsia, we, on the contrary, in the name of the party, and in the name of the government, urged the necessity of creating the best possible conditions for the intelligentsia" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 230).

The basis of the tactic of neutralizing a class, which Lenin characterized as the "paralyzing of instability," had been developed during the revolution of 1905 in Lenin's *Two Tactics of*

Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution. In this work he defined the relationship between classes in the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions: "The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to completion, allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyzing the bourgeoisie's instability. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population, so as to crush the bourgeoisie's resistance by force and paralyze the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 100).

Relative to different classes one and the same tactic of neutralization was conducted differently. Relative to the bourgeoisie, the purpose of this tactic was, as Lenin insisted, to expose its attempts to pose as a proponent of revolutionary changes, to prevent it from hindering the building of the new society, to compel it to recoil from the revolution (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 100). The approach was different toward the middle peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia: neutralizing these strata and class groups meant not alienating them from the socialist revolution but, on the contrary, allying them to the proletariat, drawing them away from the bourgeoisie, and winning and making every possible use of their support. At the same time, remembering the possibility of their vacillation in favor of the bourgeoisie, this vacillation had to be cut short.

It would be wrong and unjust to speak of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia as a single, integral stratum — in it there are various groups depending on their social and economic status. Rural teachers, a low-paid bracket of workers in education, could hardly make ends meet both under tsarism and under the bourgeois government. Although the All-Russia Teachers' Union claimed it spoke in their name, the teachers were interested in a fundamental change in the character of the government and looked with favor on the October Revolution — they recognized the Soviet government and remained at their posts. This is strikingly confirmed by the fact that in 1918 as many as 8,000 new schools were opened in 17 gubernias alone.⁷

The October Revolution was accepted by eminent poets and writers. It was hailed by Vladimir Mayakovsky. It was predicted, awaited and welcomed wholeheartedly by Alexander Blok. As early as January 1918 he completed his famous poem, *Twelve*, in which he vividly conveyed the greatness of the revo-

lution. The October Revolution was supported by another brilliant poet, Valery Bryusov, who cooperated with the Soviet government and in 1920 joined the Bolshevik Party. The poets who accepted the October Revolution included Sergei Yesenin, who wrote: "During the Revolution I was wholeheartedly on its side but saw everything from my own, peasant angle."⁸ The claims by imperialism's present-day apologists, who quote the words of the French poet Chénier to the effect that "the storm of revolution extinguishes the torch of poetry," and maintain that the "poetry workshop" of the October Revolution consisted solely of the Bolshevik Demyan Bedny are false, as are all their anti-Soviet "concepts."

The many prose writers who sided with the October Revolution included Alexander Serafimovich, Victor Veresayev, Konstantin Trenyev, Sergei Sergeyev-Tsensky and Alexander Grin. Mention must be made of the attitude to the October Revolution taken by the great proletarian writer Maxim Gorky, an attitude that is being misrepresented to this day by imperialism's spokesmen. Gorky vacillated: he underrated the role and strength of the proletariat, fearing that as in many other revolutions the peasants would destroy the socialist revolution as well. He later wrote of his doubts: "When Lenin returned to Russia in 1917 and published his *Theses* it seemed to me that with these *Theses* he was sacrificing the entire numerically small but qualitatively heroic army of politically educated workers and the entire sincerely revolutionary intelligentsia to the Russian peasantry. This sole active force in Russia would be thrown as a pinch of salt into the bog of the countryside and dissolve, vanish without trace, changing nothing in the spirit, life and history of the Russian people."⁹

In a letter to Gorky, Lenin wrote that the reason for his vacillation was that he was surrounded "by the worst elements of the bourgeois intelligentsia" and advised: "You will surely perish if you don't extricate yourself from the environment of bourgeois intellectuals" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 44, p. 285). Gorky took that advice, stopped vacillating, moved to Moscow and devoted himself heart and soul to the building of socialism. He unquestionably played a significant part in drawing leading bourgeois intellectuals to the side of the revolution.

A major factor was the Soviet government's policy of improving the material welfare of intellectuals. The salaries of the lower-paid categories of teachers were raised. Much was done to enlist members of all strata of the intel-

ligentsia into public activity. The people were told that the intelligentsia merited attention and respect. When the teachers saw that wide-ranging measures were being taken to raise the educational level of the people and that the people were eager to acquire knowledge, this served them as the best proof of the advantages of the new system. When the doctors saw what determined measures the Soviet government was taking to combat epidemics and that the public health system was being enlarged to embrace the masses, they gave the new system their admiration. The engineers saw that the Soviet government proceeded to realize on an unparalleled scale construction projects that had until then been gathering dust in archives.

However, stern measures were taken against the élite of the intelligentsia who supported the bourgeoisie and persisted in associating itself with counter-revolutionary conspiracies. "As for the higher officials, of whom there are very few, but who gravitate toward the capitalists," Lenin wrote, "they will have to be dealt with in the same way as the capitalists, i.e., 'severely.' Like the capitalists, they will offer resistance. This resistance will have to be broken" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 107).

Such was the situation regarding the hostile élite of the bourgeois intelligentsia. But even this clamp-down, justified by the acuteness of the struggle, did not last long: by the spring of 1918, as soon as the Soviet government withdrew from the imperialist world war with the signing of the Brest Peace Treaty, Lenin suggested enlisting bourgeois intellectuals into state construction. He wrote the "Draft Plan of Scientific and Technical Work," in which he recommended that the Academy of Sciences should "set up a number of expert commissions for the speediest possible compilation of a plan for the reorganization of industry, and the economic progress of Russia" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 320-321).

The very fact of this address was evidence of a new attitude toward specialists: it was known that most of the top scientists were opposed to the Soviet government, yet Lenin enlisted their aid in compiling the state plan. This cooperation with the entire Academy of Sciences was unprecedented: formerly, assignments were given to individual scientists.

Lenin believed that reason would do away with the temporary suspicion of scientists toward the Soviet government, and that daring plans for the country's economic development would attract specialists and give them the incentive for creative work. He told members of the Academy of Sciences: "I am quite con-

vinced that nowhere in the world will scientists be held in such high esteem as here, in our socialist country. All scientists will be given the best possible conditions for their work. Laboratories, research institutes, and expeditions will all be started on a wide scale and provided with everything that human thought has achieved."¹⁰

Lenin's words were reinforced by the actions of government agencies: despite the difficult situation — the continuing struggle against the resistance of the deposed bourgeoisie, the shortage of food and funds, and so on — universities were opened and research institutes, of which the Academy of Sciences had hardly any, were set up during the very first months following the establishment of Soviet power.

Lenin's suggestion that specialists in all fields of science, culture and technology should be enlisted into creative work became a directive for the party. For instance, in "A Letter to the RCP Organizations on Preparations for the Party Congress," Lenin wrote: "... we must enlist literally all bourgeois specialists (because there are incredibly few of them) — i.e., specialists who have been trained under bourgeois conditions and who have reaped the fruits of bourgeois culture. We must organize things so that, in conformity with the demands of our party program, our working masses may really learn from those bourgeois specialists and at the same time place them in a comradely environment of common labor hand in hand with the masses of rank-and-file workers led by the class-conscious communists (as our party program puts it)" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 406).

The achievements in building socialism and the party's immense organizational and educational work took the intelligentsia from a "neutrality" stand to an alliance with the Soviet government. Two circumstances played a special role in this: first, world imperialism's self-exposure and, second, the collapse of bourgeois parliamentarism. The intelligentsia of Russia saw the "cultured" and "democratic" Western states, as they called themselves, as invaders and enslavers who were drenching occupied Soviet territory in blood. The "civilized barbarians" instituted a reign of ruthless terror on this territory and brought the population incalculable suffering. They placed an embargo on the sale of medicines to the country and thereby contributed to the spread of epidemics.

Many Russian intellectuals of those days at first believed in bourgeois parliamentarism: evidence of this being that the majority of the votes for the Constituent Assembly (in January 1918) went to the Socialist-Revolutionaries and

the Mensheviks. With the help of the interventionists and local counter-revolutionaries the latter managed to establish their rule in parts of the country: the Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the Volga, the Socialist-Revolutionaries in the North and in Siberia, and the Central Ukrainian Rada in which Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks predominated. Despite the assertions of time-servers, "pure democracy" was not to be found in any of these occupied territories if one is not to count as democracy the fact that the rule of the landowners and the bourgeoisie was fully restored there.

The middle peasantry and that section of the intelligentsia that shared its stand, became convinced of the failure of bourgeois democracy, saw the benefits of proletarian democracy and allied themselves with the Soviet government.

Perspicacious as ever, Lenin discerned this shift in the behavior of P. Sorokin, who resigned from the Socialist-Revolutionary Party and walked out of the Constituent Assembly. He saw this not only as a personal step by a politician who realized his mistake, but as a shift by an entire class, and urged the party to foster the change of attitude. He wrote that "the slogan of the moment is make use of the change of attitude toward us which is taking place among them" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 192). He stressed that vacillation on the part of petty-bourgeois democrats was inevitable, and that it could happen in the event the counter-revolution won. He wrote: "We are aware of that. We shall not forget it . . . Our ranks will not falter, our army will not waver — that we already know from experience. But when profound world-historic changes bring an inevitable turn in our direction among the mass of non-party, Menshevik, and Socialist-Revolutionary democrats we must learn to make use of this change of front, to encourage it, to induce it" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 193-194).

The party supported Lenin's appeal, and its eighth congress held in March 1919 approved it and wrote it into the party program.

Such is the experience of winning the bulk of the old intelligentsia to the side of the October Revolution. However, it should be stressed and never forgotten that this advance though inevitable, was yet only part of the main task of the cultural revolution: the general process of forming a new intelligentsia from among workers and peasants ran in parallel and gained momentum. This general process ultimately produced a people's intelligentsia. The following is an assessment of its place, role and

significance in developed socialist society by Leonid Brezhnev: "Important creative tasks are being resolved by the people's intelligentsia, which is indissolubly linked with the working class and the peasantry. With the growth of the culture of our society and the further progress of science and technology, the role of the intelligentsia will become more visible in the fulfilment of the grandiose tasks facing the Soviet people."¹¹

New elements in the old concept of anti-communism

One of the key areas in which the ideologues of imperialism are exerting themselves in their attacks against communism is their effort to run a dividing line between the intelligentsia and the working class. The intelligentsia is called a new ascendant force, the "spiritual élite of society," especially in the light of the mounting scientific and technological revolution. Correspondingly, modern literature about the role of the intelligentsia in society is called "élitarian." Of course, this literature contains various shades and in it one can discern ever new attempts to "modernize" the ideological luggage to counter the influence of socialism.

Whatever the "modernization," the central aim of bourgeois ideology has been and remains to "refute" the October Revolution, to "prove" that revolutionary change is senseless, unnecessary and even harmful. Various means and a host of approaches are used to achieve this aim. Lately, one could discern a "new element" — an attempt to attack the revolutionary movement of the early 20th century in Russia from conservative-nationalistic, Vekhi positions. The notorious Vekhi, to use Lenin's words, is an "encyclopedia of liberal renegacy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 124), "a veritable torrent of reactionary mud poured on the head of democracy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 129). And this is now being resurrected. And by whom? By those who had always plumed themselves on their liberalism and democracy, their "total" adherence to "democratic institutions," and so on. And for what? In order, as was done more than 70 years ago by the "repentant" Russian liberal Constitutional Democrats, to smear and villify the Russian revolution, the heroic fighters for freedom and democracy. In the view of the new Vekhiites in the Sovietological camp, the ideas of Pyotr Struve, Nikolai Berdyaev, A.S. Izgoyev (Lande), Semyon Frank, Pavel Novgorodtsev, and others are now becoming especially topical and dished up as compelling proof of the historical "uselessness" of the revolutions in Russia, which, it is

claimed, were largely the result of "delusions" on the part of the intelligentsia.

In the mid-1970s, R. Pipes, now almost if not the principal adviser to Reagan on Russian affairs and giving the latter the historical basis, so to speak, for his policy toward the Soviet Union, published a book entitled *Russia Under the Old Regime*. In this book Pipes alleges that with the exception of the intelligentsia no social group was opposed to the government, to the autocracy as such.¹² But from the very outset in Russian public opinion, articulated by the intelligentsia, there were two trends: conservative-nationalistic and liberal-radical. The former concentrated on man, on his inner world and not on his environment, maintaining, unlike the liberal-radicals, that the social system would change only when man, when his spiritual world changed. Of course, Pipes regrets that most of the intelligentsia adopted not the first but the second line of thought, i.e., liberal radicalism, which was sired by Alexander Radishchev.¹³ One is led to believe that the intelligentsia fell into "alienation" from the existing state, into "renegacy," into loss of the "national idea" most fully embodied in religion. It "fell under the spell" of Western socialism, which ultimately led to a revolution that destroyed the "traditional regime." But what came instead? Here, following in the footsteps of many of his predecessors, Pipes comes to the point of stating that after the October Revolution there was a "revival" of the traditional foundations of Russian statehood, arguing that in one way or another it reflected the state of the "Russian spirit." Pipes asks whether such an outcome could have been prevented, and replies that it could had the intelligentsia not succumbed to revolutionary ideology, socialist ideas and utopias, had it not accepted the policy of the Soviets but followed the conservative-nationalistic road, of which Pipes regards Struve as the chief proponent prior to and during the revolution.

Pipes has an affection for Struve and devoted two bulky volumes to him: *Struve — Liberal on the Left* and *Struve — Liberal on the Right*, published in 1975 and 1980 respectively. He sees Struvism, the views propounded by Struve, as having offered the possibility of preventing the triumph of Bolshevism, as having been the sole weapon of struggle with it after the October Revolution, during the Civil War, and the years of counter-revolutionary emigration.¹⁴ The reason for this is that Struve never, under any circumstances, agreed to compromise with the Bolsheviks, with the Soviet government, and his slogan was that they should be fought to the

end from "positions of strength." If one looks into the substance of "Reaganism," it will at once become clear what attracted Pipes so strongly to Struve.

However, Pipes does not even ask why Leninism and not Struvism was accepted by the intelligentsia, by the Russian social movement, why the finest Russian intellectuals followed not Struve and his ilk but Lenin. This would serve Pipes no purpose. The important thing for him is to motivate his "anti-revolutionary" concepts, to find the ideological basis for the allegation that the proletarian revolution is unfounded and unnecessary, that it has no future. He therefore makes much of "Struvism" and "Vekhiism." He tries to taunt and raise a laugh at somebody else's expense. The Russian national organism, he writes, was split: the body was governed by the communists while the mind and heart of the nation was in exile.¹⁵ But the only achievement of this exercise is that it shows Mr. Pipes' ignorance of anatomy: a body cannot live without its head and heart, and this means, to follow his logic, that those "in exile" were no more than the dregs of society.

Pipes is not alone in his nostalgia. A book entitled *Religion, Revolution and the Russian Intelligentsia, 1900-1912, The Vekhi Debate and Its Intellectual Background* by C. Reade was published in Britain in 1979. Its keynote is that despite widespread opinion, Vekhi was neither a reactionary nor even a conservative book. On the contrary, it called for genuine revolution, meaning only a "spiritual" revolution, the "spiritual revival of the nation" accomplished by evolution and not by a replacement of one social and state system by another as a result of a violent convulsion.¹⁶ But the Vekhi ideas, Reade writes, were not widely accepted on account of the dogmatism of the Russian intelligentsia, by which he means its adherence to revolutionary, socialist ideas. Further, he reveals what motivated his analysis of the Vekhi debates that began after the first Russian revolution, writing that the Vekhi principles possibly have a bigger chance of success today and in the future than they had when they were first enunciated.¹⁷

Reade thereby admits that capitalism is in an ideological crisis: the ideologues of the present-day imperialist bourgeoisie have nothing new to offer. They are now trying to galvanize Vekhi, the encyclopedia of renegacy, for a definite political purpose. This is to sow disenchantment with the ideas of revolutionary change, divert social thought to problems of moral improvement on a religious foundation,

to "spiritual revival," and restoring "national" and religious principles as the sole means of social progress. For the Soviet Union they see the motive force of such progress in returning the intelligentsia to the "conservative-nationalistic line," i.e., the line of Katkov, Pobedonostsev, Struve and others.

Generally speaking, there has in recent years been a resurgence of monarchist ideas of the period of the October Revolution in a series of Sovietological works. The tone, I would say, has been set by the not unknown G. Katkov, who attributes the February revolution to German agents and Masonic conspirators. We are now witnessing a revival of Vekhiite ideology.

What caused Sovietology to swing further to the right? There are many reasons, one of which is unquestionably the influence of the "ideologues" of the so-called "third emigration," to be more exact, of its "Solzhenitsyn" wing. There is nothing accidental about this. With the most extreme right-wing, the most reactionary circles of imperialism, chiefly of U.S. imperialism, seeking to derail détente and threatening humankind with a neutron fist, it is inevitable that they should coalesce with renegades, slanderers and embittered enemies of the socialist system.

Of particular value in this situation is Lenin's experience of struggle for the intelligentsia, for enlisting its active support against militarism and reaction, for strengthening its links with the revolutionary and democratic movement.

Life moves on, time changes much, and the intelligentsia itself changes, but this experience, based on the class approach to assessing social phenomena, is of unfading significance.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 22, p. 432 (Russian translation).
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 380 (Russian translation).
3. *Statistical Department of the RCP Central Committee. All-Russia Census of Members of the RCP for 1922.* Issue 4, Moscow, 1923, p. 37 (in Russian).
4. *Izvestia VUS*, No. 2, 1918, p. 6.
5. G.V. Vitukhnovsky, "The Struggle for Teachers in the Early Months of the Soviet Power," *Sovetskaya pedagogika*, No. 11, 1956.
6. N.A. Konstantinov, Y.N. Medynsky, *Essays on the History of the Soviet School in the RSFSR Over a Period of 30 Years*, Moscow, 1948, p. 24 (in Russian). (The percentage was deduced by me. — I.M.)
7. *Vneshkolnoye obrazovaniye*, No. 1, 1919, p. 89.
8. S.A. Yesenin, *Collected Works* in five vols., Moscow, 1968, Vol. 5, p. 22 (in Russian).
9. Maxim Gorky, *Collected Works* in 30 vols., Moscow, 1952, Vol. 17, p. 25 (in Russian).
10. V. Bonch-Bruyevich, *Lenin in Petrograd and in Moscow (1917-1920)*, Moscow, 1956, p. 30 (in Russian).
11. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1970, p. 94 (in Russian).
12. R. Pipes, *Russia Under the Old Regime*, New York, 1974.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 344.
14. R. Pipes, *Struve — Liberal on the Right, 1905-1944*, New York, 1980.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
16. C. Reade, *Religion, Revolution and the Russian Intelligentsia, 1900-1912. The Vekhi Debate and Its Intellectual Background*, London, 1979, p. 178.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

1981: Playa Giron Year

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As it advances, the Cuban revolution leaves landmarks along the road of its progress. To each year it gives a name that telescopes what was uppermost for the nation at the time. In keeping with this tradition, the year 1981 was named the year of the 20th anniversary of Playa Giron. The name is more than a tribute to the past. Playa Giron symbolizes the invincibility of new Cuba, the staunchness and heroism of its defenders, the dedication of the Cuban people to socialism.

Prior to the events of 1961, prior to Playa Giron, the Cuban revolution was seen by many people as merely a rhetorical challenge to the might of the United States of America. Even

some revolutionaries were inclined to view it as a comet, brilliant and shortlived in the sky, and wondered how long the revolution would hold out. As for reactionaries, they arrogantly declared: "Uncle Sam's patience will soon play out, and then ..." Only the most far-sighted saw that our revolution was a star that had not appeared only to fade.

After Playa Giron there was more understanding that the Cuban revolution, one of the most remarkable social upheavals in world history, was destined to live. More, the Cuban example reaffirmed that just as nobody can extinguish the sun or put the ocean into a state of absolute tranquility, nobody can bring history

to a halt. Sooner or later it grinds into dust those who endeavor to delay or reverse its course. Whatever the temporary retreats and setbacks forced upon revolutionaries in their struggle for a just cause, the fact that imperialism is doomed cannot be refuted.

Unquestionably, this cardinal lesson of the Cuban revolution is of special significance for Central and Latin America for a number of reasons.

First, since the wars of independence of the 19th century Latin America has not witnessed a popular rising of such large dimensions. The Cuban people prepared for it over a period of decades, in the course of day-to-day class actions by workers, peasants and students.

Second, this was the first time in this century that on our continent, which is dependent upon the USA economically, politically and ideologically, and is exploited and oppressed by it, the seizure of power by the people was not followed by a counter-revolutionary coup. For their part, the revolutionaries abided by the program proclaimed by them. More, inspired by the ideals of Marti and Lenin, Fidel Castro, the initiator, organizer and leader of the armed struggle, declared immediately after the revolution triumphed that the time had come to fulfill the promises written with the people's blood.

Third, despite the "brain and labor" drain during the first years of the revolution, the economy and state administration did not collapse as our enemies had hoped. The workers and peasants, who took over from the bourgeoisie and trained specialists, were able by their dedicated work and boundless devotion to revolutionary ideals to overcome temporary difficulties and acquire the needed knowledge. A new generation of revolutionary intelligentsia emerged from their midst.

Indeed, not only new Cuba's enemies but also some of its friends doubted that our Republic would hold out. But the Cuban people adopted the slogan "Homeland or Death!" proclaimed by Fidel Castro, and were ready to defend their gains fearlessly. Playa Giron embodied the determination of the Cuban people to build a society free of imperialist rule and exploitation.

Today, with political adventurism, arrogance and blindness back in the saddle on the Potomac, it is useful to recall this recent past, the attitude to which was cogently expressed worldwide in the slogan "Cuba — Si! Yankees — No!"

After the agrarian reform law turned the local semi-feudal latifundias and the latifundias linked to big U.S. monopolies over to the Cuban people, U.S. imperialism imposed an economic

blockade on Cuba. The USA refused to buy Cuba's sugar, which is its principal export crop, refused to sell it petroleum, and blocked its efforts to obtain credits in West European countries. When in response to conspiracies, the blockade, sabotage, wrecking, acts of terrorism, the policy of diplomatic isolation and slander, Cuba nationalized North American enterprises the U.S. government resorted to military pressure.

It would be well to remember that this is nothing new in U.S. practice. It acted in the same manner against Mexico in order to seize half of that nation's territory, and against Cuba itself to prevent it from acquiring genuine independence after 30 years of revolutionary war against Spanish colonialism. U.S. marines, a prototype of the present rapid deployment force, have been used time and again as a punitive force in Central American states.

In the past quarter of a century mercenaries, recruited from among counter-revolutionary emigrés and menials of reactionary regimes, have been increasingly used for operations of this kind.¹ This practice was first tried out by the USA in 1954 in Guatemala. Within three days — the duration of the final phase of the long process of intervention in that country — mercenaries deposed the lawful government which, in defiance of Washington's will, was planning to enforce bourgeois-democratic reforms. Having attained their aim, the imperialists believed this was a means they could use anywhere.

However, in 1961 these terrorist tactics were shown to be futile. The battle in Playa Giron likewise lasted three days. But it ended in a humiliating defeat of the USA's mercenaries. This defeat was due to both internal and international factors.

Just before the enemy force landed, Fidel Castro proclaimed that the character of the Cuban revolution was socialist, thereby inspiring the masses of workers and peasants to rise in defense of their country. By repulsing the enemy, they upheld, to use Engels' words, their "real Fatherland, their real hearth and home."² On the other hand, from the outset proletarian internationalism — fraternal disinterested assistance from the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community and the international working class, and solidarity of the world national liberation movement — had become a mainstay of the Cuban people's revolutionary gains. The socialist patriotism of the people combined with international support predetermined the first major defeat inflicted on U.S. imperialism in the Western Hemisphere.

As with our experience of the past 20 years we look back to the lessons to be drawn from the failure of Washington's fist-and-dictation strategy, we have every reason to say that Playa Giron was an expression of the bankruptcy of the power ideology preached by the ruling classes of the USA, that selfsame ideology about which nearly a hundred years ago, in 1885, José Martí, organizer of the Cuban people's liberation struggle, wrote: "It (the USA — R.V.V.) has everything; everything is sold to it. When it comes across somebody who is not for sale it joins forces with all that is corrupt and destroys him."³

This ideology is expressed in what is now called a policy "from positions of strength," in the absurd and crude striving to support and reinforce an outworn regime and hinder progressive social and economic changes in countries that have won liberation. However, both the policy itself and its ideological basis have become an anachronism as was strikingly shown in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and by the course of the world revolutionary process as a whole.

The lessons of Playa Giron remain topical to this day. History reminds us of the danger implicit in Washington's renewed calls to wipe Cuba from the continent's political map and alerts us to the threats, which the White House, it would seem, should have abandoned since the Caribbean crisis of the autumn of 1962.

In his election campaign Reagan urged a naval blockade of Cuba. Installed in the White House he insisted on Congress legislatively codifying the "right" of U.S. warships to detain any ship leaving a Cuban port. Acting on the recommendations of the notorious Santa Fé Committee, he officially announced his intention to set up a subversive, anti-Cuban radio station on a British-owned island south of Cuba and requested more than \$100 million from the Congress for this purpose. The new station, modelled on the trouble-making Radio Free Europe, is to be Washington's official mouthpiece and will replace SUAM, which transmitted its broadcasts to Cuba on behalf of the counter-revolutionary Cuban organizations entrenched in the USA.

Apart from psychological warfare methods, Washington's armory includes the criminal economic blockade and spying. The CIA infiltrates into Cuba groups of wreckers to organize the assassination of party and government leaders, with Fidel Castro topping the hit list, and acts of terrorism to damage the national economy.

We know that U.S. imperialism is using

bacteriological weapons against Cuba. This is not an unsupported statement. Sugar and tobacco are our main sources of hard currency. But within the space of less than three years our sugar-cane and tobacco plantations were damaged by serious diseases five times. An epizootic African plague has drastically diminished the pig population. Nobody save a politically uninformed person will fail to see the direct link between the outbreaks of these dread diseases, which are unusual to Cuba, and the new, additional measures being taken by the U.S. administration to harden the economic blockade against our country.

But the most terrible thing is that there have been epidemics of dengue⁴ and, lately, of haemorrhoidal conjunctivitis among the population. By mid-September there were several hundred thousand registered cases of these diseases. There were 156 fatal dengue cases, of which 99 were children.

Jointly with a number of prestigious foreign specialists, Cuban experts have studied the causes of these epidemics and have come to the conclusion that the dengue virus was not of local origin. It was brought into Cuba. Moreover it was brought neither from any Central American or Caribbean state nor from the African continent, as the imperialist media argue, for entirely different varieties of the virus have been identified in these regions.⁵ It obviously came from somewhere else. Knowing the CIA's cynicism and dirty methods against our country and taking into account the fact that the USA has been intensively developing chemical, biological and bacteriological weapons and has used them in Vietnam and some other countries, one can point unmistakably to the country in whose laboratories these criminal weapons are made. This is corroborated by some official documents of the U.S. Congress and pronouncements carried in the North American press to the effect that there are plans for chemical and bacteriological aggression against Cuba.

The USA does not for a single day cease its hostile actions against Cuba. It conducts military exercises in direct proximity of Cuba's coast, and provocative exercises involving the landing of troops in Guantanamo, Cuban territory unlawfully held by the USA, and has set up an agency to direct operations against independent Caribbean nations.

The North American mass media are spreading the lie that Cuba is involved in "international terrorism." Washington is using its anti-Cuban propaganda as a screen for its support of the criminal junta in El Salvador, the

barbarous fascist regimes in Guatemala, Haiti, Paraguay and Chile, and its attempts to strangle Nicaragua by economic blackmail and destabilize the situation on Grenada.

In an interview with the Mexican journal *Proceso*, Fidel Castro revealed the essence of the adventurist policy of the present U.S. administration: "Reagan has proclaimed himself the world's policeman. He is opposed to any change in Central America, Africa or Asia. Not a single leaf on a tree can now rustle without his sanction, for behind everything that takes place against his will he sees a Soviet or Soviet-Cuban plot."

At the opening of the 68th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, on September 15, 1981, in Havana, Fidel Castro said: "The system functioning in the USA is not fascist, but I am quite convinced that a group forming the core of the present administration is fascist: its way of thinking, which categorically denies human rights, is fascist; its foreign policy and its total disregard for the destinies of peace throughout the world are fascist; its rejection to search for forms of peaceful coexistence of states is fascist; its arrogance, smugness, its course toward sustaining the armaments race, its bid for military superiority at any cost, and its practice of violence, blackmail and terror are fascist; its alliance with Pinochet and the most savage regimes of this Hemisphere, whose methods of repression, terror, torture and secret murder have cost the lives of tens of thousands of people, many of whose graves are unknown to their families, is fascist; its shameless alliance with South Africa and the apartheid system is fascist. Its language of threats and lies is fascist. I will never put the label of fascist to the American people and its legislative organs, press and innumerable and active public organizations, much less to its lofty democratic traditions and aspiration for freedom."⁶

Only a constant military alert on the part of the entire Cuban people can cool the ardor of the imperialists, who ignore the lessons of history and are planning to have recourse to massive military action. Having made Playa Giron the symbol of their revolutionary staunchness, the Cuban people have devoted the year named in its honor to strengthening their country's defense capability. Millions of people are donating a day's wages and doing voluntary work in order to collect money to reinforce the material and technical resources of the people's militia. Paramilitary units are being formed and trained. Detailed plans have been drawn up for the defense of every meter of our shore, every inch of land, and every town and every house.

At the same time, we draw strength from the knowledge that the Cuban revolution is not alone. We have been greatly fortified by words spoken in the spring of 1981 by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "The glorious Republic of Cuba is an inalienable part of the community of socialist nations. The Soviet Union is and will be firm and unfailing in its support of the fraternal Cuban people."⁷

The Cuban communists hold that socialism does not need war and that its ideal is a world without armies. But we are aware that imperialism's "positions of strength" policy compels the socialist countries to maintain a military-strategic equilibrium between the socialist community and the imperialist powers in order to prevent another world war. The fact that such an equilibrium exists is a major service of socialism.

Acting on the laws of history, the Marxist-Leninists reject the concept that wars are a mandatory condition for a social revolution. The idea of exporting revolution is alien to them. Latin American and Caribbean states are being stirred to action not by Cuban or Soviet propaganda but by the crimes committed by the tyrannies installed and propped up by the USA, by the rapacious activities of the North American transnational corporations, by the imperialist exploitative system as a whole. Whatever our adversaries say or do, the peoples of this region will move toward their liberation, toward socialism by a road of their own choosing and in the forms and at the pace they themselves will determine.

In Cuba the task of defending socialist achievements against encroachments by aggressors is being fulfilled in parallel and in conjunction with the task of increasing production and perfecting socialist democracy. The second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba set the dual task of developing production and strengthening defense capability. The revolution is bending every effort to resolve complex economic problems and is advancing gradually along the road of socialism. This is not easy. In addition to the enormous difficulties caused by the imperialist economic blockade we have to put an end to the economic backwardness inherited from the pre-revolutionary period. Moreover, Cuba's enemies are trying to use our own mistakes, in particular in economic development.

But in this, too, they suffer a comedown.

On Fidel Castro's initiative, our party has since mid-1979, with all its revolutionary pas-

sion and relying on powerful mass organizations, been giving maximum attention to meeting the day-to-day needs of the people, to improving the state apparatus from top to bottom. It has started a drive for efficiency, notably in the economy and also in medical care and education.

The Communist Party of Cuba is fighting the illusion that the principle of justice inherent in the socialist social system is a magic wand. It fosters among the people the understanding that as they are the full and undisputed masters of their country their material well-being de-

pends on them, on their selfless work, and that it is their duty to defend, build and make their socialist country more prosperous and happier than ever.

Cuba's socialist gains are irreversible and the Cuban people know how to consolidate them. Despite the fall in sugar prices in the capitalist world market and the tightening of the economic blockade, the Cuban people are overcoming weaknesses, triumphing over difficulties and steadfastly advancing. Their efforts have the international solidarity of all who are fighting to defend freedom, democracy and peace.

Two decades ago Playa Giron made it plain to the imperialists that their plans to export counter-revolution were doomed. These plans are even less realistic today, under the present balance of strength in the world. The peoples of Latin America are prepared to face ordeals, however bitter they may be. The social battles on our continent may be accelerated by further victories of the revolutionary forces in Central America, which has now become an arena of confrontation with imperialism, and by acts of intervention by the USA against fighting El Salvador, independent Nicaragua, or socialist Cuba. But if the imperialists resort to reckless actions, to kindling new conflicts to compound the already tense international situation, the whole of Latin America, as Fidel Castro has warned, will become a gigantic Vietnam.

José Martí, who was one of the first to expose the policy of the Yankee banker-bandits, wrote: "Like carrion vultures they fall upon governments they believe to be dead; and, like carrion vultures, they flee into the clouds when they find there is still life in a body they thought to be a corpse."⁸ Playa Giron has provided further evidence that a free people is able to discharge its patriotic and revolutionary duty.

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1. In 1969, Richard Nixon, then the incumbent in the White House, proclaimed the Guam Doctrine of using Vietnamese against Vietnamese and Africans against Africans. Last June the present Vice-President Bush in fact incited Latin Americans against Latin Americans.

2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 250.

3. José Martí, *Obras escogidas*, Vol. II, Havana, 1979, p. 76.

4. Dengue, an epidemic disease spread by mosquitoes. It is attended by high temperature fever and bleeding from the mouth and ears.

5. In Central America and the Caribbean, and also in Africa, the virus causing dengue is classified under the numbers 1 and 4. The virus brought into Cuba comes under the number 2.

6. *Granma*, September 16, 1981.

7. *Pravda*, April 8, 1981.

8. José Martí, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 76.



At the threshold of inevitable changes

Athos Fava
General Secretary,
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What is the political alternative in Argentina five years after the 1976 coup? I touched on this subject in a recent article,¹ in which I listed several factors conditioning the communists' policy line and tactics. The past period has been marked by a further deterioration of the structural crisis, increasing political instability, new actions by the masses and an uptrend in the working-class and national democratic movement.

The military, who had assumed responsibility for leading the country, are gradually losing the initiative to social forces and parties demanding radical changes. The struggle for the unity of action of the proletariat and other sectors of the population hit hard by an economic and social policy serving the interests of the oligarchy and imperialist monopolies is rising to a qualitatively new level. The people's determination is growing, forms and methods of resistance are multiplying and calls for democratic unity are becoming more insistent.

Not one of the dictatorships imposed since the 1930 coup has been able to stamp out the democratic movement or its political or mass organizations. But neither has the movement achieved its goals.

The phrase about the alternation of light and shadow on the southern tip of the continent has been repeated frequently since the 1976 action of the Argentine military (and even before it). The March action concluded a series of coups that brought a number of military regimes to power in the region. To be sure, the coups were dissimilar due to the diversity of conditions. In Argentina power fell into the hands of a very heterogeneous group. The shadow has yet to disappear in our country. But the light showing the way out of the tunnel is becoming brighter. The workers and all other people are looking to it as they muster their forces. Reaction has failed to tighten its hold on power. Democrats are preparing for a decisive battle. Can they win?

The ninth national conference of the Communist Party of Argentina (CPA), held last

June,² examined developments over the five years that had passed since the previous eighth conference (November 1975). It concerned itself with the complicated situation at home and abroad and worked out a long-range plan of party work. The main report and the debate were inspired by the idea of fighting for world peace and forming a powerful democratic movement in Argentina, above all in order to revalidate the national constitution and revoke the state of emergency. It was pointed out that these goals can only be achieved through an *agreement among democratic forces*. This idea was first advanced in 1975. It is aimed at forming a broad-based alliance guaranteeing, irrespective of its name, that the President now in office shall be the last to be appointed against the people's will. The alliance could serve as the basis for a provisional civilian-military coalition government equal to effecting a transition to representative republican government. This solution is perfectly feasible in the present situation, described by many as extraordinary.

The policy evolved by the communists in 1976 was intended to isolate the chief enemy, Pinochetism.³ A good deal has been done to accomplish this task although the enemy cannot be said to have been defeated. Imperialism keeps him "afloat" but the progress made to date warrants confidence in the possibility of political changes. Coming to the fore is the activity of parties, trade unions and mass organizations, diverse alignments of parties' representatives and population groups. Some freedoms are being restored without official permission. The military government is giving up its positions step by step. This is not to say, however, that the situation has crystallized. There is a struggle under way not only for political change but for the initiative. Will prejudice, pressure and so on result in the initiative going over to a narrow group of forces, or will it be supported by a broad and united movement for democracy which has already found expression in numerous meetings and other manifestations of public opinion? The whole

country has been aroused. This is particularly obvious at large enterprises, where the working class is numerically strong.

A multi-party meeting held in the middle of 1981 adopted a document reflecting the fundamental aspirations of Argentina's democrats.⁴ Their realization will depend on the scope of action and the degree to which the masses are mobilized. The appeal to join the participants in the meeting extends to all social, religious and political forces, the communists included, and is evidence that the democratic movement has risen to a new and higher plane. The struggle for unity of action and for renewed and durable democracy is expanding and deepening.

The people's democratic movement in Argentina is by no means declining; indeed, it is gaining strength and experience after the 1975-76 reverse as it approaches a new upswing.

This conclusion faces the communists with the need to make a careful study of the situation shaping both in the higher echelons of authority and among the people. We took this into account when evolving our policy line and tactics. The CPA did not try either before or during its ninth conference to put forward loud slogans. The important thing for us is to "see to it that the strength of this upswing is demonstrated in *actual fact*, and we shall always have time afterward to put forward the slogan which indirectly expresses that strength" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 48).

The problem is not so much one of forms of struggle (incidentally, they are changing as the socio-political process goes on) as one of finding and travelling the road from defeat to new strength and from a revival of the movement to a real upturn. We must inspire the masses with confidence that without their active commitment political and social gains will be flouted still more.

The period preceding the eighth conference (1970-75) witnessed a considerable growth of the popular movement, probably the greatest in modern Argentine history. To retain what had been won, it was important to frustrate the activities of reaction designed to destabilize the domestic situation. The dilemma was as follows: either the democrats would strengthen their positions and defeat the conspirators, or the latter, inspired and backed by imperialism and its Argentine partners, would fully regain power, which they had lost to a considerable degree under the pressure of the masses. Destabilization could not be stopped in spite of warnings and efforts of the communists and

other progressives. The trend was furthered by terrorist acts of fascist gangs and the petty-bourgeois infantilism of some parties and groups. The democratization process was broken off. This turned out to be a real defeat.

The ninth CPA conference ascertained the following causes of the defeat: mass action was not widespread enough, the formation of a common coordinating center remained a pious hope and the struggle lacked the leadership that its magnitude required. We pointed out that the working-class and popular movement had been unable to avoid the blows of reaction and achieve a durable victory. For lack of unity (if not due to division and even struggle among them), the democrats were unable to defeat and destroy the conspirators.

This, then, is in rough outline the nature of the chronic political crisis that has beset Argentina for five decades. The roots of this lie in a deep crisis of socio-economic structures which can only be ended through an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic democratic revolution oriented to socialism.

Analysis of the events of 1976 and their evolution to this day, and the conclusions drawn from it by the democratic forces are most important politically and ideologically. Only by comprehending the historical experience and studying its positive and negative aspects can the topical problems be solved. These conclusions help the working people, especially Peronists,⁵ who have been in the forefront of national life in recent decades, appreciate the significance of independent struggle (which does not imply self-isolation) and lean on the trade-union and political unity of the working class and on their own strength for support.

New developments, including better organization of the left wing of the Peronist movement, show again that the communist policy for unity of action with the Peronists and other left-wing forces is the principal guarantee of success in the struggle for revolutionary change. Needless to say, this does not remove the necessity for a broad democratic front to revalidate the national constitution.⁶ It is anything but accidental that Peronist workers, including those influenced by bourgeois nationalism, look more and more to proletarian ideology for guidance. "... It is our firm conviction," Lenin wrote, "that the actual struggle, and work within the ranks, will convince all elements possessing vitality that Marxism is the truth, and will cast aside all those who lack vitality" (Vol. 10, p. 23).

Delegates to the ninth conference, who represented practically all the communists of the

country, and participants in the preliminary extensive discussion of the "Political Letter" circulated by us noted the tremendous potential of the proletariat and the commitment of new groups of working people, primarily young workers, who are joining vigorously in public life and in production. Along with students and peasants, they operate with determination; they have gained substantial experience and are bound to be one of the motive forces in the effort to end the mounting crisis.

The working-class movement plays an increasing role in spite of persecution, maneuvering and repressive measures on the part of the regime, with tens of thousands of Argentinians left jobless, imprisoned, tortured or even destroyed and several thousand of them "missing." That the proletariat's militant spirit is unbroken was demonstrated (in addition to the latest numerous actions) by the general strike in April 1979.

The new situation developing in Argentina found reflection in a protest strike organized last July 22 by the General Confederation of Labor (in spite of a split in it due to the collaborationist policy of its leadership and the subversive activity of the ruling circles). The strike took place on the initiative of the rank and file and was a success. It enjoyed the support of peasants and office employees; over two million people joined in it. This is more than indicative since 80 per cent of trade union organizations were controlled by the military, while the national and regional centers had been dissolved, numerous workers were subjected to pressure and intimidation and, to cap it all, collaborationists made feverish efforts to prevent the strike.

The protest action made it possible to advance with greater confidence toward restoring the trade union movement, above all at the grass roots level, that is, at the enterprises and districts, and to lend it militancy. Success in this matter does not depend on a cumbersome apparatus or large funds but on the ability to organize the working people and express their interests. This is the only way to bring unity nearer and strengthen the masses' will for struggle.

The actual situation, the people's frame of mind and the degree of development and organization of the trade union movement will eventually determine the choice of forms of action. Accordingly, we re-emphasized the need to encourage every mass action and devote greater attention to the ideological struggle among the workers, that is, in an environ-

ment in which conciliatory and class positions clash constantly.

The CPA conference could not but discuss the role of the military in general and its impact on national politics in particular. Attempts are often made to misrepresent our opinion on this matter. Nothing is said, for instance, about the fact that we take a differentiated approach to the trends existing in the army and likely to come out into the open at a definite juncture, and never lose sight of the decisive significance of democratic, popular forces. Unless this factor is taken into account there is no attaining the aims of the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, which is evolving toward socialism and is now passing through a difficult period due to the need to reach a broad agreement on the democratic alternative. In 1975, democratic civilians and military men failed to achieve unity (while their reactionary opponents did) because the moderate group in the army refused to go along with civilians. Yet the latter were trying to end the crisis by constitutional methods, under a program approved by the majority (60 per cent) of the population. The moderate military backed the partisans of a "tough," "Pinochetist" policy.

The dividing line at the time was, as it is now, not between the civilian part of society and the military but between supporters of democracy and apologists of terrorism and dependence. Neither a purely civilian solution, nor a military one ignoring the people's will is acceptable if *democratic stability* is to be achieved. In either case there develops an instability favorable to new coups and military putsches that may lead to civil war.

The ninth conference set as an immediate fundamental task the formation and consolidation of a united front in the making to bring about the exercise of the democratic freedoms enshrined in the constitution and the repeal of the state of emergency. It was stressed that the object was not to set up an electoral front or a coalition for immediate revolutionary democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes. An important task was to give organizational forms (on a voluntary basis) to a broad consensus paving the way for a return through coordinated action to the democratic practice of socio-political coexistence. However, this does not rule out the formation of fronts reflecting the current realignment of forces.

As the majority of progressive parties and organizations see it, there can be no question of forming a "civilian pole" in opposition to a "military" one. This is the approach of the initiators and supporters of the planned meeting

of diverse parties and population groups. They believe that a broad democratic front of civilians brought into being in order to re-establish democracy could be appreciated by democratic or nationalist trends in the army. This would make it possible to arrive at common positions and hasten the onset of the transitional period and the formation of a democratic civilian-military coalition government, to the point of holding elections expressive of the people's will. Incidentally, this is the prospect openly resisted by military quarters committed to a "tough," "Pinochetist" policy. They dread every opportunity for political dialogue and persist in attempts to establish a frankly terroristic dictatorship or perpetuate the authoritarian regime of the military élite.

We communists are against militarism, which continues to affect spheres important to the nation. On the other hand, being mindful of every aspect of the class struggle, we reject the idea of isolating and neutralizing the armed forces. Their participation in politics has been growing throughout the past five decades. Imperialist monopolies and the landed oligarchy have used them at all times to thwart the process of achieving unity and avert progressive changes. The CPA favors the right of all socio-political forces to publicize their views and programs among the military and establish direct contacts in the barracks, a practice which has never been discarded, not even in recent years.

We have always rejected the idea that all problems will be automatically solved as soon as the military "goes back to the barracks." It is impossible with this approach to effectively combat the reactionary concept underlying the army's claim to power in overt or covert form, a concept justifying the paternalism of the military. Concepts of this kind give rise to authoritarian or élitist formulas whose roots lie in the doctrine of "national security" conceived on the U.S. pattern.

The communists are set on pulling down the barrier separating the army from the people through mass action, and bridging the deep gulf created by anti-democratic leaders now in power or playing the role of "defenders" of the constitutional government, which is toppled in the end by staging a new coup.

The participation of the military in the dirty war, with the result that many thousands of people are missing and thousands of political prisoners are in jail without trial, has created a sort of mutual guarantee. This seriously complicates the struggle for a democratic solution. Reaction uses the fear of responsibility,

which may be called the "Nuremberg syndrome," to keep the armed forces in power. The democratic political forces which are against the current drama being consigned to oblivion should take these circumstances into consideration and persevere in the effort to ascertain the fate of their compatriots. Success will depend in the long run on the scale of the democratic movement and the fight for civil freedoms.⁸

Rodolfo Ghioldi, member of the Executive Committee, CPA Central Committee, formulated at the 12th party congress (1963) a principle which guides all Argentine communists; according to it, anyone who tackles the issue of power should seriously pose the problem of the military. And this means carrying on deep-going political and ideological work in the armed forces.

The crisis in Argentina is both situational and structural. It is going from bad to worse under the impact of the general crisis of capitalism. Just as in any other capitalist country, it tells primarily on the working people, who are affected by unemployment, recurrent pay cuts, undernourishment and deteriorating health. The crisis also hits rural producers and businessmen, especially small and medium employers, and employees.

The military government's economic policy has caused enormous damage to the country. Many components of the economic machinery have been destroyed and some of them are in danger of abolition. The crisis of the socio-economic structure which is based on large-scale landed property and the power of imperialist monopoly has gone deeper. Attempts to "modernize" this structure have played havoc and increased economic and financial dependence on imperialism and transnationals. More and more Argentines see for themselves that their country's problems can only be solved through far-reaching anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes, which are unthinkable without winning democracy. We communists propose a minimum program for a solution of the crisis that would not be achieved at the working people's expense.

The CPA showed the dialectical interconnection of national and international problems, of the struggle for democracy in Argentina and the struggle for world peace, and against the arms race, aggression, provocation and tensions created by U.S. imperialism. We stressed the historic significance of the 26th CPSU congress and the proposals put forward by Leonid Brezhnev. Having defined the fight for peace as the chief task brooking no delay, the conference

declared for organizing a powerful movement using anti-imperialist and anti-war sentiments.

Actions against the dispatch of troops to the Sinai⁹ — actions in which all socio-political forces, including some groups in the government and the army, took part — are indicative of the possibility of effectively countering the shameless blackmail applied to Argentina by the more aggressive forces of U.S. reaction. These forces would like to prevent our country from pursuing an independent policy for peace. They disapprove of the development of trade, cultural and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They are seriously concerned about deepening differences between Argentina and the United States which are of an objective nature. But in spite of imperialist pressure, the independent position of Argentina and some other countries of the continent is becoming more and more consistent in the OAS and UN.

Reactionaries in our country (both in and outside the government) realize that the democratic organizations' proposals and appeals to the people may endanger the right and speed national liberation. This makes them stage more and more frequent provocations with the aid of U.S. imperialism, maneuvering and putting ever stronger pressure on progressive forces. Our party's decisions are particularly valuable in these circumstances; once again it pointed out the need to always keep an eye on the chief enemies of democracy.

The ideological struggle is intensifying. Imperialist misinformation centers and their subsidiaries in Argentina do their utmost to mislead and divide revolutionaries, and to spread passivity and diffidence among them. To this end they assail the CPA and Marxism-Leninism, slander the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and are willing to use any means likely to help stop the working class and the people and disarm them ideologically. The communists of Argentina stressed their party's loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and identified themselves once again with existing socialism, the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle in the world, socialist Cuba, the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran people. They expressed confidence that Poland's Marxist-Leninists would be able to bar the road of counter-revolution.

The resolve to contribute to the unity of the international communist movement was reaffirmed. The tasks facing us are becoming more and more difficult and varied. This leads to dissimilar estimations and gives rise to lively

exchanges of opinion. However, they should not be opposed to the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and to existing socialism, nor should they question the party's role. Discussion within the international communist movement, it was pointed out at the 26th CPSU congress, should not trouble relations between its component forces, push its organizations toward differentiation or destroy cohesion in a persevering struggle for peace. This is a great unifying principle and a connecting factor in defeating imperialism's policy of aggression.

The ninth CPA conference decided on a platform of struggle for democracy and peace. It showed the way to effort for still broader unity as a means of winning democracy. This is our immediate goal. Marx told revolutionaries that it was naive to expect the demands of labor to be met by decree. The proletariat goes through long years of struggle before winning freedom, and passes through a series of historical processes that completely transform circumstances and people.¹⁰ Our direction is unchanged — it is work among the masses, organization of their resistance, struggle by the people as a whole, and rejection of all adventurism.

1. WMR, May 1981.

2. It deliberated in the atmosphere of a military regime which has suspended the activity of political parties. The communists regard the conference as tantamount to a congress. — Ed.

3. The policy which Pinochet has been pursuing in Chile has become a synonym for present-day fascism in Latin America. — Ed.

4. The meeting, called on the initiative of the Radical Civic Union, one of the largest political parties, was also attended by the Justicialista Party, Intransigence Party, Popular Christian Party and Movement for Integration and Development. The document approved by it contains seven points on which agreement was reached; they include measures to revalidate the constitution, lift the ban on political and other public activity and work out a specific plan (complete with deadlines and guarantees) to end the political and economic crisis.

5. Followers of Juan D. Peron and his party, now called the Justicialista Party. Some democratic changes were carried out during the second period of President Peron's term in office. — Ed.

6. Operating along with broad movements for a democratic solution are alignments advocating the formation of a united front. Some of them, such as the Forum for the Defense of Sovereignty, Democracy and the National Patrimony, take a more explicit stand. The Forum groups various political parties and trends, including Peronists, Radicals, Socialists, Christians and Communists.

7. On the strength of documentary evidence, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights has registered 5,500 missing persons.

8. How to settle up with the past and yet find a way out of the present situation? This is a crucial question indeed, one that has become a stumbling-block to the formation of a democratic military-civilian coalition. The military insist on discontinuing investigations, for they regard the matter as "settled." Some political quarters demand what

we see as an impermissible "oblivion law." The democratic forces, which have been fighting more actively than others and which include the CPA as well as human rights movements, insist on fully ascertaining the fate of the missing. The church favors national reconciliation on the

basis of a search for the truth and justice.

9. Washington is trying to draw Argentina into its Middle East gamble. — Ed.

10. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 224.

Why we study history

Willi Gerns

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The study of the GCP's history of the period of the Weimar Republic was started in the 1980-81 academic year in the GCP education system, which embraces all party groups. This marked the commencement of a new stage of our party's ideologico-educational work.

Previously, in choosing the subjects for study in the party groups our aim was to impart elementary Marxist knowledge by explaining topical issues of the class struggle. At the same time, in the party education system seminars continued to play an important role in elaborating and discussing the party's stand and program objectives.

This organization of the study process was necessary at the time. Since its foundation in 1968 the GCP has been joined by many thousands of people — this happened after the ban of more than 12 years on the Communist Party was lifted. Moreover, our new comrades, as the entire party, immediately found themselves in the difficult conditions of a class struggle. Much had therefore to be made good in the ideological field. First and foremost, answers had to be given to the most burning issues facing the GCP. Further, a wide spectrum of party program guidelines had to be worked out gradually on the basis of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin and conforming to the conditions prevailing in the FRG. These had then to be discussed comprehensively in all party organizations. This work produced the program of the German Communist Party adopted at its Mannheim congress in 1978. Today we can state that the GCP is ideologically united on the basis of its program.

Successes made it possible to move forward in ideologico-educational work as well, namely, to go over to a systematic study of the components of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin at the party school itself, in the Marxist schools for industrial workers, at political courses, and at seminars in the party groups.

This new dimension of our educational work has become not only possible but also vital because the intensifying ideological struggle is making increasingly greater demands on the ideological staunchness and knowledge level of each communist.

There are several reasons for the fact that a new stage in the work of the party education system commenced with the study of the history of the German working-class movement.

First of all, it was seen that it would be productive to go over from the study of exclusively pressing problems of the class struggle and of the party's program guidelines to studies that would include the history of the working-class movement. It should be borne in mind that this history provides cogent and striking material for understanding many urgent issues of the class struggle, the strategy and tactics, and the posture and program aims of the communist movement. These considerations figured prominently when the GCP passed its decision on party education. However, there were other, more important reasons and arguments of a topical and principled nature. Let us begin with the principled arguments.

History and Marxism

We regard our party as a national force with deep roots in the history of the German people. The introduction in our program declares: "Brought forth by the more than century-long struggle of the German working-class movement against capitalist exploitation and oppression, against militarism and war, the GCP took over the heritage of the revolutionary German Social-Democratic movement and the Communist Party of Germany. The GCP embodies the heroism of the anti-fascist Resistance and the courageous struggle of all the people who, after liberation from Hitlerite fascism, fought for anti-fascist democratic development in our country. The GCP is the custodian of the

progressive heritage of the German people, the advanced thinking of its humanist philosophers, and the traditions of its struggle for social progress. It carries on the traditions of the great Peasant War in Germany, the traditions of the bourgeois revolutionary democrats of 1848-1849, and the traditions of the workers, soldiers and sailors who took part in the Revolution of November 1918."

Hence the party program mandate to acquaint the entire party with the people's revolutionary past and use the lessons of history in our struggle today.

The GCP's serious approach to history springs from the Marxist traditions in the German working-class movement. An exhaustive study of history was an inalienable part of the process by which Marx and Engels evolved their scientific theory. In-depth research of the past is essential as a means of bringing to light the basic regularities of social development and elaborating historical materialism, whose appearance ushered in one of the greatest revolutions in social-scientific thought and without which the revolutionary working-class movement could not conceivably have developed genuinely scientific strategy and tactics.

A comprehensive study of history was essential also for the elaboration of the component parts of Marxist theory. This theory regards all spheres of society and social thought not as something complete and static but as being in the process of development and change. Marxism requires all the social sciences "not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what were the principal stages in its development, and, from the standpoint of its development, to examine what it has become today" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 473). Historicism, thought that takes historical relationships into account, is an essential attribute of Marxism.

For that reason, in all the fundamental Marxist works revolutionary theory is not simply enunciated but set forth on the basis of historical sources and knowledge of historical relationships. This is what makes the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx's *Capital*, and Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* more than classical works of scientific socialism or Marxist political economy. They are of immense importance to historical science as well.

Moreover, in many of their works the classics of Marxism turned to history to draw lessons for the working-class movement. Suffice it to

mention, in this connection, works such as Engels' *The Origin of Family, Private Property and State* or *The Peasant War in Germany*, or Marx's *The Civil War in France* or *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Needless to say, works by Marx and Engels on the revolution and counter-revolution in Germany in 1848-1849 come under the same heading.

Thus, a profound study of history was a prerequisite of the elaboration of Marxist theory. But a study of history is also necessary to understand this theory, to be able to apply it skilfully and creatively to concrete conditions of the class struggle. Hence the importance that an understanding of past events and a publicistic enunciation of the results of this study have always had in the ideological work of the revolutionary working-class movement. Relative to the German working-class movement, mention may be made of the historical works of August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin, and also of the articles and speeches of Ernst Thälmann.

From the very outset the study of history has played a significant role in the ideological and political work of the GCP. In the system of party education, where, as I have already noted, the accent was placed on topical issues, history was by no means ignored. Let me mention the seminars devoted to the November Revolution and the formation of the GCP, the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 40th anniversary of the seventh congress of the Communist International, the 30th anniversary of the FRG and the GDR, and the 30th anniversary of our people's liberation from fascism by the Soviet Army, as well the conferences marking other historical dates, the politico-ideological actions in connection with the anniversary of the extraordinary law against the socialists,¹ or the struggle of the German workers against the Kapp putsch,² and also publications in the newspaper *Unsere Zeit*, the journal *Marxistische Blätter*, and the many books on history published by us.

In organizing the marking of jubilees the GCP invariably abides by a behest from Ernst Thälmann, who in the article "Lessons of the Hamburg Rising" of October 1925, wrote: "For the communists and the class-conscious section of the proletariat, jubilees are not idle days of reminiscences but days when we chart the further course of the class struggle and work out guidelines to action."³

By going over to a systematic study of the history of the working-class movement in its party groups, the GCP has taken a further step

toward the dissemination of knowledge of history. This is a step which is expected to raise the entire party's level of historical consciousness, which we regard as an important element of socialist consciousness.

What does developing the historical consciousness mean? It definitely does not mean memorizing historical dates or seeing historical experience as a recipe valid for all time. We always take into account that the world and society are in constant movement, and that there never are simple recurrences in history. Even processes that are similar in content take place at different times under different conditions, for instance, a new development level of production, a different class structure, or a new alignment of forces nationally or internationally, and this must be taken into account. To learn from the lessons of history means, in our view, not simply to commit to memory variants of decisions that had once been correct, but to research concrete past and present conditions of struggle, to see the distinctions, to see the general in the specific, and to use conclusions in today's class battles, in the interests of the working-class movement.

History becomes a teacher for contemporaneity when the positive and negative experience of the past is analyzed concretely and critically with the purpose of applying it in present-day struggles. Having this in mind, Lenin wrote: "In the course of their movement's progress, the class-conscious workers constantly look back on the road this movement has travelled and constantly consider whether it is the right one, and whether it can possibly be improved (Coll. Works, Vol. 20, p. 294).

Consequently, the historical consciousness is basically a thought-pattern within the framework of historical relationships. An expression of socialist historical consciousness is the approach to history from the standpoint of the class interests of the working class. This historical consciousness reinforces the communists' sense of pride in the progress made by the working-class movement of their country and by the entire international working-class movement, their pride in belonging to this movement, their confidence in victory, and gives them a clearer vision of present-day tasks. "The historical consciousness," wrote Herbert Mies, Chairman of the GCP, in an article on the party's 10th anniversary, "always bears a class character and it is therefore quite natural that in asserting itself as a social force the revolutionary working-class movement carries the socialist historical consciousness, the historical consciousness of the working class, to the masses.

This is not an end in itself. It helps to understand and utilize the experience and lessons of the past in the interests of the class struggle today and in the future, to strengthen socialist and revolutionary positions, and to answer the question of the significance of and prospects for our struggle."⁴

The class approach to history and scientism

The fact that we underscore the class character of our view of history is by no means in conflict — despite the allegations of bourgeois ideologues — with scientism in assessing events of the past. On the contrary, evolved by Marx and Engels and amplified by Lenin as the basis of our approach to history, historical materialism is the only genuinely scientific theory and only genuinely scientific method of understanding the development and regularities of history. It gives us a knowledge of the objective foundations, motive forces and the mainstream of social progress. Above all, as Engels wrote, it reveals "the great law of motion of history, the law according to which all historical struggles, whether they proceed in the political, religious, philosophical or some other ideological domain, are in fact more or less clear expressions of struggles of social classes, and that the existence and thereby the collisions, too, between these classes are in turn conditioned by the degree of development of their economic position, by the mode of their production and of their exchange determined by it."⁵

Using this great law of the movement of history as their guide for their analysis of the state and tendencies of capitalist society's objective development, Marx and Engels substantiated their conclusion that the working class has an historical mission. They showed that by virtue of the operation of its internal regularities capitalism creates not only the material conditions for its replacement by socialism; "the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, its gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."⁶

The class approach and scientism are by no means mutually exclusive.

A scientific class understanding of history or the degenerate approach of justifying outworn social relations — this always depends on what class is meant, on whether the interests of this class meet with or run counter to the requirements of social progress. In the period of the upswing of its struggle to assert and consolidate capitalist relations of production, against feudal barriers, the bourgeoisie and its historians were to a certain extent interested in

scientifically understanding history, in understanding the regularities of social development. It should be noted that in that period scientific conclusions from history reinforced the bourgeoisie's faith in its victory over feudalism, in the legitimacy of its claims to the leadership of society. However, as capitalist relations of production were strengthened and increasingly became an obstacle to further social progress, and as the working class gathered strength and extended its struggle for social changes, the bourgeoisie and its theorists modified their attitude to history. For capitalist society and for the preservation of bourgeois class rule it became dangerous to elucidate the fundamental regularities of historical development. The bourgeois understanding of history steadily degenerated into a pure apologia of obsolete relations of production, of bourgeois rule.

Today the working class is precisely the class whose interests coincide with the objective requirements of social progress. For that reason the elucidation of the objective laws governing the movement of history and their broadest popularization through the scientific dissemination of historical knowledge conform with the vital needs of the working class. Scientific conclusions from the experience of the past are today an instrument for the attainment of the historical mission of the working class — that of abolishing capitalism and building socialism. They are vital, as August Bebel wrote, to enable the people to take their history into their own hands.⁷

The history of the German working-class movement is part and parcel of the history of the international working-class movement. This stems from the general basic aspiration of the revolutionary workers of all countries to replace the exploiting capitalist system with a new society of emancipated labor — socialism and communism. Besides, the revolutionary working-class movement, with the League of Communists and the International Working Men's Association (First International) as its initial mainsprings, began as an international movement: national workers' organizations took shape subsequently. Lastly, many events in the history of the struggle of the German working class can be understood only through the prism of the development of the international working-class movement. In particular, this concerns the period of the October Revolution in Russia and the revolution of November 1918 in Germany, and the formation of the German Communist Party. In our study of

history we constantly bear this relationship between the national and international working-class movements in mind.

It would be wrong to ignore the fact that the history of the German working-class movement is organically part of the general history of our people. That we nevertheless give our attention chiefly to studying the history of the working-class movement is motivated by our materialistic understanding of social development and appreciation of the liberative mission of the working class. Historical materialism scientifically substantiates the postulate that the people are the actual makers of history. By their labor they create new, more perfect productive forces that sooner or later run up against the barrier of backward relations of production and call forth the need for the revolutionary transformation of the entire social system. They are the ones who press for this revolutionary transformation in a bitter class struggle, by crushing the fierce resistance of the class forces defending the obsolete social relations and holding back social progress.

Thanks to its numerical strength and, chiefly, to its place in capitalist society, its role as the main producer of social wealth, the class linked to large-scale industrial production, developing together with it, concentrated by it and induced by it to display discipline and solidarity, the working class of the FRG and other capitalist countries is the decisive force of the masses. The objective social condition of the workers predicates their historical task of putting an end, in alliance with the other masses, to the exploiting capitalist system and building the new, socialist society.

To enable the working class to fulfil this task in struggle with a powerful and organized adversary it must have unity and clarity of purpose, which multiplies its strength. There must be workers' organizations acting on different fronts of the class struggle — trade unions, youth and women's organizations, and, most importantly, a revolutionary workers' party armed with the theory of scientific socialism, pursuing a clear socialist aim and having the scientific strategy and tactics for achieving that aim, a party that helps the working class to smash the fetters of ideological dependence on the bourgeoisie, understand its historical task, and fight for the fulfillment of that task. That is what makes the history of the working-class movement chiefly the history of workers' organizations, notably of the revolutionary party of the working class, in other words, a history of the ascending, fighting working class.

History's growing significance in the ideological struggle

In addition to the above-mentioned principled considerations there are other, topical motivations that induced the GCP to place the study of the history of the working-class movement in the focus of its party-educational work. Let us examine these motivations.

The GCP is a young party both in the context of the age of most of its members and the length of their membership in the party. Very few activists know from personal experience, for instance, the period of the Weimar Republic. In this situation interest in history is natural and it is exceedingly important to study the history of the working-class movement.

There is a growing interest in history not only among GCP members and the youth organizations affiliated with it, but also among the sizable proportion of young people looking forward to social changes. In this sense the situation today is different from what it was in the period of the so-called anti-authoritarian youth movement of the close of the 1960s, when we frequently had to deal with what was essentially a nihilistic approach on the part of young people to history, with their striving to do everything anew without taking past experience into account.

Evidence of the growing social interest in history is, in particular, the attention that critically-minded young people show for the relevant undertakings conducted by the GCP and by Marxist youth and other progressive organizations.

The change in society's attitude to the historical past, which was, of course, encouraged also by the explanatory work of the GCP and the youth unions close to it, has an objective foundation. It was generated first and foremost by the growth of crisis phenomena in capitalist society and the search for alternative ways of development. The interest of the masses in the experience of history is linked precisely with this intensifying search for a way out of the ugliness of capitalist reality. People want to know whether there were analogous situations in the past and what lessons can be drawn from them in the present situation.

For example, under conditions when alongside the growth of crisis phenomena in the country a swing to the right is to be observed in political development and neofascist forces are becoming active, it is quite natural that society should show a growing interest in the struggle of the working-class movement against the rise of fascism during the years of the Weimar Re-

public and in the anti-fascist Resistance after 1933. At the same time people begin to ask many questions on account of the false interpretation put on many historical events in school, in the armed forces and in the mass media. If we do not give them a convincing answer this may seriously prejudice the development of the democratic movement against the swing to the right in our country. This concerns, in particular, the old lie that the nazis and communists jointly destroyed the Weimar Republic, a lie which the social-democratic leaders used in the past and are using now to justify their refusal to let the social-democrats act in unity with the communists.

Also, the spread of the movement against the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in our country contributed to heightening society's interest in postwar history. People want to know how the remilitarization of the FRG took place, how the "Without Me!" mass movement⁸ against this process developed, what the lessons are of the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm Appeal demanding a ban on nuclear weapons, and what came of the struggle against the nuclear armament of the Bundeswehr and of the Easter peace marches. Of course, they want to know much more about this period of postwar history: for instance, what caused the division of Germany, why the restoration of the old property relations in the present-day FRG could not be averted, how the united trade unions sprang up, and so on. These questions are likewise enmeshed in lies, which we strive to expose.

Under conditions of oppressive capitalist reality, the growing swing to the right, and the deceleration of the democratic, anti-monopoly forces in many sectors of the struggle, we observe — sometimes even among those who regard themselves as left — desperation and uncertainty in the strength of the working class and its allies. In this context, too, the study of history, chiefly the history of the working-class movement, and the dissemination of a knowledge of history are of immense importance. The experience of the German working-class movement, as of the international working-class movement as a whole, teaches that the struggle for class and democratic aims has never proceeded evenly, that it has never proceeded solely along an ascendant curve, that in addition to periods of rapid progress there were periods of slow evolution, even of serious regress, but as the outcome of this complex development the historical process moved ever faster. A study of history helps to understand the main thing, namely, its basic regularities,

which in our epoch are directing social progress in all capitalist countries ultimately to socialism.

Lastly, the special importance of a study of history to success in the ideological struggle is that since 1945 in the FRG we have hardly ever seen such a mass propaganda exploitation and falsification of history by the bourgeoisie and the right-wing social-democrats as at present. Suffice it to mention the scores of publications and entire cycles of articles in illustrated journals, the huge number of books on historical subjects and, most significantly, the television programs. History has become the object of large-scale and, evidently, profitable business. In a speech at the Hamburg session of the unions of historians and history teachers in 1978, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt noted not without justification that the new thrust into history by bourgeois propaganda was of great moment politically.

What are the motivations and aims of this bourgeois "thrust into history"? The motivations must be looked for, first and foremost, naturally, in the crisis phenomena of the capitalist system and in the monopoly bourgeoisie's new ideological requirements springing from its confrontation with socialism.

As I have already noted, protests against capitalism are growing among a section of the young people in the FRG. The specter of "irritated disaffection with the state" is wandering, and a search is going on for alternatives. It is this that the bourgeois and right-wing social-democratic ideologues hope to counter with their falsification of history. The link between social protests and crisis processes under capitalism is acknowledged in a publication devoted to a session of the Evangelical Academy held with the participation of historians and politicians in Tutzing in the summer of 1978. It declares that there is a need for developing "stable traditions" "helping to withstand crises and conflicts."⁹

Bourgeois and right-wing social-democratic propaganda seeks to make the people think that not everything is that bad. The social system in the FRG, where big capital has restored and consolidated the old relations of property and power and thereby blocked social progress, is portrayed in this propaganda as the high point of the development of German history. The purpose is to get people to adopt an approach to history conforming to the official, government approach, to make them identify themselves with a state governed by monopoly capital.

Moreover, the falsification of history by

bourgeois and right-wing social-democratic ideologues serves as an instrument of the ideological assault against the exponents of a real alternative to the capitalist system — against the communists and existing socialism. Bearing in mind the defeat inflicted on German imperialism by the proclamation and successful development of the German Democratic Republic, it is not surprising that the "thrust into history" in propaganda is directed mainly against existing socialism on German soil. Desperate efforts are being made to dispute the GDR's legitimate right to existence either on the "historical grounds" of an allegedly preserved "integral German state people," or by propounding "nothing more" than the thesis of an "integral cultural nation."

On the other hand, bourgeois ideologues entirely ignore the historical approach in what concerns the extent of the progress achieved by socialist countries. By non-historical comparisons of the development levels of the productive forces, or one or another aspect of material well-being, they try to put across the idea of capitalism's superiority and divert attention from the obvious fact that considering their initial historical positions the socialist countries are already today clearly proving the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist in those areas of life. All the more is the historical approach necessary for the progressive forces to all issues of the confrontation between the two systems. Only this will give a full picture of socialism's tremendous achievements and of imperialism's lack of a future.

The massive falsification of history by bourgeois and right-wing social-democratic historians and politicians with the aid of the mass media at their disposal is a serious challenge to Marxist research and Marxist dissemination of a knowledge of history. The task is not only to give a convincing rebuff to this ideological campaign, but also to use more fully than before growing interest shown by young people in questions of history to promote class consciousness among the working class, particularly among young workers.

This is what predetermines the forms, content and direction of the present stage of the German Communist Party's ideologico-educational work.

1. The extraordinary law against socialists was in operation in Germany in 1878-1890, with its spearhead directed at the Social-Democrats and the entire German revolutionary movement. — Ed.

2. An abortive counter-revolutionary putsch in Ger-

many in 1920 organized by monarchist and militarist circles led by a big landowner named Kapp. — Ed.

3. Ernst Thälmann, *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften in Zwei Bänden*, Vol. 1, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, p. 69.

4. Herbert Mies, "Gedanken zum 10. Jahrestag der Gründung der DKP" in *Die DKP-Gründung, Entwicklung, Bedeutung*, Frankfurt on Main, 1978, p. 11.

5. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Frederick Engels' Preface to the Third German Edition.

6. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6 p. 496.

7. August Bebel, *Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg mit Berücksichtigung der hauptsächlichsten sozialen Bewegungen des Mittelalters*, Braunschweig, 1876, p. 3.

8. An anti-war protest movement that involved large democratic sections of society in the FRG at the close of the 1940s and in the early 1950s. — Ed.

9. W. Scheller, "Tragbare Traditionen fehlen" in *Welt der Arbeit*, August 10, 1978.



Two lines in Asia

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The political situation taking shape in Asia causes understandable concern to democratic opinion. Over three decades have passed since the Second World War, but big and small wars on the continent do not stop for a single day and armed conflicts break out time and again. Asia takes up one-third of the land area of the planet and accounts for more than half of the world's population.

Instability and the threat of old seats of conflict expanding and new ones arising are a reality in practically every region of Asia. In the Middle East, a bloc pivoted on the Tel Aviv-Cairo axis is being formed under the aegis of Washington. The United States, China and Pakistan are waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan with the aid of counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries. Peking persists in its acts of provocation on the borders of Socialist Vietnam and India. In the Far East, the South Korean regime is joining actively in the U.S.-Japanese partnership. The Persian Gulf and some other areas have been declared bridgeheads for the rapid deployment force being formed overseas. The whole of Asia is threatened with the spread of nuclear arms.

The main factor for mounting tension on the Asian continent is the anti-communist and neocolonialist policy of imperialist powers in whose strategic plans Asia has long held a prominent place. In spite of sharp inter-imperialist contradictions, the political and economic interests of the biggest capitalist countries of the world interlock and complement one another on this continent.

Reactionary forces are intent on preventing the transformation of Asia into a zone of peace, national independence and social progress. They stint no effort to destabilize and overthrow progressive regimes and to push Asian countries against each other. It is in postwar Asia that imperialism tried to implement by force its policy of "containing" communism. The world witnessed three large-scale armed attacks on socialist gains on the continent; first the French imperialists (1946-1954) and then their U.S. counterparts (1965-1973) waged a "dirty war" against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In 1950 the United States attacked the Korean Democratic People's Republic. A new, particularly outrageous and dangerous manifestation of the reactionary collusion of imperialist and social chauvinist forces was the armed intervention openly carried out in 1979 by the Peking hegemonists against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Reaction uses for its military-political conspiracies against Asian peoples numerous imperialist military bases most of which are situated in the immediate proximity of the frontiers of socialist and other peace-loving countries.

The hegemonist ambitions of China's Maoist leadership are also a source of high tension in Asia. As far back as the 1950s Peking announced its "special" foreign policy line based on the notorious theory of "three worlds," openly betraying the interests of socialism and the cause of national and social liberation.

Drifting more and more toward compromise with imperialist reaction, the Peking leaders

have been undermining the interests of peace in Asia and the world for more than 20 years now. They use the treacherous methods of Chinese emperors — sustained political, economic or even military pressure — in an effort to bleed white, countries and governments that do not suit them.

Fomenting suspicion and enmity among peoples and states is a favorite Maoist device. Peking assigns a notable role in this to the Chinese immigrants living in various parts of the continent, in particular Southeast Asia. Its accomplices are primarily immigrants who have captured important economic, financial and supply levers in the host countries.

Part and parcel of this hegemonist foreign policy is subversion in the international communist and working-class movement. What was particularly disastrous was the great damage caused to some influential Asian communist parties precisely when the revolutionary and national liberation movement was experiencing a powerful upswing.

The Maoists try to split communist parties by forming extremist factions within them. They set rightist regimes and reactionary forces on the communists. The facts show that on many occasions Chinese splitters make common cause with CIA agents. The Peking leaders cynically camouflage their adventurous and provocative activities with revolutionary talk and capitalize unabashedly on the sympathy which the peoples of the world feel for the people's revolution in China.

Searching for allies to pursue their hegemonist designs, the Maoists have turned to Japan. The basis on which they have established close relations with Japanese reactionaries and nationalists is expansionism and racism in its concentrated form, that is, "Pan-Asiaticism." The so-called Treaty of Peace and Friendship between China and Japan (1978) is an embodiment of great-power concepts that the rulers of both countries have exalted to the rank of official policy.

The union between Peking and U.S. imperialism and the extension of China's military-political partnership with the United States are becoming more and more manifest. To achieve "strategic harmony" with the Pentagon brass-hats, the Chinese leaders sacrifice the sovereignty of their country by accepting the transformation of Taiwan into a U.S. bridgehead. Washington reciprocates; not long ago it lifted all restrictions on the sale of offensive weapons to China. The "parallel strategic lines" of Peking and imperialist reaction are

gradually developing into outright military-political cooperation.

The ruling circles of Japan, closely following the evolution of the common strategy of the USA and China and refusing to lag behind them, are stepping up militarization and the re-arming of the country. They are willing to make Japan a U.S. nuclear bastion in the Far East. In the political sphere, Tokyo plans the formation of a so-called Pacific community to be used as an instrument of imperialist diktat. More and more, the Japanese government supports aggressive moves of the U.S. militarists and Chinese hegemonists in various parts of the globe, above all in Asia. This activity is made out to be "economic aid of political and strategic significance." What is actually happening is that Japan is being drawn into the orbit of U.S. and Chinese strategy against the Soviet Union, the socialist community as a whole and national liberation movements. The U.S.-Chinese-Japanese alliance has become the chief menace to the peoples of Asia.

The imperialists and hegemonists attach great importance to plans for the transformation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) into a military-political alignment. However, they encounter great difficulties, for the peoples of Asia have a vivid memory of the inglorious activity of puppet organizations such as SEATO. This explains why attempts have lately been made to tie countries of the region to the imperialist policy of aggression through ANZUS and ANZUK* as well as through bilateral military treaties and agreements. Regrettably, certain members of ASEAN promote U.S. and Chinese plans, say, by participating in the U.S.-Chinese conspiracy against the People's Republic of Kampuchea intended to restore the Pol Pot regime of genocide in that country. This policy is at variance with the security interests of Southeast Asian countries.

A new aspect of imperialist subversion against peace and stability on our continent, primarily in Indochina, is the plan to bring into being a "Pan-Indochinese resistance movement" of traitors to the Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean peoples. These acts of aggression are covered up by a strident campaign using the lie about the "Soviet and Vietnamese military threat," and "international terrorism"

*ANZUS, a military-political alliance of Australia, New Zealand and the United States; ANZUK, military alignment comprising Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Malaysia and Singapore (Malaysia and Singapore are members of ASEAN). — Ed.

as well as other, equally provocative falsehoods.

In making long-range forecasts of international developments, however, it must be borne in mind that the "strategic harmony" and "parallel interests" of Washington and Peking announced on either side of the Pacific cannot last for objective reasons. The logic of political evolution and the lessons of history indicate that those who lay claim to world leadership inevitably come up against deep-rooted contradictions which develop into conflicts sooner or later. At the moment the USA and China are following the principle "My enemy's enemy is my friend." But even now each of them is trying to secure maximum advantages at the expense of the other. All this must be remembered in mobilizing the masses to fight for durable peace and security in Asia, all the more so since public opinion in Asian countries is increasingly concerned about the prospect of China purchasing U.S. arms and about recurrent military provocations and threats against socialist Vietnam on the part of Peking. Deep concern about Chinese expansionism is also expressed by many statesmen, even in such ASEAN countries as Indonesia or Malaysia.

There is reason to affirm that the growing opposition of the peoples, of all sober-minded elements in the countries of our continent to a pro-Peking policy is becoming a characteristic of continental politics. The present international situation itself necessitates the greatest possible militancy of democratic and peace forces to foil the aggressive schemes of imperialism and hegemonism.

Asia is both an arena of struggle against imperialist policies and a region where the revolutionary and national liberation movement have made major gains. The victory of the peoples of Indochina over the U.S. aggressor, the reunification of Vietnam on socialist lines and the formation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and People's Republic of Kampuchea are outstanding events. This has considerably strengthened the positions of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in Southeast Asia and throughout the continent. The triumph of the people's democratic revolution in Afghanistan, and the progressive socio-economic changes effected in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen made a valuable contribution to the achievements of the peoples fighting for national liberation and a happy future.

The nonaligned movement in Asia also plays an important part in promoting peace, security

and international cooperation. The countries participating in it, among which the Republic of India stands out thanks to its realistic and constructive position, oppose the policy of dictat and interference; they stand for the elimination of the danger of a nuclear world war, for an end to the arms race and for peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.

In spite of intensifying attacks by international reaction, durable peace and security and defense of the cause of national and social liberation in Asia are being put on political and material foundations. The peace-loving, internationalist policy and coordinated foreign-policy actions of the fraternal socialist countries of Asia and Europe play the leading role in this. Their efforts in the world arena are marked by profound realism, firmness of purpose and a sincere desire to find constructive solutions to burning international problems in the interest of all humanity. The treaties of friendship and mutual assistance signed by the socialist countries of our continent and their growing cooperation with the Soviet Union have a strong impact on the international climate.

The new peace initiatives advanced by the 26th congress of the CPSU have a beneficial effect on the political atmosphere; they bring ready response from peace supporters in various parts of the world. "Our party and the Mongolian people," said Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, speaking to the 18th congress of the MPRP, "see the Peace Program of the 26th congress of the CPSU as a realistic road to a healthier international political climate. We applaud and fully support that program as a common platform of struggle for peace and universal security and for the removal of the war menace."

Prominent in the socialist countries' comprehensive and far-reaching proposals are measures aimed at eliminating dangerous seats of crisis in Asia. The Mongolian government subscribes to the idea of calling an international conference with the express purpose of searching collectively for ways to settle the Middle East problem on a realistic and equitable basis. This would meet the vital interests of the peoples of the region, who declare for preventing a further deterioration of the situation and frustrating the military-political collusion of imperialist forces and Arab reactionaries. We consider that the struggle for the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the occupied territories and for guaranteeing the Arab people of Palestine the right to establish a state of their own provides a basis on which the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the region could unite.

People's Mongolia resolutely supports the initiatives of the foreign ministers' conference of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea on establishing good-neighbor relations and cooperation between Southeast Asian countries and on transforming the region into a zone of peace, stability and prosperity. We consider that the constructive attitude and goodwill of the DRA government offer an opportunity to settle the international aspects of the situation around Afghanistan by political means and to normalize the overall situation in the region.

The Mongolian People's Republic actively supports all measures adopted at the national, regional or higher level to strengthen security in Asia. It declares for turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone and approves of initiatives aimed at improving the political climate in the Persian Gulf. In view of the present state of affairs, we regard the Soviet proposal for talks among the countries concerned on the application of confidence-building measures in the Far East as most timely.

Peace and security in Asia cannot be promoted without relations based on mutual confidence, peaceful coexistence and cooperation among the countries of the continent on an equal footing. To help achieve this noble objective, Mongolia has proposed to conclude a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific countries. The countries of the region should meet in conference to draft the convention. The conference could also be attended by the permanent members of the UN Security Council, which would make it possible to provide the convention with international guarantees. The People's Great Khural of the MPR has called on the parliaments of all Asian and Pacific countries to back the proposal.

The convention should be based on such principles as mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, their equality, the inviolability of state frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force or the threat of force, settlement of disputes solely by peaceful means, and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation. In other words, the convention should reflect the spirit of Bandung, which has taken deep root among the Asian public.

It goes without saying that the convention should reflect the relevant provisions of the UN Charter and some of the UN resolutions on strengthening international security, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the development of friendly co-

operation among states. It would also be advisable to include commitments by the signatories to actively work for easing military confrontation, curbing the arms race and effecting disarmament as a highly important and material prerequisite of promoting peace and security in Asia and elsewhere.

In making so important a proposal, we take realistic stock of the situation. We know that it will probably take much time and effort to put it into practice. The main condition for success is for Asian countries to show political realism and good will and to comprehend the dangers posed by the mounting threat to peace and the security of nations.

Lying at the basis of the Mongolian initiative is the firm conviction that the convention outlawing the use of force in international relations, if signed by Asian and Pacific countries, would help lessen tensions and head off conflicts in a vast region. We see no reasonable alternative to dialogue in this nuclear age. Differences in the social and political systems of countries, the degree of their economic development or the political and religious convictions of their peoples should be no hindrance to peaceful talks. To preserve peace and guarantee collective security is a concern of all people on earth.

Our country's initiative has already met with widespread support in the fraternal socialist countries and among the peace-loving public of the planet. It has aroused interest in many Asian countries. We feel certain that it is in the best interest of all nations to sign the convention. It is part and parcel of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aimed at removing the war danger.

In defining its foreign policy objectives and working for their achievement, our party proceeds from the fact that the revolutionary liberation process is the decisive aspect of the contemporary political situation in Asia. This is why the MPR advocates the greatest possible extension of relations between the socialist community, on the one hand, and newly-free countries and the national liberation movement, on the other, and why it would like these relations to gain in political content. The basis for joint action is the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress, against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

Furthering the movement of progressive and peace-loving opinion on the continent is a particularly pressing task. The 18th MPRP congress, recognizing the paramount importance of achieving this goal, declared for the con-

vocation of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of Asia to exchange views on steps to safeguard peace and stability on the continent.

The MPRP and the Mongolian government

will continue doing all in their power to contribute effectively to the expansion and consolidation of the front of peace fighters in Asia, against concerted imperialist and hegemonist intrigues.

Nuclear war spells catastrophe for humankind

THE PHYSICIANS' VIEW

WMR continues its series of comments about how disastrous a nuclear war would be to humankind.* In this issue the comments are by physicians, members of the most humane profession, who are deeply worried about the destinies of peace, civilization, and all things living. Many of them refuse to be onlookers of the arms race and the colossal stockpiling of nuclear missile weapons. The movement of physicians for nuclear disarmament has been prompted by the desire to make the maximum effort to prevent a nuclear holocaust and to warn the peoples and governments of the fearful threat from the gigantic arsenals of weapons of mass annihilation. Evidence of the worldwide response to this movement is the first international conference of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held in Airlie, a suburb of Washington, in March of 1981 (attended by over a hundred prominent members of the medical profession from 11 countries), the setting up of a physicians for social responsibility organization in the USA, The Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Committee of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the medical movement against nuclear arms group in Britain, and other bodies.

The *WMR* Commission for Peace and Democratic Movements has asked a number of leading physicians to comment on the following questions:

What are the medical implications of a nuclear war?

What should be done to prevent a nuclear disaster?

What role can and must physicians play in this?

Below are comments from Academician Yevgeni Chazov, General Director of the All-Union Cardiological Research Center of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and President of the Physicians for the Prevention

of Nuclear War Committee, and Dr. Ida Fisher, an anti-war movement activist in Britain.

The greatest of tragedies

Yevgeni Chazov. The people of Europe have chilling memories of the Second World War, which took a toll of 50 million lives and reduced towns and villages to rubble. The Soviet people suffered 20 million casualties, with practically every family affected by the tragedy of war.

We know what war means only too well. But the catastrophic dimensions and deadly consequences of a nuclear war cannot be compared even with what humanity lived through 40 years ago. The power of all the explosives used in the Second World War has been estimated to be about five megatons. The nuclear arsenals now in existence have charges with a yield tens of times greater than the total power of the explosions in all the wars fought throughout history.

The radioactivity of the nuclear weapon is not in any way less lethal than its blast. Even one hour after a one-megaton explosion, radioactivity in the place of explosion is equivalent to the radioactivity of 500 million kilograms of radium. This is tens of millions of times greater than that produced by a powerful gamma installation used in medicine to treat malignant tumors. Regrettably, few people are aware of the terrible consequences of a nuclear war started deliberately or by accident. Figuratively speaking, the whole of humankind is today sitting on a powder keg containing 10 tons of TNT for each one of us — while next to that keg some politicians and military are waving the torch of a nuclear "strategy," which can at any moment, if only by accident, spark off an explosion that would plunge the world into catastrophe.

Ida Fisher. The possibility of effective defensive measures is one which medical opinion views with despair and pessimism. The results as seen from the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki do not leave us to believe that there is

**WMR*, June 1981.

either a treatment or a palliative that would be of the slightest value. People will either die, be disfigured or recover to pass on to posterity the results of their damaged genes. There is not, within the medical purview, as yet, or likely to be, a capacity to treat and cure the effect of nuclear catastrophe. It is as if the Dark Ages had recurred and the Black Plague was with us again — against which we can but offer incantations and witchcraft.

Genetic abnormalities are known to occur as the result of radiation, and more and more we are becoming aware of the minimal amounts that are required to cause abortion, fetal abnormalities, and still-births. The incidence of leukemia blood disease, and tumor formations would most probably increase very significantly.

I am not an expert on civil defense measures so I can only offer a view. As nuclear warfare can be compared to some extent to a highly infectious pandemic of airborne disease, I see no way in which civil defense, as we understand it, can make any difference to the final result. The only possible civil defense would be to bury the entire population of the area at risk below the surface of the earth until the contamination of the air and surface had receded sufficiently to allow of their emergence. This would imply the building of shelters and the stockpiling of food and water on such a scale as to preclude any attempt to do so. Yet even in that case, shelters as far as 10 miles away from the center of a megaton nuclear explosion would turn into gigantic ovens for their occupants.

A "limited" conflict is a dangerous illusion

Ida Fisher. When some ill-informed or irresponsible persons, some of whom may be holding official posts, try to justify the arms race by alleging that populations would survive a thermonuclear war, that amounts to an attempt to prepare them psychologically for a "limited nuclear war and convince them that the chances of survival are high. As I see it, there is no way of limiting a nuclear war unless one can assume that all the aggression and retaliation could be limited to an island far removed from any large land mass; an island from whence pollution cannot spread. Otherwise one must accept that the warfare must occur in one of the continents and by virtue of alliances and mutual assistance pacts the conflagration will, perforce, spread to other major land masses.

Is it possible to have winners in the nuclear war? One could reply with other questions —

what are winners? Do we suggest that the winners mean the country with the greatest number of survivors? In that event one would suggest that the ultimate result would be a population on both sides of the war which would be so riddled by disease, radiation sickness and genetic disasters that the term "winner" would be a savage irony.

Yevgeni Chazov. In the joys and sorrows of day-to-day life people have gradually begun to forget the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. More, some military, government and public figures and even scientists are trying to belittle the danger of the nuclear arms race and the likely consequences of nuclear war for every inhabitant of our planet. It is being suggested that such a war can somehow be won if it is "limited," that mankind and the biosphere would survive even a global nuclear conflict. This is a pipedream which many of them do not believe themselves and which must be dispelled. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are a reality, a historical fact. The tocsin of Hiroshima reminds people of the danger and calls them to be vigilant to preserve life on Earth.

Speak the truth about war

Ida Fisher. The necessary measures to prevent nuclear warfare are several. The first and most important is to make the people of the Earth totally aware of the dangers inherent in such a weapon. The second is that governments and politicians must be forced to realize the genocidal results of using such weapons. Thirdly, that all political systems must learn to coexist amicably, respecting the national interests of each other.

Doctors cannot afford to stand aloof from these problems. They are not different except in so far as they have learned the facts about disease, malnutrition, and deprivation. Perhaps they have a more significant role to play in demonstrating the awfulness of the dilemma — either stop the nuclear war game or accept the destruction of the planet. One assumes that because of their training and their intelligence doctors are able to perceive the dilemma and therefore have a responsibility in assisting to resolve it. Doctors have their sectional interests to care for. One of the most important interests of doctors is the welfare of their patients, indeed, their professional philosophy is based upon care of patients and it would seem self-evident that such a weapon of total destruction should be anathema to all medical practitioners of whatever country they are citizens. Medical practitioners aware of the implications must take a prominent and persuasive role in seeking

the abolition of nuclear weapons and the prevention of all wars. It is a negation of medical belief to accept the inevitability of war.

Yevgeni Chazov. Twenty-six years ago the Pugwash movement of scientists sprang up on the initiative of Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Frederic Joliot-Curie, and other physicists. It called for assessing the danger which appeared as a result of the creation of mass destruction weapons. The appeal, which not only pointed to the danger of nuclear war but urged the need for wisdom and for settling conflicts between states by negotiation, was signed by scientists of world stature, including the physicists Max Born, Percy Williams Bridgman, Cecil Frank Powell and Hideki Yukawa, the physiologist Hermann Joseph Muller, and the chemist Linus Pauling.

The Pugwash movement has undoubtedly played a role in the struggle to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. Its ideas, unfortunately, have not yet reached large sections of society. We physicians, being an influential professional group dedicated to the life and health of people and most clearly aware of how tragic the consequences of a nuclear war will be, can and must make our contribution to prevent such a war.

In speaking out against the nuclear arms race for the prevention of nuclear war we should, at the same time, find the most effective way to contribute toward the achievement of these goals. One of the main goals is to use our knowledge and the exact scientific data obtained by research to warn the peoples and governments possessing nuclear weapons that life on Earth is menaced by the stockpiling of mass destruction weapons and by a nuclear war if it should break out. Furthermore, we must not only discuss the immediate effects of a nuclear explosion but also take into account the global problems linked to radioactive contamination of the stratosphere, the destruction of the Earth's ozone layer, the modification of the climate, the ecological balance and other factors. No nation would remain unaffected by a nuclear catastrophe.

That highlights the danger of the conceptions promoted by imperialist circles to the effect that it is somehow possible to use certain types of nuclear weapons that do not cause "massive destruction." Some politicians and military are today assiduously promoting the neutron bomb, one of the most advanced types of offensive thermonuclear weapons, which, like the atomic bomb, is a means of mass annihilation. It derives its main effect from neutron radiation, which causes radiation

sickness and death. President Reagan of the United States has given the go-ahead to full production of the neutron weapon. This inhuman act is a further step toward a nuclear catastrophe.

The contention of the advocates of the neutron weapon, that it is directed only against combatants and would not affect civilians, is feeble. The peoples of the world, in particular the countries on whose territories that weapon may be deployed, must know the truth. Even at a distance of 1,200 meters from the epicenter of a neutron bomb explosion with a yield of one kiloton (corresponding to an affected area of 4.5 square kilometers), a field of absolutely lethal radiation will be formed and people within an area of 15 square kilometers will get radiation doses which, although they might not immediately cause grave radiation damage, would, with a high degree of likelihood, have delayed radiation effects in the shape of malignancies and, in their descendants, genetic abnormalities. Clearly, given the high density of the population in a number of countries and the small distances between population centers, the "invulnerability" of the civilian population to the neutron weapon is a myth calculated to mislead the layman.

A major aspect in the movement of physicians for nuclear disarmament is to stress that the nuclear arms race already costs mankind a great deal. Staggering sums of money are spent on preparations for a nuclear war even as millions of people suffer from hunger and various diseases. This diversion of colossal manpower and material resources makes it more difficult to solve the world's numerous problems, e.g. health, energy, economic development and so on.

In the newly-free countries 400 million people suffer from chronic malnutrition, 300 million have anemia, 100 million children face the threat of death from undernourishment and vitamin deficiency, 30 per cent of the children have no opportunity of going to school. And yet the world spends 20-25 times more on military purposes than the total volume of aid rendered to these countries annually by the industrialized states.

It is barely 18 months since the idea of an international movement of physicians was born. Its principles are the principles of the preservation of life on Earth, happiness for all, for our children and grandchildren. One can say with a sense of profound satisfaction and professional pride in the lofty public spirit and genuine humanism of doctors in various countries of the world that the idea has met with the

broadest approval by the most diverse political forces.

We face many difficulties and it is unlikely that our path will be strewn with roses. But we have no alternative. Mankind is in danger and doctors, whose mission it is to wrest every life from disease and death, must do everything to save it. We appeal to all members of the medical profession to spare no effort to exclude nuclear war from the life of humankind for all time to come.

FROM DOCUMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PHYSICIANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

From the section "Predictable and Unpredictable Effects of Nuclear War":

"We must distinguish between the immediate and the delayed effects of nuclear war. Among the immediate effects are mass deaths in the first hours, days and weeks after an explosion. These are caused by the simultaneous effects of blast, heat and large doses of penetrating radiation. The number of such deaths would be magnified catastrophically by the destruction of buildings, by secondary fires, by disruption of all life-support systems, including electric power, communication and transportation, and by the destruction and contamination of the water supply and of food-stocks. . . . Delayed radioactive fallout from multiple nuclear detonations would render large areas of land uninhabitable for prolonged periods of time, making it impossible to produce the food upon which the survival of whole populations would depend.

"In an all-out nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s, it is likely that the population will be devastated. Over 200,000,000 men, women and children will be killed immediately; over 60,000,000 will be injured; medical resources will be incapable of coping with those injured by blast, thermal energy and radiation; 80 per cent of physicians will die; 80 per cent of hospital beds will be destroyed; stores of blood plasma, antibiotics and drugs will be destroyed or severely compromised; food and water will be extensively contaminated. . . . Fallout will constitute a continuing problem. Survivors with altered immunity, malnutrition, an unsanitary environment and severe exposure problems will be subject to lethal enteric infections."

From the section "The Role of Physicians in the Post-Attack Period":

"Considering the known thermal, blast and

radiation effects of a one-megaton thermonuclear explosion over an industrial city of about four million persons, we know that from 200,000 to nearly 500,000 immediate deaths would result, with an additional 400,000 to over 600,000 injured, depending on the nature of the attack. . . . Many who are rescued may not survive the crush injuries, multiple fractures or hemorrhages. Others will die in days or in weeks from burns, traumatic wounds or radiation exposure. . . . Nuclear war, however, is very likely to involve more than the appalling destruction from a single nuclear bomb, or even a few bombs. With more than 50,000 nuclear weapons in existing stockpiles we must face the prospect of the explosion of hundreds and perhaps thousands of bombs, many possessing hundreds of times the explosive power of those that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

From the section "The Social, Economic and Psychological Costs of the Nuclear Arms Race as Related to Health Needs":

"The consequences of the use of nuclear weapons defy human comprehension because of the enormity of their destructiveness. . . . In the face of the terror evoked by an adversary, we seek security as humanity has traditionally done through developing ever more dangerous weapons in increasing numbers, and from spurious notions of strength dominated by false concepts of winning and losing. Such thought patterns have been rendered outmoded by the realities of nuclear weapons.

From the concluding part of the Resolution:

"War is not an inevitable consequence of human nature. War is a result of interacting social, economic and political factors. . . . To argue that wars have always existed and that this social phenomenon cannot be eliminated ignores history, which has demonstrated a human capacity to change institutions and practices which are no longer useful or are socially destructive. Slavery, cannibalism, dueling and human sacrifice are among the practices which the human race has recognized to be improper and has abandoned. The genocidal nature of nuclear weapons has rendered nuclear war obsolete as a viable means for resolving conflict."

From the section "What Physicians Can Do to Prevent Nuclear War":

"Review available information on the medical implications of nuclear weapons, nuclear war and related subjects. Provide information by lectures, publications and other means to the medical and related professions and to the public on the subject of nuclear war. Bring to the attention of all concerned with public policy

the medical implications of nuclear weapons. Seek the cooperation of the medical and related professions in all countries for these aims. Develop a resource center for education on the dangers of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. . . .

"Initiate discussion of development of an international law banning the use of nuclear weapons similar to the laws which outlaw the use of chemical and biological weapons. Encourage the formation in all countries of groups of physicians and committees within established medical societies to pursue the aims of education and information on the medical effects of nuclear weapons. Establish an international organization to coordinate the activities of the various national medical groups working for the prevention of nuclear war."

From the Appeal to the Physicians of the World:

"No one should be indifferent to the nuclear threat. It hangs over hundreds of millions of people. As physicians who realize what is at stake, we must practice the ultimate in preventive medicine — avoidance of the greatest hazard the world will ever know. Your help is needed in this great endeavor. We urge you to (1) inform yourselves, your colleagues and the general public about the medical effects of nuclear war; (2) to discuss the medical con-

sequences of nuclear war at meetings of members of medical societies, special symposia, and conferences; (3) to prepare and publish in the medical press and specialized journals articles about medical consequences of the use of nuclear weapons; (4) to speak about medical consequences of nuclear war to medical students and to your community; (5) to use your influence and knowledge to help strengthen the movement of physicians for the prevention of nuclear war."

From the Appeal to the Heads of All Governments and to the United Nations:

"Advances in technology in the 20th century have benefited humankind but have also created deadly instruments of mass destruction. The enormous accumulation of these nuclear weapons has made the world less secure. A nuclear conflict would ravage life on earth.

"We speak as physicians in the interests of the people whose health we have vowed to protect. The scientific data concerning the medical consequences of the use of such instruments of mass destruction convince us that effective medical care of casualties would be impossible. We therefore urge that elimination of this threat be given the highest priority. No objective is more vital than to preserve the conditions that make possible continuation of civilized life on earth."

New escalation of the Big Lie

It was Goebbels who first put forward the theory of the Big Lie: to get people to believe it, you must tell it often enough.

Ignoring the lessons of the ignominious defeat of the Nazi perpetrators of the Big Lie and oblivious of the fiascos of its predecessors — ranging from Truman and John Foster Dulles to Carter — the Reagan administration has published a booklet, "Soviet Military Power" in an effort to breathe new life into the discredited myth of a "Soviet Menace."

To focus world attention on it, the booklet was "leaked" to the *New York Times* and the *International Herald Tribune* in advance of its official release by "Defense" Secretary, Caspar Weinberger.

The significant thing about it is not so much its contents, which are a rehash and compilation in the form of "documentation" of hoary, outworn lies often told by Weinberger and other military-industrial complex spokesmen.

What is significant is the timing. It came directly on the heels of the agreement reached between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Secretary of State Alexander Haig on the opening date of the talks on nuclear missiles and on the eve of Reagan's decision to start a new and unprecedented round in the arms race. It came in the wake of an unprecedented upsurge in the mass movements in Western Europe and the United States against the U.S. imperialist push for a new round in the arms race, against production of the neutron bomb, against siting medium-range missiles in Western Europe, for peace, détente and disarmament.

It comes at a time when the Washington war-makers meet with increasing resistance from within NATO itself to their demands for ever more armaments; when most of their partner-rivals stand firm for détente in Europe and for a continuing East-West dialogue.

The booklet is an attempt to negate and reverse all these hard facts. Its publication now bears out the charge of Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, that the Reagan administration is forced to maneuver in the face of these facts and that its agreement to talk about arms control and arms reduction with the Soviet Union is a dodge, a stalling tactic of "agreeing to talk about talks about talks" while it rushes ahead with the biggest arms build-up in history.

The record of deceit and falsification by the White House is too long and too well established for the world's peoples to be taken in by this escalation of the Big Lie.

In their anti-Soviet zeal to pile more and more acrid butter on the stale bread of the "Soviet Menace," the authors of the book descend to the absurd. Thus, for example, they write: "New Delta-class Soviet submarines have the range to hit U.S. targets from within Soviet harbors, where they are practically invulnerable." If that is the case, why build such submarines at all, costly as they are!

It turns out that every weapon described in the book was developed in response to some weapon built by the U.S. to offset or defend against it, to maintain the military equilibrium on which détente rests.

In a speech made on the occasion of his receiving the Albert Einstein Peace Prize last April, George Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, said:

"We must remember that it has been we Americans who, at almost every step of the road, have taken the lead in the development of this sort of (nuclear — J.W.) weaponry. It was we who first produced and tested such a device; we who were the first to raise its destructiveness to a new level with the hydrogen bomb; we who introduced the multiple warhead; we who have declined every proposal for the renunciation of the principle of 'first use,' and we alone, so help us God, who have used the weapon in anger against others and against tens of thousands of non-combatants at that... To my mind, the nuclear bomb is the most useless weapon ever invented. It can be employed to no rational purpose."

Commenting on this speech, the *Des Moines Register* (Iowa) wrote in an editorial (May 28, 1981): "The arms race is insane. No one can win it. It can kill those who try. It has to be stopped."

This is precisely the stand of the Soviet Union made clear time and again and most recently at the 26th congress of the CPSU and by the Soviet peace initiatives since. This is

precisely the demand of the world's peoples, including the people of the USA.

Who will welcome and attempt to exploit this embellished version of the Big Lie of the "Soviet Menace"? They are readily identified: the atomaniac cabal in Washington, the Thatcherites in London, the hegemonists in Peking, the Zionist expansionists in Israel, the apartheid racists of South Africa and such ilk as the Pinochets, none of whom represent their people.

The psychological warfare organs of monopoly capital may shout this "new" version of the "Soviet Menace" until their lungs burst. But the noise of the Big Lie will not drown out or stop the music of millions of marching feet for peace and disarmament. Life itself is at stake and no amount of lies can prevent the people from fighting for this most precious possession.

James West
Political Bureau member, CPUSA

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Clement Rohee
Central Executive Committee Member,
People's Progressive Party of Guyana

In its work the People's Progressive Party is guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and relies on the experience of other fraternal parties and on its own experience of more than three decades of struggle for the interests of the working people. This is a dependable basis which enables us to analyze thoroughly and predict social processes, and correctly answer the questions worrying the people.

Our systematic analyses of the nation's development have made it clear to us, the communists of Guyana, that the economic situation is deteriorating and the people's living standard is falling. Hardships unfailingly evoke growing dissatisfaction among working people, and correspondingly generate socio-political tensions. The class struggle inevitably grows more acute in this situation.

It is indisputable that the regime established by the People's National Congress 17 years ago is growing more and more unpopular. The PNC is itself losing prestige. The reasons for this are not hard to understand if one looks at the facts. Ever since the PNC came to power civil and political rights have been violated. Inflation has been rampant, rising at an annual rate of nearly 20 per cent between 1975 and 1980. Unemployment is now running at 30 per cent. This year foreign debt compensation payments will eat up 62 per cent of revenues as compared with 15 per cent in 1964. Salaries for the government bureaucracy jumped from G\$27 million in 1964 to G\$194 million in 1981. The 1981 budget deficit is expected to be G\$168 million.

The question may well be asked whether this situation was inevitable or whether the PNC had some other course open to it to save the nation from the neocolonialist stranglehold, to take the country onto the road of genuine economic and social progress.

The answer to this question can be found in the political and social realities obtaining in the country. First we have to take into consideration that the nation's two main parties, the PNC and the PPP have declared in favor of anti-imperialism and socialism. Since 1950 the

People's Progressive Party has been advocating scientific socialism, while the People's National Congress adopted "cooperative socialism" in 1970. Second, the PPP is the largest political organization and although it is in opposition it has time and again declared that it is prepared to back the ruling party if it pursued a consistent anti-imperialist, socialist-oriented course, as it did in the 1974-1976 period.¹ Third, in Guyana there is now no large right-wing organization or reactionary social stratum capable of obstructing radical reforms. Fourth, the government is in full control of the army, which has pledged loyalty time and again to the PNC leader, who is also the head of state. Finally, notwithstanding the fact that socialism is being given a bad name because of demagoguery and empty talk, the overwhelming majority of Guyanese accept socialism as practised in Cuba and the Soviet Union as the most viable alternative to the capitalist relations presently obtaining in the country.

Important prerequisites are thus on hand for progressive development, and this could have become reality had the PNC heeded the PPP's proposals for cooperation.² However, the PNC chose to disregard the interests of the people.

A great number of the developing nations are now members of an anti-imperialist front. However, others, like Guyana, have adopted a "pragmatic" stand and are not averse to coming to terms with the forces of reaction and imperialism. Lip service is given to the aims of the liberation struggle, but in reality entirely different guidelines are followed. There are many reasons for this — both general and those springing from national specifics. Moreover, in order to understand the processes now taking place in many of these countries it is necessary to see the changes in the class composition of the ruling parties (or groups).

Relative to the party now in power in Guyana, the social composition of its leadership is entirely at variance with the democratic aspirations of the working people.³ It consists mainly of a bureaucratic and technocratic élite and gets its backing from the military, the para-military and the police. Moreover, the ruling party is

supported by the incipient neo-compradore, mediatory bourgeoisie in the city and bourgeois elements in the countryside. Through demagoguery and manipulation the PNC still controls the Trade Union Congress and the leadership of some other trade unions. But, by and large, the PNC's social base is shrinking. This is shown by the changes in areas that had once been its strongholds, notably the capital — Georgetown. Disillusionment and discontent were displayed as early as in the 1973 elections. This resulted in the low, 60-65 per cent voter turnout in Georgetown compared with 90-95 per cent in other parts of the country where the PPP commands the greatest influence. In the 1978 referendum the PNC's own intelligence unit found that only 14 per cent of the electorate did not respond to the united opposition's call for a boycott. At the latest general elections (December 1980) in the constituencies usually supporting the PNC less than 20 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls.

Many of the PNC's supporters have grown disenchanted with the regime. Consequently, they are either coming to the PPP and the mass organizations friendly to it, or associating with other opposition parties and groups, or remaining in their organizations and resisting their leadership.

The situation is entirely different in the People's Progressive Party. In class terms it articulates the interests of the working sections of the population. Its members are workers, chiefly agricultural workers (cane-cutters and sugar-refinery workers), poor peasants (including Amerindians), and also progressive intellectuals. Moreover, apart from other mass organizations, the party has the firm support of the Guyana Agricultural and General Workers' Union, the single largest union in the country with a membership of 20,000.

Our party is thus organized in such a way as to enable it to conduct a day-to-day struggle and work perseveringly among the people. In recent years it has won greater influence among people working in city factories, the agricultural sector, and at educational institutions, as well as in the urban and rural communities. Thus, the people are its strength.

The living reality is that throughout the post-colonial era the party has had the support of the majority of the people. The elections in 1953, 1957 and 1961 were won by the PPP by an overwhelming majority of votes. In the last free and fair elections (1964) it secured 46 per cent of the votes, while 40 per cent went to the PNC and 12 per cent to the right-wing United

Force. In coalition with reactionary circles, the PNC came to power. Since then it has been tilting the balance in its favor through fabricated, padded voters' lists, extensive abuse of proxy, postal and overseas voting, disenfranchisement of opposition-inclined citizens and, lastly, the seizure and tampering of ballot boxes by the military. Small wonder that in the official reports the "electoral support" for the ruling party jumped to 56 per cent in 1968, and from 71 per cent in 1973 to 77 per cent in 1980.

Despite this falsification of the popular vote, life shows that our party continues to have the full confidence of the working people. The latest evidence of this was provided by the general elections in 1980. In strategic areas throughout the country there were mass rallies at which the people pledged their votes to the PPP. In the sugar belt and other working-class areas, where the PPP wields the biggest influence, 98 per cent of the voters turned out, chiefly those who voted for our party.

However, plans had already been made to thwart the will of the people. A few hours after the polling stations were closed there was suspicious activity. As in 1973, groups of military and members of para-military units seized the ballot boxes and held them for nearly 10 hours, in some cases for 24 hours. These were tampered with, and the ballot switched in favor of the ruling party.

The PPP had forewarned the electorate to entertain no illusions about "winning" elections under the PNC. Even foreign observers were stunned by the scale of the tampering.

A correct conclusion was drawn by an independent international team of observers who came to Guyana to look into the conduct of the election campaign and the elections themselves. This prestigious 11-man team was led by Lord Avebury, Chairman of the United Kingdom Parliamentary Human Rights Group. The mission's report stated: "We came to Guyana aware of the serious doubts expressed about the conduct of the previous elections there, but determined to judge these elections on their own merit and hoping that we should be able to say that the result was fair. We deeply regret that, on the contrary, we were obliged to conclude, on the basis of abundant and clear evidence, that the elections were rigged massively and flagrantly. Fortunately, however, the scale of fraud made it impossible to conceal either from the Guyanese public or from the outside world. Far from legitimizing President Burnham's assumption of his office, the events we witnessed confirm all the fears of

Guyanese and foreign observers about the state of democracy in that country."⁴

The People's National Congress has become a minority party clinging to power against the wishes of the electorate. It is precisely in this context that we consider that the present regime cannot inspire struggles for social emancipation.

Our country is now facing a serious threat: the government of Venezuela is claiming an area of 150,000 square kilometers, which is more than two-thirds of Guyana's territory.⁵ Considering the PNC's unpopularity and isolation it is hard to imagine how it can unite the people to defend the nation in the face of this threat to its territorial integrity and national sovereignty from a powerful neighbor.

Naturally, imperialism is trying to get as much as possible out of this conflict, whose exacerbation suspiciously coincides with the escalation of U.S. aggressiveness in the Caribbean. Washington is fomenting Venezuela's hostility not only toward Guyana. With the lie that Cubans are involved in Guyana's military preparations, the USA is pushing Venezuela into a confrontation with socialist Cuba. U.S. diplomats are pressuring the PNC government to shift further to the right.⁶

The People's Progressive Party has reiterated its determination to defend the sovereignty and independence of Guyana and its territorial integrity in and out of government, as in the past. However, the defense of the nation does not signify defense of an authoritarian minority regime. We have stressed that the question of territorial claims is above narrow partisan interests. For that reason the PNC should resign from the government and allow an emergency government of National Consensus to handle this issue.

In a public declaration the PPP stressed that "jingoism and saber-rattling are not in the interests of either the Guyanese or the Venezuelan people. Only the imperialists and their lackeys on both sides can gain from the border tensions. The neighborly and friendly peoples of Venezuela and Guyana have a common interest — their common destiny lies in national liberation, democracy, peace and social progress. The peoples of Venezuela and Guyana, through their parliaments and other genuinely representative organizations, should immediately explore the means to cooperate and avoid the snares of imperialism and reaction."⁷ The PPP and the Communist Party of Venezuela have a common stand on this problem. They condemn the imperialist attempts to whip up tension between the two countries. At

the same time they have repeatedly called for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the territorial issue, in keeping with their principles of international proletarian solidarity.

Guyana is on the threshold of new battles for an improvement of the life of the people, for democracy, peace and social progress. To win these battles the working people must have a high level of political maturity, discipline and organization. This is seen clearly by the People's Progressive Party. Working in the midst of the masses, it is helping to foster a sense of class solidarity among them and reinforce their will for a radical reform of social relations.

Some leftists, anti-PNC organizations, such as the Working People's Alliance, accuse the PPP of not being interested in revolution, of practising only conventional politics, and confining itself to parliamentary struggles. But we have made it quite clear time and again that parliament is only one form of struggle and in our conditions certainly not the main form. Moreover, in the absence of a revolutionary situation internally and with the international situation seriously aggravated, the PPP is seeking to use in the meantime all forums and institutions, such as parliament, the trade unions and the local government bodies, to safeguard the vital interests of the people and, where possible, advance the cause of the revolution.

As a party of the working class, the PPP has a responsibility and duty to guide and lead the workers in struggle; to defend their living standards as well as their civil and political rights. It will never shirk its responsibilities.

1. In that period the PNC drew up a program of radical socio-economic reforms, nationalized the bauxite and sugar industries, and took anti-imperialist positions in foreign policy. That was when the PPP gave the government its critical support, in other words, supported its positive measures and criticized actions running counter to the interests of the people.

2. As early as 1962 our party offered the PNC participation in a PPP government on an equal footing. In 1977 it urged the formation of a coalition National Patriotic Front and a government representing that Front.

3. C. Jagan "Guyana: positive changes possible," WMR, January 1981.

4. *Something to Remember. The Report of the International Team of Observers at the Elections in Guyana, December 1980.* British Parliamentary Human Rights Group, House of Commons, London, SWI, 1980, p. 28.

5. The frontier between Guyana and Venezuela was in dispute throughout most of the 19th century. However, a court of arbitration was set up in 1897, in accordance with the Treaty of Washington, to decide upon the boundary between the two countries. The award handed down by the court in 1899 was regarded as a "full, perfect and final settlement." In 1966 the People's National Congress-United Force coalition government signed the Geneva Agreement and, in so doing, recognized the existence of a

border dispute with Venezuela. Later, in 1970, the PNC government signed the Port-of-Spain Protocol acknowledging Venezuela's claim but postponing the settlement of the territorial dispute for 12 years. The protocol expires in June 1982.

6. A recent case in point is the blocking by Washington of a U.S. \$60 million World Bank loan to the Guyana

government. Its objective is to exert pressure on the government to ease up price regulations and its marketing procedures, dismantle the state sector, reopen the bauxite and sugar industries to foreign investors, and support U.S. foreign policy. Presently, the government is vacillating on which course of action to take on the matter.

7. Guyana Information Bulletin, No. 4, April 1981, p. 1.



Contradictory evolution

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF OPINION ON CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN THE AFRO-ASIAN REGION

Social development in the Afro-Asian region is characterized by a steady narrowing down of the sphere dominated by exploitive relations, for over the past several decades many peoples of the former colonies have opted for the revolutionary-democratic and socialist way as an alternative to capitalism. But a large group of newly liberated countries continues to move along the capitalist road. The WMR Commission for Problems of the National Liberation Movements in Asian and African Countries has held an international exchange of opinion on "Capitalist Development in the Afro-Asian Region: Basic Features, Peculiarities, Uniformities." The questions analyzed within the framework of this topic were mainly theoretical. Speakers concentrated on the genesis of local capitalism and the ways and trends in its evolution.

Among those who took part in the discussion were: Seydou Cissoko, CC General Secretary, Independence and Labor Party of Senegal; Ali Khavari, CC Political Bureau member, People's Party of Iran; Naim Ashhab, CC Political Bureau member, Jordanian CP; José Lava, CC Political Bureau member, CP Philippines; Satijaya Sudiman, member of the leadership, CP Indonesia; Sarada Mitra, National Council member, CP India; Tahar Ali, CC member, Tunisian CP; Agamemnon Stavrou, CC Alternate member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus; Kemal Kervan of the CP Turkey; Ahmed Salem, Communist Party of the Sudan; Govan Molefe, of the

South African Communist Party; Michael Safali, lecturer in economics at the National University of Lesotho; Sudanese economist Sharif Dishoni; Iranian economist Azad Farsi; Dr. of Economic Sciences Glery Shirokov and Dr. of Historical Sciences Nodari Simoniya (Institute of Orientalology of the USSR Academy of Sciences); and Dr. of Historical Sciences Helmut Nimschowski (Karl Marx University, GDR).

Below is a review of their discussion.

The emergence and origins of local capitalism

The participants in the discussion analyzed some of the general features of the formation of the local capitalist sector in the countries of Asia and Africa. They expressed the view that the emergence and genesis of capitalism in that region were marked by specific features which suggest that it is "secondary," derivative. The initial capitalist development there did not result so much from internal processes as from the development of the capitalism of Europe and America in breadth.

In the epoch of colonial domination, the ways and forms of capitalist evolution of African and Asian countries were predetermined from outside. The metropolitan countries supported the shaping of types of local capitalist and semi-capitalist activity which suited them and which served the main purpose of siphoning off raw materials from the colonies. The requirements of the metropolitan countries stimulated the emergence above all of commercial and usurers' capital, which had the role of "link," of "middleman" between foreign capital (industrial and finance capital) and the

millions upon millions of petty commodity producers in Asia and Africa. In some countries of the East, compradore capital provided the basis for the emergence of a social stratum with entrepreneurial skills. With the passage of time, its activity went beyond the provision of services for foreign interests. With the entry of capitalism upon the imperialist stage and the extensive export of capital which followed, the local propertied classes in these countries increasingly borrowed from the bourgeoisie of the metropolitan countries various business techniques, equipment, forms of hiring manpower, etc.

Back in the colonial period, the metropolitan countries involved the African and Asian countries in their international division of labor and turned them into objects of imperialist methods of exploitation, so sending their social development along the capitalist course. But, it was said at the meeting, in contrast to that of Europe and the United States, this development was marked by a number of fundamental peculiarities.

First, the capitalism introduced from outside did not erode, but at best adapted to its own needs the structures of the traditional mode of production. The latter underwent a slow and painful evolution, without being subjected to a radical break-up.

Second, the spread of capitalist relations in the Afro-Asian region took the form of "enclaves" or "centers," because development priority went to the industries working for the world market. Meanwhile, the development of the internal market was slowed down by the grip of the subsistence economy, feudalism and traditionalism.

Third, the capacity of the local bourgeois elements for self-expansion was largely determined by the extent to which the colony itself was involved in the world capitalist economy. Nevertheless, the dependence and "secondary" nature of this phenomenon, the speakers said, is only one of its aspects, and it, too, should be treated dialectically. Indeed, at the initial stages, local capital was weak and capable of mastering only some of the phases of the reproduction cycle; in some instances, its initial movement began from the production phase, and in others, from the distribution phase, although the process could develop simultaneously in both these phases. In some countries, local capitalism gradually came to master the other phases as well (exchange, consumption), its economic and then political influence grew, together with the antagonism toward the colonial state, the vehicle of the

interests of the metropolitan bourgeoisie. The local private entrepreneurial stratum, which had grown numerically and in strength, and in some instances the fully-fledged national bourgeoisie (India) began to chafe under the colonial status and frequently acted as one of the chief motive forces in the struggle for national independence.

Attention was drawn to the gradual change, which began within the entrails of colonialism, of the policy of imperialist capital with respect to the enslaved countries. This process was objectively accelerated by the historical changes in the international arena: the formation of the socialist system, the disintegration of the colonial empires which began after the Second World War, and the overall contraction of the sphere of imperialist domination. In the new historical conditions, "traditional" colonialism was advocated only by the most reactionary factions of monopoly capital directly involved in the exploitation of the occupied territories.

A different approach marked the behavior of the strata of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the industrialized countries which had made their stake on the technically advanced industries in the metropolitan countries. They began to seek ways for propping up the flagging capitalist system and were prepared to accept — in order to strengthen its positions in the "center" — some development of the capitalist periphery artificially stimulated from outside, and abandon some of the old methods of domination so as to switch to neocolonialism and establish outwardly more equitable relations with the local capitalist classes. This neocolonialist line subsequently prevailed in the overall strategy of imperialism.

But it proved to be impossible to realize it on the scale and in the forms to which the leading imperialist powers had hoped. In the latter half of the 1940s and in the 1950s, vast areas of the former colonial and semi-colonial periphery were swept by people's democratic and national liberation revolutions. Later on, natural democratic revolutions dealt a crushing blow at capitalist colonial and neocolonial domination. The socialist road was taken by the Congo, South Yemen, Benin, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Madagascar and other countries.

It has so far proved impossible to involve in the neocolonial orbit the big African and Asian countries in which capitalist evolution assumed relatively independent forms (India and Nigeria). It is also highly characteristic that many of the other capitalist-oriented states in the region now seek to win economic indepen-

dence and are carrying on a struggle — within the frame-work of the non-aligned movement, the Group of 77 and other associations — for restructuring international economic relations. However, it is peripheral capitalism itself that objectively lays down a rigid framework to this struggle, for it is weaker than its imperialist rivals and is inclined to compromise with them. The deep integration of backward economic systems in the world capitalist economy results in a constant reproduction of their dependence. In these conditions, the evolution of local capitalist structures is contradictory and constrained.

Differentiated approach

Since the winning of political sovereignty by Asian and African countries, speakers in the discussion said, capitalist development there has acquired new features.

On the one hand, the established relations of neocolonial dependence on the former metropolitan countries showed in many cases that the real status of the former colonies remained unchanged and that their economies continued to be subordinate to those of the former metropolitan countries. This was emphasized by José Lava, who showed that after the proclamation of the formal independence of the Philippines (1946) colonial methods of exploitation gave way to neocolonial methods practised by U.S. imperialism with the participation of the comprador and landowner oligarchy, to which the United States had handed political power. The enslaving agreements imposed on the country limited its independence in monetary and tariff policy and assured U.S. capital of equal rights with local capital. The U.S. monopolies and the bourgeois and landowner élite allied with them secured dominant positions in the economy. All of this erected a barrier, almost insuperable at the time, in the way of the emergent national entrepreneurial class.

A similar situation was created after the decolonization in many countries of Africa, where, according to Seydou Cissoko, it was chiefly foreign monopoly capital that acted as the "generator" of capitalist development. It provided the basis for capitalist modernization in Senegal, which meant the absence of nationalization of any significance for independent economic development and the preservation of the dominant influence of the former metropolitan country — France — in the public sector. National entrepreneurial elements are being ousted from the productive sectors, which are exploited by imperialist and comprador capital, and made to move into the

non-productive sectors. There is, in principle, a similar state of affairs in the other African countries taking the capitalist orientation with a still unviable growth of national enterprise, above all, in industry. Ahmed Salem and Sharif Dishoni stressed that for most of the countries moving along the capitalist road these features are generally characteristic: first, preservation of the crucial elements of neocolonial dependence, when the key sectors of the economy are, in effect, controlled by foreign monopolies, and second, the incapacity of local capitalism — which has become evident over the past decades — to take the commanding heights in the economy.

But there are also other instances, especially in some Asian countries, where national capitalism has, on the contrary, demonstrated definite potentialities. In the post-colonial period it tended to develop "from below." The local bourgeoisie was active in the sphere of trade and the services. A prosperous kulak stratum took shape in the countryside. One noteworthy phenomenon was the emergence of small-scale and medium enterprise investing capital in the production of consumer goods. In some instances, these strata, having gradually built up their positions on the local market, became highly influential.

India exemplified the growth of such bourgeois elements. Participants in the discussion cited the following figures: in 1951, farmers throughout the country used 8,000 diesel engines and electric motors, but by the end of the 1970s, the figure had already gone up to 5 million, which in practice means the emergence of millions of rural entrepreneurs in possession of machinery and doing business more or less on capitalist lines (with the use of wage labor, etc.). Here is another fact: from 1961 to 1976, the number of small-scale mechanized enterprises in India increased from 36,000 to 526,000. This growth is stimulated by the state itself, and this is also characteristic of some other African and Asian countries. It is true that the scale and, accordingly, role of the petty enterprise groups are different in each concrete case.

Glery Shirokov suggested that there are types of capitalism in the countries of the East. The need for classification and differentiation is urged by Lenin's methodology in analyzing capitalist forms, taking account of their origins, genesis and nature of entrepreneurial activity. A special value is attached to the following idea expressed by Lenin: "There is Black-Hundred-Octobrist capitalism and Narodnik ("realistic, democratic," full of "activity") capitalism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 34, p. 437).

In the view of this participant in the discussion, Indian capitalism falls under the head of the democratic type, in view above all of its viable growth "from below" and the role of the public sector promoting such growth, together with the country's line of economic independence. Another, conservative way of capitalism has been established in Pakistan, where the stratum of the big bourgeoisie closely allied with the landlords and the government military and civilian bureaucracy has been rapidly swelling. This bourgeois-landlord capitalism has grown mainly "from above," leaving no "room in the sun" for democratic capitalist elements. The process was similarly oriented under the Shah regime in Iran. According to Ali Khavari and Azad Farsi, the monarchic regime relied on local billionaires, multimillionaires and big capitalists closely allied with foreign business — U.S., West European and Japanese — and also on the top groups of medium-size capital which got rich with the government's support. The anti-democratic, profoundly reactionary policy of the top capitalist stratum produced widespread discontent among the people, including a sizable part of the middle and small entrepreneurs.

Other speakers suggested some corrections for the proposed classification. Sarada Mitra said it is possible only in a certain sense to speak of "democratic" development of capitalism, when this is taken to mean the measures designed to curb the private-capitalist elements, and the anti-imperialist potentialities of the state-capitalist sector of the economy. These potentialities, in particular, are manifest in India above all because the powerful state sector has been shaped with the economic and technical assistance of the USSR and other socialist community countries.

In a broader plane, he went on, it would be more precise to speak of democratic and reactionary trends in the development of capitalism in the Afro-Asian region. Which of these prevails at this or that stage of the social evolution depends on many objective internal and international factors. Taking Pakistan as an example, we find that after the fall of the military regime in the early 1970s (during the Bhutto government) there was evidence of a certain departure from the conservative line: the influence of the monopoly élite was restricted, and small and medium-size enterprise was encouraged. But reactionary capitalism proved to be stronger, and that trend failed to prevail after all. On the other hand, there are highly powerful forces in India personifying the most reactionary features of capitalism. These are above

all the local monopolies seeking to oust or subordinate the lower groups of the bourgeoisie, to ride roughshod over the state sector and the working class, and to assure big business of advantageous conditions for collaboration with foreign capital. In other words, there is yet another tendency which should not be underestimated in the growth of capitalism which is characteristic for independent India and which is referred to as the "democratic" type.

In that case, one could perhaps speak of a transition of the democratic type of capitalism into its opposite and vice versa, Satiyajaya Sudiman inquired. He referred to the experience of Indonesia: following the proclamation of independence (1945), there were some potentialities for the growth of capitalism "from below" and "in breadth" and a sizable part of the emergent entrepreneurial class there pinned its hopes on the creation of an influential public sector on the basis of nationalized foreign property. But development ran a different course. Bureaucratic capital¹ and the predominant stratum — the bureaucratic bourgeoisie — which seized state power in 1965 took shape even under Sukarno's regime of "guided democracy" (1957-1965). In other words, we have here a stalemated earlier form of capitalist evolution and its forcible replacement by a new, élitist, bureaucratic and most reactionary form.

But here is another example, the speaker went on: the Philippines. In the early 1970s there was in that country, by contrast, a definite shift which facilitated the growth of national capitalism "from below." What are the circumstances — in broad terms — that determine such metamorphoses? This, together with similar other instances, could provide food for thought.

It is apparently legitimate to speak of a sharp growth of social tensions when the ruling classes are forced to supplement the "top layer" and even neocolonialist development of capitalism with some kind of measures giving it some room for relatively free growth "from below" and even encouraging it, suggested Glery Shirokov. This could happen in the event of considerable class shifts in the system of government and power.

José Lava then described the form in which such processes went forward in his country, where the postwar period was marked by a growing contest between the ruling classes (landowners, comprador) which ruled with the support of U.S. imperialism, on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie urging more

independent development and the broad popular patriotic movement, with the active participation of the communists, on the other. At the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s, the balance of forces tilted in favor of the national-bourgeois reformists (the regime of President Marcos). The measures they put through in the socio-economic sphere, including a land reform, objectively helped to overcome the feudal setup in the countryside and to bring about some growth of national enterprise. At the same time, the speaker said, the dominant positions of the "pro-imperialist capitalists" within the ruling bloc were not weakened. On the whole, the reforms also went to benefit the big landowners connected with foreign agrobusiness and now operating on a capitalist basis. The changes turned out to be advantageous only for a limited section of the peasantry.² All of this was an expression of the inconsistency which is organic to bourgeois reformism and its characteristic retreat toward reactionary capitalism.

The transition to a more democratic type of capitalism, and vice versa, tends to run in concrete forms — either evolutionary or violent — *Satijaya Sudiman* went on. In present-day Indonesia, for instance, democratic changes can hardly occur in an evolutionary manner. The arrangement of forces is such that apart from the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, all the other groups of the bourgeoisie have been pushed into the background. Bureaucratic capital is deeply hostile to the growth of capitalism "from below," the ruling top layer closely collaborates with local Chinese business, and this collaboration turns Indonesian small and middle entrepreneurs into pariahs. The regime's socio-economic policy generates acute discontent in society. In this situation, a radical change — the break-up of the existing power — appears to be more probable.

The participants in the discussion examined some aspects of the state-political systems taking shape under capitalist development. *Nodari Simoniya* proposed, in this context, a classification which could help to explain the relative stability of bourgeois parliamentary forms in some countries, and the switch to reactionary authoritarian rule in others.

In some Asian countries which are at relatively earlier stages of the capitalist evolution, military-bureaucratic rule embodied in a neo-Bonapartist type of dictatorship has been established (Indonesia). There are objective reasons for this: when the private entrepreneurial bourgeoisie is weak and capitalist forms are burdened with diverse national-ethnic, clan and

confessional contradictions, the state begins to play a big role as the regulator of relations in society and within the emergent bourgeois class. A definite, very narrow part of it, relying on the army and the apparatus of power, has special opportunities for enrichment and, having put down its class adversaries, eventually usurps state leadership. The result is the establishment of quasi-parliaments with falsified pro-government majorities, and constitutions actually ensuring the dominant role of the military-bureaucratic élite within the system of legislative and executive agencies.

The monarchic regimes under which bourgeois transformations, for all their inconsistency, are effected "from above" (the shah's Iran, Saudi Arabia and others) undergo a specific type of the evolution. Under the impact of external and some internal factors, the traditional superstructure there begins to operate as an agent of capitalist modernization. But Iran's experience shows that the result is merely yet another type of reactionary top-layer capitalism which finds an adequate superstructural form in a reactionary state evolving from the monarchic to the neo-Bonapartist.

In some Asian countries there is also a superstructure model with a relative stability of parliamentary forms, and this ultimately connected with the greater development of capitalism itself, with its higher starting level. In India, Malaysia and Singapore, bourgeois-democratic systems have survived various upheavals. Their stability is based on the dominant role of the ruling party, which has become a mouthpiece for a broad spectrum of interests of various groups of local capital. In some countries, a one-party dictatorship actually operated within the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism, without any real force capable of challenging it.

The participants in the discussion, having noted the fruitfulness of the approach which makes it possible to elaborate a typology of bourgeois-oriented regimes, pointed to the importance of taking account of the dynamics and dialectics of development of the existing state and political structures. It was noted that with the growth of pressure from the masses, the existing political mechanism tends increasingly to misfire while the power system shows signs of disfunction, with political shifts of a superstructural character reflecting the in-depth processes going forward in the society itself. Elaborating on this idea, *Sarada Mitra* referred to the specific features of the present situation in India. Over the past two decades, the Indian National Congress (INC), the chief

party of the bourgeoisie, has repeatedly suffered major defeats (1967, 1977), which testifies to the steady erosion of its positions. Although the Indira Gandhi Congress once again took office in the center and in most of the states in the course of the last elections, that fact should not in itself obscure a new phenomenon: the creation and growing influence of opposition parties in various states. These are backed by definite national groups of the bourgeoisie, and by highly influential strata like the kulaks. In these conditions, the bourgeois political leadership which is in power finds it ever harder to continue voicing the interests of the various groups and strata of the entrepreneurial class.

Since the Second World War, major social shifts have occurred in the Middle East region, said Naim Ashhab. Many "old" superstructures embodying the power of the semi-feudal landowners and big bourgeoisie allied with the former colonialists have ceased to exist. They have given way to state-political systems expressing the interests of growing social classes, above all the anti-imperialist and nationalist petty and middle bourgeoisie. But with the passage of time these systems, based mainly on authoritarian methods of government, also revealed their historical limitations. There followed a period of intricate and contradictory evolution fraught with reverse movements, from the national-democratic to the dependent capitalist development, as, for instance, in Egypt after the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Superstructural processes in some Middle East monarchies are characterized by other features. The speaker expressed the view that although both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are active there, their activity is paralyzed by political and legal institutions rooted in the feudal and even pre-feudal society. Saudi Arabia is one example. Metaphorically speaking, the body has outgrown the garb, and continues to grow, while public executions, like beheadings with the use of a sword and other medieval practices tend increasingly to clash with the changing frame of mind of people engaged in modern labor, those who set in motion advanced machinery and are involved in entrepreneurial activity. The ruling dynasty is trying to retain control over the rapid process of capitalist modernization of the basis, which increasingly reveals its discrepancy with archaic and historically worked-out superstructure.

It was noted in the course of the discussion that the countries developing along the capitalist way are now confronted with a growing

structural crisis in the sphere of basal and superstructural relations. In their search for an alternative course, the ruling classes resort, now to social maneuvering and reformism, now to the implantation or bolstering of military dictatorships, or to the use of both methods. The crisis processes and trends are a specific reflection of the general crisis of capitalism which has gripped not only its centers, but also the periphery, where the situation is being compounded by the fact that the local economies are harnessed to the world capitalist economy in the throes of ever greater upheavals.

The structural crisis, the speakers emphasized, is a period of acute social contest over the future of the peoples. It is highly important in theoretical and practical terms to analyze the consequences of the crisis, the arrangement of class forces and the role of the subjective factor.

The participants in the exchange of opinion agreed that a study of the existing and emerging capitalist structures and forms of entrepreneurial activity entails a consideration of the specifics of their development, for this helps to determine more precisely the trends in capitalist evolution and the nature of the processes running within superstructural institutions. In this context, the need was stressed for a deeper analysis of the role of internal and international factors which have an influence on the genesis of capitalism. Its development in the Afro-Asian zone is marked by ever new crisis symptoms. An explosive situation is being shaped in many capitalist-oriented states. The outcome of the struggle depends on the capacity of all the popular, left-wing and democratic forces and their parties to resist the attempts by the exploiter classes to realize a neocolonialist or some other reactionary version of capitalist modernization. As this struggle deepens, realistic prerequisites can mature for radical revolutionary shifts.

The general and the specific in capitalist development

The participants in the meeting characterized the objective results and consequences of the extremely contradictory development of capitalism in the Afro-Asian zone.

First, this development has proved to be incapable of bringing about a radical transformation of the society, the economy and the state. While displaying some dynamism within the narrow framework of its own sector, capitalism has, after all, failed to transform the other, backward sectors. These either retain the features of stagnation, or, being subjected to

capitalist influence, are distorted but not fully destroyed. Developing capitalist sectors usually adapt themselves to pre-capitalist methods of exploitation based on extra-economic coercion, and make patriarchal, feudal and pre-feudal relations serve their purposes. The transformative functions of capitalism continue to be highly limited even when relatively more efficient forms of enterprise take shape in some sectors. An example is provided by present-day agrarian capitalism. It takes the form of "enclaves" surrounded by a vast stagnant small-scale economy sector which has a low productivity and acts as a reservoir of pauperism and cheap wage-labor.

The conservative nature of the capitalist evolution is compounded by the fact that it is nearly always conveyed by the most reactionary forms of capital, above all its commercial and usurer's forms, which are themselves closely bound up with traditional modes of production. This phenomenon was defined by Lenin as "semi-feudal capitalism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 377).

Second, objective factors hampering the formation of the capitalist class like the one which has emerged in the countries of the "old" capitalism have come to light in the newly liberated countries. It has been estimated that the establishment of a modern Group A enterprise requires an initial outlay of capital which is 425 times greater than that required in the mid-19th century. With rare exceptions, the bourgeoisie of local Asian or African origin is incapable of carrying on truly large-scale entrepreneurial activity through its own efforts and with its own resources. Allied with the pre-capitalist classes and with foreign capital, it is forced to share a part of its earnings with them. Such collaboration usually results in an overstatement of prices for fixed or circulating capital and, consequently, in a slowed down increase of relative surplus value. The outcome is that the rate of profit in these countries also turns out to be lower than it was in the corresponding period of the industrial revolution in Europe and America. The limited self-expansion of capital tends to act as a constraint on the scale and pace of economic transformation.

Third, the primordial technico-economic backwardness and shortage of funds make it impossible for the local private entrepreneurs to effect a concentration and centralization of capital that would enable them to act on an equal footing with the bourgeoisie of the former metropolitan countries. In the former colonies, the classical genesis of enterprise (small-scale

production-manufacture-plant) is ruled out, especially under the scientific and technological revolution, which is materialized in the most complex, productive and capital-intensive equipment designed for the scale and conditions of competition on the world capitalist market.

Fourth, development along the capitalist way has brought out the critical and dead-end features of the type of social evolution produced by such development. The rise in the organic composition of capital signifying the involvement of ever lesser quantities of living labor in the process of production, entails unpredictable social consequences for billions of people. There is data to show that in countries of the East that have gone through technical modernization, modern sectors (mining and manufacturing, transport and building) were able to provide employment — from 1951 to 1976 — for only 9 per cent of the natural population growth. This meant the spread of unemployment and the swelling of the already tremendous army of the "superfluous people." Meanwhile, the greater part of the increased labor resources goes into the traditional spheres of employment: agriculture, the lower forms of industrial production and small-scale trade. These consequences of the capitalist evolution will be reproduced over and over again as scientific and technological progress accelerates and the labor-absorption potentialities of the sector of modern productive forces narrow down.

Fifth, the capitalist orientation signifies an inevitable increase of social antagonisms. The evolution of the societies that have entered upon a period of slow or rapid capitalist modernization is marked by deep contradictions. The fact that they are burdened with reactionary feudal or pre-feudal survivals and extreme forms of national oppression and discrimination tends to be most pronounced. Those are precisely the conditions in which major revolutionary explosions matured in Ethiopia and Iran, and the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan took place. The domination of the most reactionary capitalist forms, Iranian comrades said in the discussion, led to the accumulation of explosive social material from year to year. The working class, the laboring strata, the peasantry, ruined and ousted into the towns in the course of the shah's land reform, provided a mass basis for the revolution. In virtually every developing country evolving along the capitalist way there is a tremendous reservoir of dissatisfaction among the people who are deprived of jobs and rights.

The growth of class tensions has become a common trend even in the societies where for several decades there has been relatively democratic growth of capitalism "from below," while the national bourgeoisie displayed a definite class flexibility.

The set of features of peripheral capitalism characterized above, simultaneously amounts to real problems which the countries taking the capitalist way had to face literally upon the proclamation of independence. . . . It was noted in the discussion that large-scale intervention by the state in the liberated countries' economy necessitates a largely new approach to the question of capitalist development in that zone of the world. The character of the historical epoch and local peculiarities have always exerted an influence on the concrete forms of capitalist evolution, although it does proceed in accordance with the general laws of capitalism.³

Govan Molefe drew attention to the peculiarities making the formation of monopoly capital in South Africa: there, monopoly capital was first imported into the country as foreign capital, notably British capital, and then naturalized into South African capital. The racist state created all the conditions for its growth, above all through the super-exploitation of the indigenous population, and used the methods of state-capitalist regulation to encourage monopoly development.

Today, the South African economy is dominated by seven major mining and financial corporations, the leader among them being the Anglo-American "Oppenheimers" which has close ties with international capital. Local monopolies own over 40 per cent of all the farmland. There is a development of state-monopoly enterprises, with the racist state acting as a shareholder (mining and industrial companies, banks). South Africa's experience provides fresh evidence of the universal operation of the uniformities underlying the capitalist development which Marxism-Leninism discovered, while illustrating the specifics of its genesis in a concrete historical environment.

Afro-Asian capitalism — secondary, dependent and "late" — tends to display at the very start of its road, signs of stagnation and parasitism which are characteristic of the capitalist formation that has entered upon the stage of general crisis and demise. In order to compensate for its weaknesses, it is forced to look around for props: alongside support from foreign monopoly capital, it has used the state sector in a number of countries for that purpose. State-capitalist development led to the emergence of the most capital-intensive and

labor-intensive elements of the reproduction process (enterprises in the key industries). The governments stimulated the growth and technical modernization of private enterprise and protected it from foreign competition. Finally, a definite class policy was pursued to ease the contradictions generated by capitalist development.

The state's intervention in the economy objectively amounts to a straightening out of the capitalist way, compressed in time to the utmost, as compared with past epochs, through a partial "leap-frogging" over the "free capitalism" phase and directly into the state-capitalism phase. Depending on which bourgeois forces determine the destiny of the state sector, its evolution acquires either reactionary features (a servant of local bureaucratic and foreign capital) or is in line with general democratic goals: encouragement of extensive growth of local enterprise, efforts to overcome socio-economic backwardness, and struggle for economic independence.⁴

But what are the prospects for such "top-side" stimulated capitalism? Is it capable of cutting short, with the support of the state, yet another circuit of the evolution, and develop from state capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism? This question was considered by many speakers. In some African and Asian countries there is already large-scale private enterprise which has, as a rule, sprung up under the auspices of the state sector. In the recent period, the alliance of the state and big business has been further consolidated, and this makes the whole problem even more important.

In Glery Shirokov's opinion, the high concentration of capital and even the emergence of monopolies in some countries of the region do not yet amount to evidence of an incipient movement toward state-monopoly capitalism. The latter signifies above all a change in the economic structure and all-encompassing domination and control by the monopolies of the sphere of credit, industry, agricultural production and marketing. Under state-monopoly capitalism, small-scale enterprise is also bent to the will of the monopolies, taking upon itself various subsidiary and ancillary functions. Such is the experience of the highly developed capitalist powers, the United States in the first place. But the situation is different even in the African and Asian countries which have markedly advanced along the capitalist road, like India. In that country, there are 75 monopoly associations ("houses"): since independence, the scale of their business operations has

sharply increased and has even spilled over the country's boundaries. But at home they do not, for instance, control, even today, the farming machinery market, simply because the bulk of that machinery is still made in the peasant households as it used to be in the old days. The bulk of the product of the agrarian sector is not subjected to industrial processing either, which means that here again the agricultural producer is not tied to the monopolies. Nor do they control the small-scale enterprise, which has reserved for it something like 834 types of products, which the monopolists have no right to turn out.

Consequently, the whole of India's economic structure is not yet shot through with monopoly capital. The state, which has nationalized all the banks, seeks to conduct a policy of compromise between the interests of the various groups of the bourgeoisie. From 1965 to 1978, there was a trend toward a reduction of the monopoly associations' share of the national income (from 12 to 8 per cent), while that of the lower strata of enterprise grew.

In this context, some speakers drew Glery Shirokov's attention to the export of monopoly capital, a phenomenon he mentioned. Its export is known to be one of the crucial features of capitalism which has entered upon the imperialist stage. But in the present conditions, capital is also exported from some Asian countries whose capitalist transformation is far from complete. Does this not amount to evidence of their imperialist urges, of the striving by local ruling classes to expand the sphere of their domination, something that is generally inherent in the expansion of monopoly capital? That was the question posed by Michael Safali.

Capital, Glery Shirokov said, was exported from some of these countries even when they were still colonies (Indian and Lebanese investments in Zambia, Tanganyika and Burma). Local business undoubtedly had an urge to exploit other peoples. However, as before, so also after independence, the crucial factor behind the export of capital was the existence of a large pre-capitalist sector that hampered profitable capital investments.

This is, perhaps, a particular case of the export of capital with respect to its "classical model," that is, export from "a few very rich countries," from "the advanced countries" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 241), among whom India cannot be classed even today, despite its relatively long capitalist evolution.

Indeed, Lenin regarded the export of capital as one of the main features of highly developed monopoly capitalism. This phenomenon will

now be found even in countries of peripheral, dependent capitalist development, whose bourgeois evolution runs to a few decades, or even years. That is why it is important in subsequent analysis to bring out the whole set of factors which determine this export in our day, speakers emphasized. It is true, that there are other examples today as well: the export of capital from countries rich in natural resources in close coordination with international monopoly capital. Ali Khavari and Azad Farsi referred to relevant practices in this field by the shah's regime in Iran, which actively carried on such export, now and again even bailing out major imperialist monopolies when these faced insolvency. For their part, the United States and other capitalist powers gave every encouragement to the imperial ambitions of the shah's regime, which claimed the role of regional gendarme, a stance that also suited the imperialists very well.

The peculiarities of local capitalism, said Michael Safali, should also be taken into account in analyzing the problems of its genesis, its advance from the existing forms to higher ones. This capitalism does not necessarily have to develop into state-monopoly capitalism, even in the case of state intervention in the economy which accelerates capitalist development. After all, the intervention is produced by special factors: above all, the weakness of the bourgeoisie, which is forced over and over again to look for "props" from the state sector, even when it appears to be full-fledged. In the period of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, there can hardly be a repetition in the region of the traditional capitalist development leading to the imperialist stage.

Nevertheless, Kemal Kervan said, even with dependent development the monopolies remain a form of concentration of production and capital that is in substance quite comparable with the traditional "models". One example is Turkey. Enterprises of the two major industrial-financial groups — Koc and Sabanci — employ a total of 100,000 people, and both are among the 500 major monopolies of the world (without the United States). Ten big monopoly groups get the lion's share of the national income. The industrial monopolies tend to merge with the banking monopolies. Members of the financial oligarchy are increasingly in evidence in the top echelons of finance capital. Five major banks appropriate 90 per cent of total private banking profits.

In the 1970s in Turkey were marked, on the one hand, by massive bankruptcies of small

firms, and, on the other, by an exceptionally active growth of new holding and joint-stock companies. In some sectors, they control many elements of production. The Turkish monopoly bourgeoisie, which has gained in strength and demonstrated its viability, is already trying to establish full control over the state sector. It would like to set up a system in which big capital and the state act hand-in-glove. Such is the reality, the speaker emphasized, and it can hardly be discounted even in the light of the generally accepted Marxist proposition concerning the transitional character of our epoch.

Some speakers proposed that the problem of prospects for state-monopoly capitalism in the Afro-Asian region should be considered from a somewhat different angle. It was stated that development there is characterized by growing differentiation. Attention was especially focused on the economic aspect of this unevenness in the capitalist-oriented states. One is already struck, Agamemnon Stavrou said, with the agro-raw-material orientation of some countries (an overwhelming majority) remaining from the colonial period, and simultaneously with the capacity of others to produce and export manufactured goods, something that objectively results in a change of these countries' role and functions within the international capitalist division of labor.

An examination of statistical data, Tahar Ali said, will show that of the more than 100 developing states, more than 10 have ceased to specialize in the export of one or two traditional types of products and have been exporting manufactured or semi-finished products. International documents, including UN documents, now frequently use the term so-called new industrial countries. It is true that these include states with very different types of industrial development. India, for instance, is one thing, while Singapore is quite another, for the latter has been actually converted into a private estate of international capital.

Participants in the discussion said that some of the newly liberated countries have markedly advanced along the capitalist road, while most remain at the early stages of capitalist evolution. Helmut Nimschowski illustrated this with an example from the Afro-Arab region, where, alongside states of the first group (Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Cyprus, in the Mediterranean), there are countries which are still at the beginning of the road (Niger, Upper Volta, Ruanda and Burundi). There is also an intermediate group of countries (Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Senegal and others). A similar situation

will be found in some other regions. All of this bears out the truth of Lenin's idea that "the uneven and spasmodic development of individual enterprises, individual branches of industry and individual countries (our italics — Ed.) is inevitable under the capitalist system" (Coll. Works, Vol. 22, p. 241).

Having emphasized the importance of Lenin's approach in analyzing the processes of differentiation under way in the Afro-Asian world, Nodari Simoniya said that examination of the existing situation there through the prism of the law of uneven development of capitalism is a key premise for Marxists. A look at the problem in the light of the factors characterizing such unevenness (national income per head, accumulation of capital, structural shifts), suggests the following conclusion: over the past several decades, it has been growing several times more intensively in the periphery of the world capitalist economy than it has in the centers of capitalism.

Theoretically, this question is best formulated as follows: can an extremely small group of once colonial and semi-colonial countries forge ahead and even consolidate itself on capitalist positions? Such a formulation of the problem appears to be not only warranted in the light of the on-going processes of differentiation, but fully accords with Lenin's idea that in every epoch "there are and will always be individual and partial movements, now forward, now backward; there are and will always be various deviations from the average type and mean tempo of the movement" (Coll. Works, Vol. 21, p. 145).

Such an approach also helps to make a more sober assessment of the prospects before state-monopoly capitalism in the Afro-Asian zone. The trends of development along these lines, we feel, do exist, even if only in a handful of countries, Nodari Simoniya declared. One could cite examples when monopolization is effected with the help of a reactionary state, while the bureaucratic bourgeoisie establishes control of the state sector and of the whole strategy of economic development (Indonesia, Thailand). When private-economy capitalism is weak, this bourgeoisie seeks to go farther, toward "bureaucratic state-monopoly capitalism."

Time will show how probable such evolution is. But one can hardly expect a repetition in the Third World of the classical European models of state-monopoly capitalism, although the general uniformities of capitalist development are in evidence in that area as well. Take the export of capital from some countries with a

wealth of natural resources (oil, etc.). Already now the availability of such resources is used by them for economic and political expansion. It is true that this is a special type of expansion. It is not independent, it is accomplished in interaction with imperialism, as is well exemplified by the export of capital by Saudi Arabia in collaboration with the multinational monopolies. This is, in practice, complicity in the neocolonialist export of capital.

The participants in the exchange of opinion emphasized the importance of analyzing the processes of differentiation in the liberated world, to obtain a clearer picture of the reality of capitalist development.

The unevenness attendant upon capitalism has been manifested in the Afro-Asian zone most sharply. On the one hand, in most of its countries taking the capitalist orientation, capitalist relations are being reproduced in a decaying state and lack the potentiality for independent dynamic growth. On the other, there are state-monopoly trends in some relatively rare instances. However, this question remains unanswered: do they signify some accelerated "pulling up" of capitalism in these countries to the phase which on the worldwide scale has become the phase of stagnation and demise of the capitalist formation? There are already clear signs that this specific type of capitalist development is especially critical and contradictory, being determined above all by the existence, alongside local monopoly capital, of a vast pre-capitalist "swamp" of multisectoral stagnation.

Characterizing the capitalist development of the African and Asian countries travelling along this road as a whole, the participants in the discussion emphasize that irrespective of the established type of capitalism, it is extremely contradictory and is attended with a growth of class antagonisms and other social contradictions. Capitalist modernization has an extremely negative effect above all on the condition of broad masses of people, compounding their deprivation and social ills. Finally, movement along the road of capitalist orientation is always fraught with the preservation or reproduction in new forms of dependence on international imperialist capital.

In publishing the materials of this discussion, organized by the WMR commission, the editors hope that they will attract attention by the formulation of some inadequately elaborated problems which are of much importance for further social development in the former colonial world. The editors intend to continue

dealing with these problems and would welcome readers' comments.

1. Bureaucratic capital is here taken to mean the forms of capital emerging in the process of corruption, illicit use of state funds and prerogatives for the enrichment of the ruling military and civilian élite. The latter is actively involved in private entrepreneurial activity, while retaining control over the key positions in the state, above all, over the public sector of the economy. In the text, "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" is a term used to define the exploitive social stratum combining administrative activity with capitalist enterprise and also represented by rentier capitalists.

2. For details about the economic and social consequences of the reforms of the Marcos regime see F. Macapagal, "The answer to divide and rule," WMR, July 1981.

3. It was noted in the course of the discussion, for instance, that whereas the phased growth of capitalism "from below" to its higher forms — monopoly and then state-monopoly — had been characteristic for Britain and the United States, the rules were already bent by Germany, Japan and Russia, which entered upon the capitalist road later. In the course of their transformation from feudal to capitalist countries, the role of the state turned out to be substantially greater. Thus, Japan did not at all have a period of relatively free development of the capitalist economy: there, the system of state participation in reproduction developed directly into the state-monopoly system.

4. For details about the role of the state sector in capitalist-oriented countries, see proceedings of an international seminar in Delhi, WMR, December 1977.

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Production management: a sphere of the class struggle

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SOME PRESENT-DAY ASPECTS OF THE CONTEST BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL

Present-day relations between labor and capital in the sphere of production management are increasingly assuming forms which only recently were either far from widespread or of very little significance.

First of all, there is an ever more intensive open contest between them, especially over specific managerial decisions, like closure of enterprises, their transfer to other countries, or redundancy dismissals as a result of rationalization of production — virtually over the whole range of issues relating to investment policies and use of manpower. Traditional conflicts over wage rates arising in the renegotiation of collective agreements are not only more acute than ever before, but are taking on a new dimension. Many observers explain the growing intransigence on the part of the disputing parties not only by purely material reasons, but also by more important factors linked with the prerogatives of economic and political power.

Thus, even the bourgeois authors of a detailed review of the socio-economic and political situation in the FRG in 1981, in analyzing the unusually wide differences over wages between the metal workers' union and the employers' association, note that it is only an outward manifestation of the deep-rooted contradictions connected with rights in production management.¹ Earlier on, a similar assessment was made of the "social explosion" in Sweden: "the money issues in the strike are ridiculous."² The press noted as typical, the opinion of a worker who said that higher wages for him were not the main thing: "I want a more direct say in things, in what happens in the neighborhood, I want to participate more."³

The workers' right to timely information on managerial decisions, to a say in these decisions and control over their fulfillment increasingly becomes the subject of acute conflicts. It was so in Italy in 1976, when a powerful strike movement enabled many trade unions to secure the inclusion in collective

agreements of clauses under which they are to be informed in due time (on a national, local and factory scale) on investment programs and the siting of enterprises, with a right to verification in this sphere and the right to information on personnel transfers. The communist press described these gains as a turning point in the history of industrial relations in Italy, as totally new positions in the contest between the trade unions and the employers.⁴ There were similar developments in the FRG in the autumn of 1980, when the workers of the Mannesmann concern went on strike in defense of their right to participate in management under the law of 1951; that conflict, which spilled over into government circles, caused tensions within the ruling coalition and in its relations with the trade unions, setting off a debate on the need for a new law. As it was noted in a special review of the demands put forward in the course of collective bargaining, one of the major goals of the trade unions in the years ahead will be to defend and extend the working people's rights in production management.⁵

At the same time, there is an unprecedented spread of diverse institutional forms of worker participation in running capitalist production. Moreover, such participation is often initiated and new models are suggested by government bodies or even by the employers themselves. Thus, employers' associations initiated the new laws on worker participation in Sweden and Belgium; the well-known reports of the Sudreau Commission in France and the Bullock Commission in Britain were drawn up under government auspices, etc. Institutionalized forms of participation are characteristic of most industrial West European countries.⁶ The EEC organs are trying to foist on its member-countries a unified model of participation patterns on tested models. An effort is being made to substitute "participation" for the badly tattered "family-type" relations at Japanese enterprises, and to advertise and spread it to the USA and Latin America.

What lies behind these contradictory processes?

It is common knowledge that production management is not something neutral with regard to the interests of the parties involved in production, not just an instrument for organizing production. The founders of Marxism brought out the dual nature of the managerial function under capitalism, showing that management "is not only a special function, due to the nature of the social labor-process, and peculiar to that process," but that it is also "a function of the exploitation."⁷ Consequently, management exercised by the capitalist (or by his agents — this does not alter the substance of the matter) is geared to the immediate goal of capitalist production, that of increasing capital; the goal of the wage workers who are to some extent involved in management is naturally quite the opposite, just as necessary and surplus labor, wages and profits are objectively antithetical in the conditions of capitalist production. Why is it then that as the contest over management intensifies "participation" is possible, why is it that both parties — labor and capital — are prepared to accept it?

Apparently, one should first of all take into account that participation is an extremely multiform phenomenon,⁸ which has a different meaning in different circumstances. Even within the framework of homogeneous political movements exactly opposite views are sometimes held on this phenomenon. A symposium on participation co-sponsored by WMR and the Board of the German Communist Party⁹ showed, in particular, that while the communists of the capitalist countries agree on matters of principle, there are noticeable distinctions in their views on some aspects of the problem. That is why it is important to try and analyze the causes of the existing participation phenomenon, the objective basis on which it rests, and its nature which is determined by the latter.

Such analysis is often confined solely to the ideological aspect of the problem. However important this may be, the roots of the phenomenon apparently lie elsewhere.

It is natural to assume that both parties, both "partners" in "participation" are moved above all by economic interests. What are these interests and why do they converge in this peculiar way even while they are obviously antithetical?

Let us first consider the interests behind the urge of the wage worker to participate in running capitalist production.

Economic interests in the broad sense of the word, as a category of a system of economic relations,¹⁰ are invariably linked mainly with

man's relation to the means of production. Since man lives by his labor, satisfaction of the requirement for means of production is the initial basis for satisfying all his other requirements. What is at stake here, however, is not only food, clothes and other elementary material requirements. The relation to the means of production determines the whole economic and social status of the individual (group, stratum or class). The problem of changing this status is also directly connected with the same relation. Thus, a newly freed slave, who had been a part of the means of production himself, immediately felt the need for instruments and objects of labor, because without these he could neither survive nor assert in the society his new status as a relatively free man, a non-slave. The serf dreamed of a plot of land of his own, and the handicraftsman of a workshop. Such were their basic economic interests.

Naturally, the economic interests of the wage workers in present-day capitalist production are not limited to wage increases, but are also linked with the relation to the means of production, for without a fundamental change in this relation it is impossible to overcome the compulsory nature of labor, its alienation, and the alienation of the individual himself in the process of labor, in which "he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind."¹¹

Under capitalism, the immediate producer is separated from the means of production. From the standpoint of the problem we are considering, it is essential that with the development of economic socialization the producer can no longer be the individual owner of the means of production that he uses in the course of his labor. In these conditions, it is ever harder to imagine, as Marx put it, the identity of labor and property.¹² Consequently, the problem of changing the socio-economic status of the wage worker through the acquisition of means of production does not appear as simple — and cannot be as simple — as the problem of a slave obtaining his freedom, a peasant his plot of land or a craftsman a workshop of his own. At the present level of socialization of production, the producers' requirements for means of production can be realized only in collective forms, in forms of co-ownership, joint control and management of these means of production, and this gives men a complicated, contradictory and sometimes confused picture of reality. The need for means of production can and does assume a converted form, developing into

a need to take part in decision-making on the use of the economically socialized means of production. This is only natural. The questions that now arise are: jointly with whom? On what terms? What for?

The working people become aware of these questions only gradually, and the quest for answers is most painful. The maturing consciousness even goes through a state like the Luddite riot, where the rioters saw their confrontation with capital as a confrontation with the means of production and so attacked labor-saving machines hammer in hand.

Scientific socialism gave scientific answers to these vital questions, pointing out the way to a new society, to a "community of free individuals, carrying on their work with the means of production in common,"¹³ in which social production is managed on the basis of social control, social knowledge and foresight.¹⁴ The revolutionary transformations and the building of a new society in a number of countries have shown that it is quite possible to have an economy based on social property, collective ownership, control and management of the means of production even if these constitute a problem that is not a simple one in practice. Social property not only makes it possible (and this possibility is already being realized in various forms) for all the working people to take part in running production, but also for an ascent to the self-management of free associated producers predicted and substantiated by the founders of Marxism.

Such is the solution to the problem of the requirements for means of production. As the Marxist-Leninist theory shows and experience confirms, the way to it lies through a revolutionary solution of the question of power (in politics) and property (in economics) in the interests of the working class.

Having pointed out the ultimate goal, the founders of Marxism did not isolate it from the working people's everyday struggles, which make it possible to attain only intermediate targets at this or that stage. That is why Marx described the winning of a 10-hour working day by the British working class — the first ever legislative limitation of working hours — as "the victory of a principle," the principle of workers' control over production.¹⁵ It was a long time ago that the organized working-class movement first demanded the right to have a say in the running of enterprises. In 1880, Marx urged the French Workers' Party to include in its electoral program the demand for worker participation in drafting rules for the various workshops, for an abolition of the right as-

sumed by the employers to fine the workers and make deductions from their wages. Marx came out against the usurpation of "managerial prerogatives" by the owners of the means of production.¹⁶ That reflected the working people's actual striving for an immediate limitation of capital's omnipotence.

Lenin's ideas on workers' control stemmed from the theoretical conclusions of the founders of Marxism and the practice of the working-class movement. Lenin saw workers' control as the measure that could be put into effect before socialist transformations as such.¹⁷ Naturally, that concept can be correctly understood only if one considers the whole system of Lenin's views, his struggle against reformism, "economism," the Bernsteinians, who either denied or minimized the ultimate goals of the revolutionary movement. Lenin saw workers' control in the context of the political struggle of the working class for fundamental social transformations.

Many Marxist researchers, notably in the FRG, regard the present-day demands for participation from the same angle, as realization in the present conditions of the more general, traditional demand by the working-class movement for curbs on capitalist rule and for democratic control over the economy, as a stage corresponding to the actual correlation of socio-political forces on the way to ownership of the means of production.¹⁸ It is another matter that such demands and their actual realization are not the same thing. Capitalism is intrinsically unable to give an adequate, valid answer to these demands, which are always realized only in the form of a greater or smaller compromise.

Another point to note here is that it would be a mistake to think that all workers see "participation" as a compromise between "everything" and "nothing," that is, between the total ownership of the means of production and total alienation from these. Those who as yet do not aim to eliminate capitalism as soon as possible and replace it with socialism see "participation" in the existing forms as realization of their need to influence managerial decisions, and the compromise for them is that they would have liked broader rights than those they have secured for the time being.

These phenomena in the minds of the working people are tied in with the fact that, as, for instance, Marxist researchers in the FRG have noted, two fundamentally different approaches — reformist and revolutionary, that of social partnership and of the class struggle¹⁹ — have taken shape with respect to participation

within the working-class movement. The first assumes that such participation under the existing system can be seen as an end in itself or, at best, as an element of a "renewal" of the economic relations of capitalism along the way of its allegedly possible democratic evolution into socialism, while the second maintains that the goal of the working-class movement is a radical transformation of the economic and political relations of capitalism and regards participation under capitalism within this over-all context, as a partial gain and — provided the working people carry on a vigorous struggle — as a channel for putting pressure on capital, as an instrument for effecting the desired transformations leading to genuine participation by the working people in production management under socialism. That is, the second approach presupposes that the working-class struggle can "transform half-hearted and hypocritical 'reforms' under the existing system into strong-points for an advancing working-class movement" on the way to socialism (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 440).

What is it, however, that induces the working people to seek an ever more active part in management particularly in our day? Why is the need for participation developing?²⁰ Undoubtedly, this is due to many factors.

The very growing socialization of production tends to sharpen the edge of the question of limiting monopoly rule, and brings it out as an imperative social need, for the managerial decisions taken by the giant corporations often have grave consequences for the whole of society. The communist parties note the close link between the mounting struggle of the working class for a democratic alternative of social development and for a say in economic management.

The development of economic socialization in the form of transnational corporations makes capital much more cosmopolitan, for while it has remained as indifferent as before to national interests, it is now able to elude national control. The transnationals, which have unprecedented possibilities to manipulate capital and use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, have been closing down enterprises and cutting back jobs without regard for the social consequences, often creating a disastrous situation for the workers not only at the factory level, but also on the scale of whole industries, large regions or even countries. In these conditions, the organized working-class movement is coming to realize that the struggle can no longer be confined to

the traditional range of issues, like wages, benefits and so on; it is necessary to gain control over capital itself, over its use, transfer and functioning.

At the same time, it is becoming evident that the forms of struggle must also be improved, for the old ones are sometimes inadequate and inefficient. Thus, the transnationals often seek to combat strikes by transferring orders from enterprises on strike to other countries.

The working-class movement is looking for new ways to resist capital. This quest is not, of course, limited to the framework of the enterprise, and is being pursued on the national and international scale as well. Without considering all the aspects, let us note that much greater importance is being attached to an "early-warning system," i.e., the workers feel an ever greater need for timely, full and trustworthy information on the state of production, on everything that could influence this or that managerial decision, on the intentions of the management. The past few years have been marked by the strengthened conviction among the workers and their organizations of a number of capitalist countries that the presence of working people's representatives on decision-making bodies enables them to obtain such information and, consequently, promotes the efforts to establish control over capital, and makes every form of struggle more effective.

Another essential point is that the educational level of the working people, who have to operate ever more sophisticated machinery and technology, enhances their sense of human dignity and civic self-awareness, and this induces them to fight for broader rights in all spheres, in the sphere of labor above all. The workers also feel they are better qualified to participate in decision-making on production.

So, one can say that under present-day capitalism the need to take part in management as a long-term factor is stimulated by additional factors, and tends to be realized in forms which would enable the wage workers and their organizations to exert a more direct and timely influence on decision-making at the level of big enterprises, concerns and corporations.

Let us now try to pinpoint the factors which induce the representatives of capital not only to agree to worker participation, but even to display initiative in its development.

In this instance, it is also natural to proceed from an analysis of economic interests, i.e., to consider this question: why does capital find participation advantageous? Or, what compels capital to accept it, why is it disadvantageous or impossible for capital to reject categorically

the encroachments on its undivided rule in production management?

Back at the end of the past century, Engels noted the changes in the methods used by the bourgeoisie in its relations with the working people as compared with the first half of the century. He wrote that the employers were increasingly given up the crudest and most odious forms of labor relations that had been characteristic of "capitalist exploitation in its youth."²¹ Speaking of the causes behind these changes, Engels emphasized that they were not due to some kind of enlightenment or moral improvement of the bourgeoisie, but to the immanent laws of capitalist production. As capitalist production grew and became more complicated, increasing the employers' need to retain skilled manpower, their old methods of petty swindling and open harassment of the working people became ineffective and even harmful for the interests of the capitalists themselves.²²

What lies behind the changes that make the old methods of exploitation ineffective?

As production develops and its scale grows, as ever more sophisticated hardware and technology are used, it becomes an objective necessity for workers to take a different, more creative and committed attitude to work. Wage labor corresponds less and less to the nature of production and must be replaced with labor of a different kind, with different — internal rather than external — incentives, so that labor would no longer be evaluated by an "outside pricer," but would be assessed in terms of its actual results contained in the product itself, i.e., in terms of its social value.²³ Today, it is all the more difficult to make a highly skilled worker work well, for it is sometimes difficult or impossible even to control him: he must want to work well. The results of the "work to rule" type of protest used in the developed capitalist countries are indicative in this respect. When the workers do everything in accordance with the instructions, without taking a creative attitude to the job they are doing, labor productivity falls sharply.

At the same time, the workers' role in production is increasing in the sense that with the development of scientific and technological progress, automation, the use of micro-electronics, etc., living labor sets in motion an immensely greater mass of the material agent, of embodied labor. Another aspect of this phenomenon is that in the conditions of modern large-scale production, with its chain dependence patterns, the workers wield, so to speak, ever greater technological power. That is

why, for instance, intermittent, "chessboard" strikes are so successful. Capital is often unable to use the reserve army of labor against the strikers in view of high skills, narrow specialization, or even the uniqueness of the jobs.

And, finally, a crucial factor compelling capital to forgo some of its rights, its monopoly in management, is the workers' organization, the growing influence of the working class on the political life of capitalist society. Capital would never have made the least concession without pressure from the working class, without its active struggle.

So, in economic terms, the behavior of the employers, the representatives of capital with respect to participation is determined by a set of phenomena which can be described as a crisis of wage labor engendered by present-day capitalism: with the development of the productive forces, the mode in which the producer is connected with the means of production increasingly falls short of production requirements and runs into conflict with them, the workers refuse to put up with their status of producers alienated from the means of production, and the capitalists cannot run production in the old way, without reckoning with the working people's will. Marx said that "like slave labor, like serf labor, hired labor is but a transitory and inferior form, destined to disappear before associated labor plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart"²⁴ and his prediction is coming true.

Wage labor tends to become unprofitable for capital, but the disappearance of the basis of surplus value and, consequently, of capital itself. Hence the quest for compromise forms, whose purpose is to retain wage labor while overcoming its negative aspects, that is, to solve the problem on Proudhon's principle ridiculed by Marx: to retain the "good side" while eliminating the "bad" side.²⁵ It is obvious that such half-hearted decisions will ultimately prove to be invalid, but only ultimately, because for some time capital is able to cope with this task, to create an illusion of the workers' co-participation in the allegedly common cause, actually extending some new rights to them, carefully balancing out its gains and losses and, most important of all, retaining the crucial levers of management. And the effectiveness of these efforts both on the economic and the political plane should not be underestimated.

On the socio-political plane, we come across a phenomenon whose substance Lenin described as follows: "An enemy such as the foremost social class cannot be fought with

force alone, even with the most ruthless, best organized and most thoroughgoing force. Such an enemy makes itself reckoned with and compels concessions, which, though they are always insincere, always half-hearted, often spurious and illusory, and usually hedged round with more or less subtly hidden traps, are nevertheless concessions, reforms that mark a whole era" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 510). Participation, as it is seen by its bourgeois architects, is a phenomenon which fits into the framework of reformism. One must only bear in mind here that it is not a listless concession but, on the contrary, an active attempt to shift a part of the responsibility for production onto the workers, to make them discipline themselves, and create conditions for labor productivity growth.

Of course, it would be a mistake to absolutize that tendency and take no account of the factors influencing the employers' mentality and behavior in the opposite direction or of their ensuing attempts to solve the problems that arise by methods other than participation. But it is a fact that if one gets down to the substance of capital's "democratic" gestures over participation, one will find that it seeks to *substitute these gestures for a transfer of the means of production into the hands of the wage workers*, i.e., to change their socio-economic status as little as possible or not at all, with the maximum economic effect. Consequently, capital's aspiration in this respect is directly opposed to the aspiration of the wage workers to take possession of the means of production. And the less forcefully the wage workers express their aspiration, the more successful are capital's attempts to realize its own aspiration.

All this makes it possible, in our opinion, to draw the following conclusions.

First, the working people's participation in running capitalist production is an *objectively based* phenomenon: it should neither be seen as a purely ideological maneuver on the part of the employers, nor as the result of a weakening of the proletariat's class consciousness, its class struggle; participation is a historical phenomenon primarily reflecting a definite stage in the development of economic relations under present-day capitalism.

Second, the active efforts to develop participation on the part of both capital and wage labor, which appear to be reciprocal and mutually complementary, are in effect directed toward *opposite* goals and are motivated by directly opposite economic interests; that is why *participation is an arena of fierce class struggle*.

Third, participation is a *form of development*

of class relations, which is filled with totally different content depending on the balance of forces between the contestants; depending on this balance, on the level and consistency of the proletariat's struggle, on the extent of revolutionary gains, participation can become either a form of "social partnership" or a real achievement of the working class, which is already bringing it some advantages and, at the same time, serves as a springboard for a further attack on capital.

Fourth, in view of the contradictory influences of economic factors, the diversity of concrete conditions, and also the complex way in which reality is reflected in people's minds, the basic economic interests both of the employers and of the wage workers are *expressed in different ways* in their attitude to participation; this gives rise to contradictions in the views on participation both among the employers and the wage workers, among the political trends and organizations representing the former and the latter.

All this explains why the communist parties of developed capitalist countries emphasize ever more forcefully that the struggle over participation cannot be confined to the ideological plane, to an exposure of the ideas and policy of "social partnership," because participation has economic roots; what is necessary here is a *constructive initiative* helping to counter bourgeois economic policy.

The communists are unanimous in their view that participation in the management of capitalist production, whatever its form, does not change the substance of the capitalist system, its economic basis, but that a consistent, well-organized struggle for an extension of the working people's rights in production management, waged from class positions, can already yield results in our day and, at the same time, serve the main goal of the working class, a goal which can only be attained through revolution.

1. *Focus on West Germany 1981*, A Special Supplement to *International Herald Tribune*, Zurich, April 1981, part 1, p. 8.

2. *International Herald Tribune*, May 6, 1980.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Rinascita*, May 7, 1976, p. 4.

5. *ISE: Negociations collectives en Europe occidentale. 1978-79, et perspectives pour 1980*, Bruxelles, 1980.

6. The workers and their trade unions are represented on the supervisory boards of firms in the FRG, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and Austria; on works committees or production councils virtually in all West European countries, in many of which — Belgium, the FRG, France, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Turkey and Portugal — such participation has been legalized; and in a number of other countries it is being effected

on the basis of agreements between the trade unions and the management.

7. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 331.
8. It can take the form of participation in decision-making at different levels, consultations and drafting of decisions, "conflict cooperation" in the course of collective bargaining, etc.
9. *World Marxist Review*, May and July 1980.
10. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 363.
11. K. Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, p. 72, Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House.
12. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, pp. 761-763.
13. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 78.
14. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 16.
15. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 16.
16. Karl Marx, *Introduction to the Programme of the French Workers' Party*, May 1880, (Quoted from *Collected Works of Marx and Engels in Russian*, Vol. 19, p. 575).
17. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 81; Vol. 24, p. 513; Vol. 25, pp. 459-474.
18. *Mitbestimmung als Kampfaufgabe*. Grundlagen-Möglichkeiten-Zielrichtungen. Eine theoretische, ideologiekritische und empirische Untersuchung zur Mitbestimmungsfrage in der Bundesrepublik. Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Köln, 1972, p. 19.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
20. This is indicated not only by the facts listed above, but also by public opinion polls. See, for instance, W. Nickel, *Sum Image der Gewerkschaften*, — *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*. Köln, 1978, Jg. 29, n. 4,

pp. 231-242; *L'Expansion*, May 1978, etc.

21. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 21, p. 263 (In Russian).

22. Supplement to the American edition of *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*.

23. This conclusion was already anticipated by John Stuart Mill. In his commentaries on Mill's works, Nikolai Chernyshevsky gave a simple and clear-cut description of the emergent tendency. He wrote: "The larger the enterprise, the more difficult it becomes for one owner to look after the constantly growing number of workmen, to keep in touch with all the details of the business, which takes on vast dimensions. Wage labor here wastes half of the time, and half of the power generated by the machines is also wasted. Instead of wage labor, it now becomes more advantageous to use some other form of labor with a more thoughtful and conscientious attitude to the business. Every workman here must be induced to honest work not by constant supervision, which can no longer keep an eye on him, but by inner considerations: it is the product of his labor and not some kind of payment that must be the source of his remuneration, because no payment here can provide sufficient remuneration for conscientious work, while it is increasingly impossible for anyone but the working person himself to distinguish between conscientious and unconscientious work." (N.G. Chernyshevsky, *Selected Economic Works*, Vol. 3, part 1, Gospolitizdat, 1948, pp. 305-308 — in Russian).

24. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 16-17.

25. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 178.

Concept of equality in a society of injustice

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The leaders of the Socialist Party of Austria are now finding themselves in an increasingly disturbing dilemma. On the one hand, to retain their ideological and political influence over the people they have to pose as champions of equality. On the other, because of its integration with state-monopoly capitalism, an integration that has become more binding and broader after the SPA formed a one-party government in 1970, that party shares the responsibility for the prevailing socio-economic system, which mass-reproduces various manifestations of inequality and constantly aggravates it.

Capitalism's exacerbating general crisis and the decline and cessation of economic growth are cutting down the possibilities for distribution and, thereby, the SPA leadership's scope for maneuvering in the sphere of socio-political reforms and concessions. As a consequence, social and economic inequality,

which has grown more conspicuous than ever under the rule of the Socialist Party, is showing signs of becoming extremely explosive in political terms as well.

One way or another, the right-wing social democrats are trying to adjust to the changed situation. They are trying ever harder — and this is a significant indication of the social-democratic concept of equality — to evade and divert the people from the actual content of the proletarian demand for equality, which boils down to a demand for the abolition of classes.¹ These efforts are seen in the fact that secondary issues are being moved into prominence, while old, battered concepts are modified and given a face-lift. There is, at the same time, another tendency. The aggravation of the contradictions in the state-monopoly system is inducing social-democratic theorists to give more attention than ever to problems related to the glar-

ing fact of social and economic inequality in capitalist society.

*Mystification of the issue:
a value instead of a class approach*

Social democracy's pitifully inadequate philosophical elaboration of the problem of equality springs from the theoretical paucity of its research into this problem. For instance, underlying the SPA program are simplified philosophical views of neo-Kantian value ethics. Equality is defined as a "basic value," as an "expression of the equivalence of all people."²

In other words, the concept of equality is torn out of the context of history and concrete class relations. The phrase "equivalence of all people" obscures the antagonism between wage labor and capital: the exploiter and the exploited are "equivalent" as people, hence, "equal." This strikes out a truth, which, to use Lenin's words, comprises one of the most essential component parts of socialism, namely, that there can be no equality between an exploiter and the exploited. They ignore another truth, namely, to use Lenin's words again, that "there can be no real, actual equality until all possibility of the exploitation of one class by another has been totally destroyed" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 252). It goes without saying that the concept of equality thus mystified is eminently convenient as a general ideological basis for collaboration with religious world views, and such collaboration is assiduously advocated by the right-wing social democrats.³

A non-historical, supra-class approach to the problems of equality is often seen also in the fact that the theoreticians of social democracy lump together early and late-bourgeois, socialist, and communist views of equality without relating them to any specific historical level of the development of the productive forces and the relations of production. This results in a variegated, eclectic jumble. The reproach levelled at the communist principle of the equality "to each according to his needs" is indicative. It is alleged that this principle is "abstracted from the problem of economic limitation" and therefore can give "no direct and concrete political guide for action."⁴ This accent in their theories, on that which is practicable, is very typical of social democrats.

Pragmatism and its theoretical foundations

Among the social-democratic theories of equality claiming a practical and political significance a leading place is held by the concept of

"equal opportunities." Austria's relatively high economic growth rate over a period of more than two and a half decades, up to the mid-1970s, made it possible to win a significant rise in real wages and enforce a number of social reforms without a sweeping struggle. This helped to spread the illusion that the improvement of the workers' material condition was leading to "greater equality." Social-democratic propaganda promises of social progress for workers along the line of "equal opportunities" prevented people from seeing that in Austria, as in some other capitalist countries, the material condition of the workers was bettered at the expense of their social status: the profits of the capitalists grew faster than wages, and this widened the social gulf separating the workers from the capitalists.

In the concept of "equal opportunities" the social democrats accentuate education. During its initial years as the governing party, the SPA put some minor reforms into effect, for instance, free textbooks and free travel to school and back (for children of rich families as well). With these individual reforms it was able to give people the impression that it was in fact living up to its promise to provide "equal opportunities."

However, it has lately become increasingly evident that the social-democratic leaders have no intention of abolishing class privileges in education (these privileges are in fact a basic issue of inequality in the Austrian system of education). The promise to introduce uniform general education for all children between the ages of 10 and 15 has not been fulfilled. Why has the SPA leadership given in to the right-wing forces on this issue? The reason is that the bourgeoisie's privileges in education are one of the rigid boundaries erected by monopoly capital to social democracy in the framework of "social partnership," which in Austria has become a special form of domination by state-monopoly capitalism.⁵

The SPA leadership's commitment to "social partnership" is what prevents it from carrying out its promises. The following are some of the consequences of this policy in education. During the first eight years of social-democratic one-party rule, from 1970 to 1978, the proportion of working-class children enrolled in Austria's institutions of higher learning remained unchanged (11.5-11.6 per cent). For the sake of comparison it may be noted that the proportion of workers in the gainfully-employed population in 1978 was 38.2 per cent.

The demand for "equal opportunities" is said

to be met by a so-called "equality between classes," elaborated in scores of variants in social-democratic literature. A feature common to all these variants is that the solution of the class problem is seen in a "mobility of change from one class to another."⁶ Needless to say, in this context they consider seriously only the mobility of change from bottom to top. On the basis of notions such as these, the Socialist Party's ideologues and politicians have put an interpretation on classes that is far removed from science and, moreover, has an anti-communist slant.

Social-democratic theorists hold that it would be futile to establish "indications of a complex definition of a class." They declare that only a doctrinaire believes that "a class . . . must have specific class indications." They renounce scientific substantiation and want people to believe that a class indication like "owner of the means of production . . . has no meaning whatever today" on the grounds that the largest capitalist enterprises "are directed and managed" by people "to whom they do not belong."⁷ The kinship of views of this kind with the bourgeois theory of a "manager class" is indisputable. From this theoretical premise it follows that the creation of "equal opportunities" alone is quite enough to give individuals the possibility of "rising" to the "class of directors and managers." From this the social democrats see the main task as conducting a relentless struggle "against privileges in a mobile society."⁸

Thus, the aim of abolishing classes is replaced by a "permanent struggle against privileges." However, the decisive privilege on which most of the others are based, is dropped, namely, private property in the means of production. Moreover, the social democrats give the concept of a "manager class" yet another important designation: to show that since today it is allegedly no longer a matter of property in the means of production but of the right to dispose of these means, the distinction between a capitalist manager and the director of a socialist enterprise is of a secondary importance. This assertion has no leg to stand on. Therefore, in order to substantiate it somehow, theoreticians of social democracy have recourse even to natural-philosophic propositions: the nature of man is such that "new groups, analogous to classes," will emerge constantly, even under socialism. Along this line of reasoning they draw the conclusion from their "concept of classes" that since in socialist countries rule and domination by "new classes" cannot be disputed and no struggle

can be waged against them, democracy (meaning the social system under capitalism) has the advantage that "it induces a permanent confrontation."⁹ Thus, in addition to lauding capitalist society the right-wing social-democrats endeavor to find some "advantages" in it over socialist society.

Compensating law policy

In the view of Christian Broda, the social-democratic Minister of Justice, the SPA had, in the main, implemented the liberal principle of "equality before the law" in Austria.¹⁰ To make his point he cites the recent introduction of juridical equality between men and women — a long overdue adjustment of legislation to the changed social status of women. However, the proclaimed equality of men and women is no more than formal, for women continue to be economically dependent and continue to bear the dual burden of professional work and family chores. Moreover, discrimination against women is, if anything, growing in the work process.¹¹

The limited nature of the principle of formal equality is most strikingly shown in Austria by the "law on parties" adopted with the decisive participation of the SPA. This law places democratic and fascist parties in one and the same category, although the Austrian State Treaty unequivocally prescribes a ban on fascist organizations, in other words, their exclusion from political life, and therefore a different approach to democratic and fascist organizations. This example underscores the significance of Lenin's words that equality should be regarded not abstractly but concretely: "Equality between whom? In what?" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 99).

Generally speaking, law policy is accorded pride of place in the realization of the social-democratic concepts of equality. According to the SPA program, economic and social inequality should not lead to "discrimination before the law." Moreover, the program declares: "Formal freedom of contract should not lead to the discrimination of the socially weak." This is a classical attempt to take the bull by the tail.

Law, by its very nature, is characterized by the fact that it establishes equal categories. Consequently, it discriminates only insofar as it institutionalizes the actual discrimination rooted in capitalist class relations — being applicable equally to unequals. Thus, a worker and an employer have the equal right of breaking contract relations with each other. But for the worker the termination of a labor contract means loss of employment and thereby of the

means of his livelihood. For the employer it means, at worst, only the need to buy new labor in the labor market. The abolition of this actual discrimination of the worker relative to the employer is, however, not a question of law. This issue is settled by struggle to eradicate class distinctions.

The SPA's leading politicians scrupulously avoid this issue. Broda, whom we have already mentioned, advocates a so-called compensating law policy. As a model he points to the "consumer protection law," which comes into operation "where powerful organizations and institutions, the international concerns, and the enterprises dominating the market come forward as sellers to economically weaker consumers appearing in the role of buyers."¹² The individual buyer is thus magnanimously offered some protection against impingement on his interests, against deceit and cunning on the part of concerns. But this changes nothing in the basic problem. The concerns continue to dominate the market. Consumers remain "economically weaker" than the concerns. This situation can only be removed by socializing, nationalizing monopoly capital. Evidence of how ineffectual the suggested "compensation" is, can be seen for instance, in the extortionist practices of the transnational oil monopolies: although their profits run into astronomical figures, they nevertheless continue demanding ever higher prices from the consumer.

The social-democratic leadership preaches yet another variant of "equality by means of law policy," namely, ensuring equal access to the law. This concept is abstracted from the bourgeois class character of law and displays the limitations and inconsistency inherent in all social-democratic concepts of equality. Nobody will contest the fact that the removal of procedural barriers preventing workers from enjoying the rights won by them, particularly labor legislation, against capitalist arbitrary rule, is in the interests of the working class. However, no reform of procedural law can resolve the fundamental problem of the workers' economic dependence on the capitalist. It is precisely this dependence that is the principal barrier limiting the workers' "access to the law." Statistics on law suits indicate, for instance, that of all the suits filed by "employees" only 7.9 per cent were filed when the labor contract was not terminated between the employee and the employer. Workers obviously fear that if they invoke their rights the capitalists will respond with dismissals and other impingements on their interests. Besides,

in some fields of jurisprudence, for instance, in legal procedure in criminal cases, an improvement of access to the law will hardly be of any special value for many people.

In social-democratic literature "political equality" is covered by the concept of "social democracy," and is offered as a principle that should extend not only to the state but also to society. Marx had substantively analyzed this utopianism, which was subsequently revived by Bernstein.¹³ Marx wrote of the "foolishness of those Socialists . . . who are out to prove that socialism signifies the implementation of the ideas of the bourgeois society proclaimed by the French Revolution." He explained that resistance to and violation of equality and freedom were immanent in the capitalist system, which is in fact a system of inequality and bondage. "The wish that exchange value does not develop into capital," Marx wrote in Part I of his first version of *Capital*, "or that labor producing exchange value does not develop into wage labor is as well-intentioned as it is silly."

Contradiction between program and policy

The miraculous faith of many social democrats that "permanent crises of capitalism are not necessarily inevitable,"¹⁴ to quote their words spoken at the close of the 1960s, was dispelled after the crisis of 1974-1975. In social-democratic literature there is growing criticism of the policy pursued by the SPA and also of its former concepts of equality. Even a leading SPA member of parliament like Fischer concedes that the tenet of "equal opportunities" serves "to give inequality in society the semblance of fairness and thereby legalizes it."¹⁵

Unexpectedly to themselves, the social democrats have discovered that the growth of social wealth over a long period of economic prosperity was accompanied by a growth of social inequality. The question of actual inequality, once largely "out of bounds," is now discussed widely. For instance, it has been found that over the past 25 years the share of wages (with a correction to take the growth of the number of gainfully employed into account) has remained unchanged or even dropped in the national income, and that over 50 per cent of the profits go into the hands of a small group of people comprising 10 per cent of all profit receivers, while the lowest 20 per cent get only 3.4 per cent of the aggregate profit.

Conscious of the appearance of new problems, the social-democratic leadership is trying to adjust politically and ideologically to the new situation. Symbolic in this respect is the

in-fighting in the SPA over the party program. For instance, the words "abolition of class society," which figured in the preliminary draft, were replaced by the much weaker "renunciation of a class society based on privileges." As a matter of fact, at the party congress the leadership tried to mute the significance of even this provision of the program. Nevertheless, the left wing in the SPA feel that it is to their credit that the program at least notes the relationship between equality and the class question. Resistance from congress delegates representing the party's rank and file prevented the deletion from the program, as planned by the leadership, of the demand for a "modification of property relations."

On the relationship between freedom and equality, the SPA program states: "People are free only when they enjoy political, economic and social equality." Further, it is quite justifiably stressed: "The first step toward inequality is the first step toward non-freedom." However, this program provision is defied by the SPA's actual policy, which is leading to a deepening of social and economic inequality and, thereby, to a deepening of non-freedom, economic pressure and the most diverse forms of coercion and dependence generated by the state-monopoly system.

Present-day ideological context

At this point it would be appropriate to consider the social-democratic concepts of equality in the context of the ongoing ideological struggle over this problem. Apologists of social and economic inequality are currently becoming more active. One of them is Professor F. Heyek, a spokesman of the "neoliberals," whose theories are on the upgrade and used in the policies of the ruling circles of, notably, the USA and Britain. For this "liberal" professor "inequality is not worth regretting. On the contrary, it is a most gratifying circumstance."¹⁶ He rejects even "equal opportunities," recognizing only "formal" equality before the law.

The distinction between Heyek's posture and that of the proponents of social-democratic concepts of equality is obvious. The latter, albeit in a distorted form, take the striving of the working class and the petty-bourgeois strata for equality into account. Of course, the social-democratic illusions about "equitable collaboration between wage labor and capital" lead, in political practice, to the subordination of the vast majority of the population to a handful of monopolists. Nonetheless, a comparison of the social-democratic concepts of equality with the views of Heyek further reinforces the con-

tention that the struggle against social-democratic concepts should be waged differentially. In particular, it is important for the communists to find points of contact with people sharing these views in order to develop unity of action against monopoly capital.

Significance of the demand for redistribution

"Redistribution" is the most far-ranging demand put forward in contemporary social-democratic literature as a means of "reducing" social and economic inequality. The SPA program touches on redistribution only in passing and in cautious terms. It suggests a reduction of the glaring inequality in the distribution of personal incomes by means of a "policy of solidarity in wages," by a tax policy.

However, the actual policy pursued by the social-democratic leaders comes increasingly into conflict with these program guidelines. For example, the wages policy of the Federation of Austrian Trade Unions, which they direct, boils down at best to preserving a constant balance, between the share of wages and the share of profit in the national income. However, the decline of real wages in recent years has resulted in an absolute decrease, since 1978, of the share of wages relative to the share of profit.

The SPA government pursues a policy of increasing the taxes paid by working people. Monopoly capital, on the other hand, receives substantial benefits. An illuminating point is that while the tax on property is 4.1 per cent of the GNP in the USA, 4.5 per cent in Britain, and 2.2 per cent in Switzerland, in Austria with its social-democratic government it is only 1.1 per cent.

The incongruity between program and policy is a steadily growing cause of discord in the Socialist Party itself. The demand for a policy of redistribution in favor of the working people and a social tax reform at the expense of monopoly capital is a realistic point of contact for a joint struggle by socialists and communists.

To be sure, economic inequality cannot be abolished through redistribution because redistribution is itself a "product of production," as Marx wrote in Part I of his first version of *Capital*. Nonetheless, the demand for redistribution is objectively directed against the state mechanism of lavishly financing and encouraging monopoly capital while shifting expenses to the shoulders of the working people. That is why the Austrian communists regard the demand for redistribution as an important

component part of their program of anti-monopoly struggle.

Note must be made of yet another feature of the ideological and political stand of the social democrats. Even those of them who urge redistribution in favor of the working people are inconsistent and evasive when it comes down to addressing themselves to this demand. Take H. Ostleitner, Secretary of the Socialist Party's Parliamentary Club. He counts on employers being prepared to "agree to a redistribution of the national income in favor of wage workers."¹⁷ E. Nowotny, an economist and SPA member of parliament, is more realistic, noting that the "likelihood of a consensus policy in redistribution is very remote." But even he does not see the need for fighting monopoly capital and confines himself to calling for "promoting broad understanding" of the existing inequality. He is evidently not convinced that the measures proposed by him will be successful, for he says that a struggle for greater equality is Sisyphean toil.¹⁸

N. Leser suggests a "less painful way" than "socializing the means of production."¹⁹ But the search for a "third way" of removing social inequality is doomed from the start. Even a sociologist of the caliber of M. Fischer-Kowalski, who has correctly concluded that the "underlying processes" generating social inequality are taking place not on the level of distribution but on the level of social production, has distanced herself from understanding the anti-monopoly perspective by offering an Austrian variant of the questionable "new middle class" concept.²⁰

Advocates of inequality: their social base

A privileged stratum of managers, of top-level technocrats and bureaucrats who are integrated with the state-monopoly system, has taken shape in Austrian social democracy, especially since the SPA became the ruling party. As distinct from the traditional workers' aristocracy and workers' bureaucracy, this stratum has no social roots in the working class.

E. Matzner, a social-democratic theorist who took a leading part in drawing up the SPA program, sees this stratum — consisting of persons sitting at "the money faucets and holding posts linked to the distribution of budget funds" — as the cause of "the preservation and growth of inequality in Austria."²¹ The rising influence and power of these people in the Socialist Party is the reason that its theoretical organ, *Zukunft*, carries articles attacking the "passion in social democracy for equality" and vindicating inequality on the grounds that it is

"part and parcel of a pluralistic society."²²

The ideological guidelines, bourgeois way of life, and thirst for political power of the millionaires and top bureaucrats in the SPA are encountering growing (albeit poorly organized) resistance from the left wing in the party and also from reformists of the "old type." In other words, a line runs through the entire SPA dividing the few who hold high office in the state-monopoly system and, to quote Matzner, "help to preserve relations of inequality" (and make fortunes out of this) from the mass of the SPA members and constituents.²³ The latter are increasingly coming round to seeing the inequality and contradictions stemming from the state-monopoly system.

We believe that with the further aggravation of capitalism's general crisis we will see a more marked differentiation in the Socialist Party. A major element of this process is the struggle over the concept of equality.

1. Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, 1975, p. 128.
2. *Das neue Parteiprogramm der SPÖ, beschlossen am 20 Mai 1978; Arbeiter-Zeitung Dokumentation*, 1978.
3. Blecha, "Demokratischer Sozialismus und christliche Grundwerte," in *Rote Markierungen* 80, 1980, p. 35.
4. E. Nowotny, "Ökonomische Ungleichheit — Tabu oder Herausforderung?" in *Rote Markierungen* 80, 1980, p. 209.
5. *Programm der kommunistischen Partei Österreichs (Entwurf)*, p. 8; *Volksstimme*, January 31, 1981.
6. Gmoser, "Sozialdemokratische Gewerkschaftsstrategie für Morgen," in *Rote Markierungen*, 1972, p. 70.
7. Bruno Kreisky, *Aspekte des demokratischen Sozialismus*, 1974, pp. 112-113.
8. Bruno Kreisky, *Die Zeit in der wir leben*, 1978, pp. 184-185.
9. Bruno Kreisky, "Soziale Demokratie verwirklicht die humane Gesellschaft," in *Arbeiter-Zeitung Dokumentation*, 1978, p. 3.
10. Christian Broda, "Sozialdemokratische Rechtspolitik" in *Rote Markierungen* 80, 1980, p. 278.
11. Compared with the wages of women the average wages of men were higher by 43 per cent in 1953 and by 53 per cent in 1979.
12. Christian Broda, op.cit., p. 279.
13. Eduard Bernstein, *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*, 1906. We feel that in many cases not enough attention is given to the fact that Bernsteinian revisionism is the source of many "new" social-democratic theories.
14. Bruno Kreisky, *Aspekte des demokratischen Sozialismus*, p. 129.
15. H. Fischer, "Positionen und Perspektiven," 1977, p. 52; a more detailed critique is given in J. Pleschitschnig, Sackgasse "Chancengleichheit," *Zukunft*, No. 6, 1981.
16. *Wirtschaftswoche*, March 6, 1981.
17. H. Ostleitner, "Wirtschaftspolitik bei niedrigem Wachstum," in *Rote Markierungen* 80, 1980, p. 232.
18. E. Nowotny, op.cit., pp. 217, 229.
19. N. Leser, "Der Auftrag des österreichischen Sozialismus," in *Rote Markierungen*, 1972, pp. 133-134.
20. M. Fischer-Kowalski, "Gleichheit und Vielfalt," in *Rote Markierungen* 80, 1980, p. 110.

21. E. Matzner, "Hat die Sozialdemokratie eine Zukunft?" in *Rote Markierungen* 80, 1980, p. 347.

22. J. Maderner, "Sozialismus der Ungleichen," *Zukunft*, No. 6, 1980, p. 13.

23. Even uninvolved observers are pointing out that the notorious "social partnership" which gave Austria a relative "social peace" for many years is showing signs of being winded. *Le Monde*, for instance, believes there are many reasons for this, notably the determination of "in-

tractable" entrepreneurs and trade unions to discontinue class collaboration, which is seen as "ailing on both poles of the political and social spectrum. Further, there is some hostility on the part of trade union leaders, even moderates, for the idea of permanent commitment (because some of them are in the government) simultaneously to both sides, but in fact more to the side of the leaders and less to the side of the workers" (*Le Monde*, September 19, 1981).



Anti-war movements and organizations

WMR has given wide coverage to the many-faceted work of World Peace Council, to its contribution to the efforts to prevent another world war, promote détente, achieve disarmament, consolidate security and develop international cooperation. Important contributions are also made by other public, non-governmental organizations and a large spectrum of currents and groups. Each has its own specific features springing from the principles underlying its structure, composition and the main area of its activities. It is impossible to cover all the links of this exceedingly wide and many-sided movement in a brief survey. Therefore, the following, prepared by the WMR's Commission on Problems of Scientific Information and Documentation, touches only on some international movements and organizations.

Pugwash Movement. An international movement of scientists for peace and disarmament founded in 1955, when 11 world-famous scientists, with Albert Einstein, Lord Bertrand Russell, and Frederic Joliot-Curie among them, called upon scientists throughout the world to act against the military use of nuclear energy. The first international conference of scientists (22 from 10 nations) took place in July 1957 in Pugwash, Canada. A Permanent Committee was set up, and in 1975 it was reorganized into the Pugwash Council, which has 25 members. This body handles the current business of the movement, programs its actions, maintains contacts with national groups of the movement and also with UNESCO and other specialized UN agencies,

and organizes the Pugwash conferences.

Conferences are convened once or twice a year. These debate problems generated by scientific progress and linked to the preservation of peace, and draw up the relevant recommendations. Documents adopted by these conferences are submitted to heads of governments and to the UN Secretary-General.

The latest (31st) Pugwash conference was held in the Canadian town of Banff in August-September 1981 and was attended by more than 200 eminent scientists from 50 countries. It debated the subject of the search for peace in a world gripped by crisis. The statement adopted by the Pugwash Council after the conference recommends, in particular, the immediate ratification of SALT-2 and the commencement of talks on a further reduction of strategic and other nuclear armaments as a practical step toward halting the production and, subsequently, placing a ban on all types of armaments, as a step toward disarmament.

The Pugwash Council is based in London.

International Committee for European Security and Cooperation. It was set up in 1972 by decision of the Assembly of Public Opinion for Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Brussels. It contributed to the convocation in 1975 of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe by sponsoring various meetings and conferences, supporting the initiatives of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and also various non-governmental organizations aimed at consolidating peace and international cooperation. Subsequently, the Committee drew up and imple-

mented an action program of European public opinion in support of the Final Act of the Helsinki European Conference.

Compliance with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act is reviewed regularly, at least twice a year, at sessions of the Committee. A Forum of European Public Opinion for Disarmament and Security was held on its initiative in October 1979 in Belgium. Convened as part of the UN Action Week for Disarmament, the Forum was a major event in European sociopolitical life. The Committee did much to create a conducive atmosphere for the Belgrade and Madrid meetings of representatives of the countries that took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Committee is based in Brussels.

Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. This anti-war movement of physicians appeared in March 1980, when a group of American physicians sent a statement on the dangers of a nuclear war to Leonid Brezhnev and James Carter. It declared that even a "limited" nuclear war would bring death, wounds and diseases to an incalculable number of people. The statement urged a relaxation of tension in the relations between the USSR and the USA; a ban on all types of nuclear weapons; the recognition that the very existence of the huge nuclear arsenals of the two countries was a threat; and the commencement of the destruction of these arsenals.

This initiative received worldwide support. Answering the physicians, Leonid Brezhnev stressed that the Soviet Union was consistently advocating the prohibition of all types of weapons of mass destruction and annihilation and assured them that their "humane and noble work aimed at preventing a nuclear war will have understanding and support in the Soviet Union."*

The first International Conference of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War was held in March 1981 and was attended by doctors from 11 countries. The Conference adopted a final document and also appeals to Leonid Brezhnev and Ronald Reagan, to the heads of all governments, the United Nations and doctors throughout the world. Noting in these documents that in medical terms a nuclear war would inevitably be a catastrophe of incredible proportions and duration, the conference stressed that it would be impermissible to use nuclear weapons in any form or on any scale and urged the earliest cessation of the production of these weapons of mass annihilation, steps to

prevent their proliferation and, ultimately, ensure their destruction.

International Institute for Peace in Vienna. It was set up in 1957 on the initiative of the World Peace Council and public organizations of a number of countries as an international scientific center charged with helping to sustain and strengthen peace and international security and assert the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Membership of the institute is both individual and collective. It is open to all organizations, public figures and scientists studying or interested in the problems of the struggle for peace. It sponsors or helps to conduct the relevant conferences, congresses, exchanges of views and so on. For instance, last January it sponsored a symposium in Austria on "The 1980s — Prospects and Problems of Détente and Disarmament." The leading organs of the institute consist of prestigious scientists in Austria, the FRG, Finland, Italy, the USSR and other countries.

Christian Peace Conference. Christian associations in 80 countries are now members of this international public organization founded in 1958 by religious leaders of European socialist countries and the FRG. Its aim is to promote world peace and equitable relations among all nations.

With its regional organizations in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Christian Peace Conference promotes the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, urges general disarmament and acts against colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination. It took an active part in the World Conference of Religious Leaders for Lasting Peace, Disarmament and Equitable Relations Among Nations (Moscow, 1977). It takes a strong stand against the production of neutron weapons.

This organization is based in Prague.

All the actions of these movements and organizations are linked to diverse aspects and orientations of the struggle for peace. Of course, they by no means monopolize this struggle. For many international organizations the defense of peace is part (and a very important part) of broader activity. These organizations include:

World Federation of Trade Unions. Founded in Paris in 1945, this is one of the largest international trade union associations (it has 190 million members in more than 70 countries). The WFTU is tireless in championing the vital interests of working people, the freedom of nations, peace and international security, democracy and social progress. It is based in Europe.

*L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 8, Moscow, 1981, p. 299 (in Russian).

World Federation of Democratic Youth. One of the most ramified international youth associations (its membership consists of over 250 national youth organizations in more than 100 countries), the Federation was founded in 1945 at a World Youth Conference in London. It has regional commissions for countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. Its program calls for struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and national independence, and for the vital interests and rights of young people. The Federation is based in Budapest.

Women's International Democratic Federation. With a membership of 129 women's organizations in 114 countries, this Federation was founded in 1945. Its program calls for equal rights for women, protection of the rights of mothers and children, for peace, democracy and the independence of nations. The Secretariat is based in Berlin.

International Organization of Journalists. Set up in 1946 to help defend peace, promote friendship and cooperation among nations through free and trustworthy information, and to protect professional interests and rights, it unites organizations, groups and individual journalists in more than 120 countries. This organization is based in Prague.

International Association of Democratic Lawyers. With members in nearly 80 countries, this Association was founded in 1946. Its aims include ensuring joint actions by lawyers in defense of peace, promoting international cooperation and strengthening the independence of nations. It is based in Brussels.

International Federation of Resistance Movements. The Federation was founded in

1951 at a congress of members of the war-time Resistance and of victims and former prisoners of fascism; its program calls for, among other things, action to put down any resurgence of fascism and to uphold freedom and peace throughout the world. It is based in Vienna.

Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization. This Organization was formed in 1957 with the purpose of uniting and coordinating the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism and fascism. Its consistent anti-imperialist stand is, naturally, also directed against military actions by imperialism and its allies. In 1979, for example, this organization strongly censured the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. That same year it sponsored an international conference against military pacts and bases, for international security and cooperation.

In each country the dimensions and efficacy of the struggle for peace depend largely on the level of militancy of the above-mentioned and other anti-war movements and organizations. Because of the deterioration of the international situation caused lately by the policies of the most aggressive imperialist circles all the contingents of adversaries of war see their mission in showing greater vigilance, defending peace with redoubled energy, and exposing the actions and plans of those who are capable of placing humankind under the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The communists have been, are, and will continue to be in the vanguard of the champions of lasting peace, international security and a healthy political climate in the world.

Union-busting — a booming business

"In Poland today there is considerable interest in the orientations and methods of development of the trade union movement. In this context, we should also like to know how matters stand in capitalist countries. We hear a lot about the "concern" in these countries for the Polish trade unions. Do they show the same concern for their own trade unions, in the USA for example?"

From a letter by M. Ginewski, Warsaw

The following article by the American journalist *Charles Spektor* answers this question from our Polish reader.

Despite the steady deterioration of the U.S. economy, one business has become a booming growth industry: its specialty is to help employers to fight trade unions. It is estimated that payments to firms in this business of which there are nearly 1,000 around the country, totaled over half a billion dollars in 1980 alone. Moreover, corporations spend hundreds of millions of dollars for their own paid agents and use every possible means to break the back of organized labor.

They have extensive experience of union-busting and their techniques have be-

come highly refined and extremely flexible. The methods used include psychological intimidation of workers, the injection of racism into the thought patterns of white workers in order to set up artificial barriers to class unity, the manipulation of pro-business loopholes in U.S. labor law, and the classic technique of inciting physical violence and mass firings against pro-union workers.

Several nationwide union-busting networks exist in the USA today. Chief among them are the National Right to Work Committee, the National Association of Manufacturers' Council on a Union Free Environment, and the Business Roundtable. All three are tightly controlled by the most powerful industrial and financial magnates, including representatives from Exxon, DuPont, and U.S. Steel.

The most active of these — the National Right to Work Committee — now has committees in 20 individual states and claims to have one and a quarter million members. It churns out tons upon tons of newsletters, pamphlets and other printed materials. It has the backing of right-wing members of the U.S. Senate and an indication of how heavily it is financed is that its Washington D.C. office is estimated to have 130 full-time staff employees.

This committee strikingly illustrates the total collusion between the government and the monopolies in opposing the working class and its organizations.

Its very name is linked to the history of the struggle over the adoption of anti-union right-to-work laws.

In 1947 the U.S. Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act. Section 14-B of the act specifies that individual states have the power to pass legislation banning union security clauses in collective bargaining contracts. This creates the situation in which, even if the majority of workers in a particular shop vote to join a union, it is illegal to have a closed union shop. As a result, while enjoying the benefits obtained by the union, non-union workers do not join in its struggles and do not have to pay dues to it. While they are supposed to protect unorganized workers' rights, these provisions protect scabs at pay rates below those stipulated in collective bargaining contracts. This practice, which in fact does not guarantee jobs, seriously undermines the influence of the trade unions and their source of financing, which is why employers secured passage of the Taft-Hartley Act to begin with. Spurred by employers, the National Right to Work Committee campaigned for anti-union legislation nationwide.

The orchestrators of this union-busting drive

have many supporters in legislative and administrative agencies. The corporations pump tens of millions of dollars each year into political campaigns to ensure the election of candidates who will do their bidding. A case in point is that politicians holding two of the most powerful labor-related governmental posts are acknowledged union-busters. Orrin Hatch, a Senator from Utah, who heads the Senate's powerful Labor and Human Resources Committee, and President Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan both flaunt their endorsement of right-to-work legislation.

To achieve their aims, union-busters seek to hinder the development of working-class unity by fomenting artificial divisions. The NRTWC, for example, peddles three pamphlets (available in bulk quantities at low prices) to employers for distribution to their workers. These three pamphlets — entitled *Catholicism and the Right to Work*, *Protestantism and the Right to Work*, and *Judaism and the Right to Work* — are aimed at convincing these groups of workers that their respective religions and unionism don't mix. The NRTWC seeks out every opportunity to pit public sector (government) workers against those employed in private industry, and attacks public sector unions, especially teachers. Typically, public workers are portrayed as lazy, unproductive and overpaid. A purpose of these attacks is to channel public anger against these workers and thus deflect it from the billions wasted each year for arms spending and handouts to banks and corporations.

Union-busting methods are becoming the subject of specialized research and they are taught as a special science vital to employers. The University of Baltimore School of Business, for example, actually offers a course entitled "De-Unionizing." Loyola College in Baltimore runs a course on "Managing a Union-Free Environment." Analogous courses are being organized at many other institutions of higher learning in the USA. The NRTWC offers students an annual \$1,000 scholarship for what is adjudged as the best anti-union essay.

President Reagan's election encouraged big business to intensify its drive for a "union-free environment." Attempts by corporations to decertify unions have multiplied. Trade unions are confronted by company demands in contract negotiations to surrender hard-won gains in wages and working conditions or suffer the consequences of the closure of plants alleged to be "unprofitable." This situation with the resultant growing unemployment is to be observed in steel, rubber, auto and other basic industries,

as well as department stores and other services. This line has the administration's backing.

George Meyers, CC Political Bureau Member of the CPUSA, has pointed out that "the National Labor Relations Board is rapidly becoming an anti-labor shell of itself," noting that the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, and the National Right to Work Committee are vigorously working for a national "right-to-work" law undermining the trade unions and hitting both blue and white-collar workers.

This onslaught has aroused growing resistance from the American working people. The working-class fight-back against the administration-corporate aggression has been strikingly exemplified by the 73-day coal miners' strike that started on March 27, 1981. Ten thousand coal miners marched into Washington to compel the new administration to give up its aim of scuttling the Black Lung protective legislation won in earlier struggles, while 150,000 of their brothers and sisters began picketing the mines to defeat the coal companies' drive to smash their union. The miners won both struggles, even making some wage and other gains in the new contract.

This winning struggle opened up a qualitatively new chapter in U.S. working-class history. Within a short time, 40,000 railroad workers came to Washington to defend their jobs and oppose the further curtailment of the railroad service in the nation. Thousands more railroad workers demonstrated simultaneously in Chicago and other cities. In June thousands of textile workers gathered in Washington to defend their Brown Lung legislation. On the West Coast, maritime workers came out en masse in defense of their hospitals against the Reagan axe. In Illinois, Washington State, Iowa, Minnesota, New York, California and other states there have been massive demonstrations protesting against cuts in funds for education, against increases in utility rates (electricity, gas and telephone), and against the anti-labor legislation pending in state legislatures.

The working-class fight-back attained a new level with the strike of 15,000 air-controllers for a wage increase, a shorter work week, and better retirement provisions. The Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization was one of the very few unions which had supported Reagan's campaign for President. He promptly showed his gratitude by firing these striking government workers and having them arrested, fined or imprisoned. A vile slander campaign against them was unleashed by the monopoly-controlled mass media. *U.S. News and World Re-*

port, which gave unstinting praise to the strikes of "Solidarity" against the socialist government of Poland, fulminated against the air-controllers' strike. "A government," it wrote on August 17, 1981, "... must protect its authority from destruction, and strikes against it cannot be tolerated."

All of organized labor recognizes the attempt to destroy PATCO as an attack on all unions. Even the AFL-CIO leadership, which usually avoids coming into conflict with the government over defense of workers' rights, was forced by grassroots pressure to declare its support of the strikers. Van Arsdale, head of the New York City AFL-CIO, likened Reagan's onslaught to the nazis' attempts to destroy the unions in Germany. Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, denounced Reagan for employing "harsh and brutal over-kill in using the full force and power of the government against the workers."

Despite the government's use of armed forces personnel and supervisors as scabs to break the strike, the strikers ranks held firm. The boycott of the airlines, called for by the AFL-CIO, proved effective: flights were reduced by 50 per cent. The International Federation of Air Traffic Controllers declared U.S. airports to be unsafe and asked its member organizations not to clear U.S.-bound aircraft.

The air-controllers' strike got massive support around the country. Over a million dollars was contributed to the strike fund. Demonstrations of support took place in numerous cities. On Labor Day, September 7, one hundred thousand trade unionists marched through the streets of New York against Reagan's economic policies and in support of the air controllers' struggle.

The high-point of the struggle against the administration's policies was the September 19 demonstration in Washington called by the AFL-CIO and supported by nearly 200 mass people's organizations. There were nearly half a million marchers. The *Washington Post* wrote that this was the biggest action by workers and their unions in half a century, since the hunger marches of the 1930s.

The new level of fight-back reflects the growing influence of the left wing in the trade union movement. This left wing, which includes the communists, has consistently called for militant, class policies to defeat the anti-labor offensive of the monopolies and the government. The years'-long persevering work of the left has revitalized and strengthened left-center unity in the trade unions. It is no small factor in the new upsurge of the struggle of organized labor.

The curtain is going up on the year 1982, a year in which four million workers, many in basic industries, will come to the negotiating table for new contracts. The forecast is clearly

for heightened, more intense struggles for economic security, for trade union and civil rights, and for peace.

Charles Spektor



An objective view of the party's role

Roger Keeran. *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1980.

Roger Keeran, a non-communist historian, has written an honest, well-documented portrayal of the role of U.S. communists in the automobile industry. His book, *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union*, is a welcome departure from the many books and articles that have flooded the market since the cold war period which have distorted and vilified the role of the CPUSA in the historic struggle to organize the workers in basic industries into powerful industrial unions.

His book is generating considerable discussion at a time when the United Auto Workers Union (UAW) is faced with many very serious problems. Hundreds of thousands of its members are unemployed as the result of lay-offs and plant closures. The auto monopolies are viciously attacking wage rates and long established work standards as part of the massive anti-labor offensive launched by the U.S. ruling class.

Under heavy corporate and government pressure, the workers of Chrysler Corporation have been forced to give up over one billion dollars in wage increases to "save" that allegedly tottering firm. General Motors and Ford are now demanding similar concessions to "save" the industry, while all three (the Big Three) continue to escalate the price of their cars.

The UAW leadership is in serious retreat, bargaining away wages and working conditions in return for such things as a meaningless seat for UAW leaders on corporate boards of directors and nebulous "profit-sharing" schemes. Rejecting sound trade union policies

based on struggle, the union leadership is promoting a boycott of Japanese imports. While pushing this "Buy American" campaign, U.S. auto manufacturers are building more auto plants in low-wage countries around the globe and closing similar facilities at home.

In contrast to present UAW policies, the book details earlier progress resulting from policies of class struggle trade unionism.

An outstanding feature of the book is its description of the indispensable contribution of communists beginning in the early 1920s, immediately after the founding of the CPUSA. The author shows how the work of the party helped to lay the groundwork for industrial unionism in the auto industry dominated by some of the most anti-labor elements in the country. The culmination was the founding of the UAW in the 1930s. While the book does not go beyond auto, the same contributions were made by the party in steel, electrical, rubber, coal, textile, maritime and other basic industries.

A vivid description is given of the strategy and tactics developed by communist auto workers, reflecting the magnificent leadership of comrade William Z. Foster, who was later to become Chairman of the CPUSA. Foster headed the Trade Union Educational League in the 1920s, which conducted a far-reaching educational campaign for industrial unionism. He also headed its successor, the Trade Union Unity League, which began organizing left-led unions in the basic industries before the emergence of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The book describes the consistent involvement of communists in the economic struggles of the workers; their patient day-to-day work in building basic party shop organizations; their

persistent struggles to unite Black, white, native and foreign-born workers into an industrial union.

Party shop papers issued by the clubs are shown to be invaluable weapons for clarifying issues and mobilizing workers in the bitter struggle for better wages, against killing workloads and for industrial unionism in the face of the brutal repression of the auto barons.

The book shows how these shop papers were very effective in combatting the divisive racist tactics of the companies and in uniting Black and white workers. The "Big Three" unhesitatingly used such terrorist organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion, racist, anti-Semitic clergymen and numerous pro-Nazi groups of lumpen scum that had surfaced with the rise of Hitlerism. The communists understood that the fight against racism was a prerequisite for any progress.

The book explains the policy of industrial concentration adopted by the party almost from its inception. The communists in the auto plants received real help from their comrades in the party community (territorial) organizations; from communist journalists, especially the *Daily Worker* (now the *Daily World*); from progressive organizations of the foreign-born workers; from lawyers, economists and other professionals.

Considerable space is given to the left-led Auto Workers Union (AWU) which, until 1933, was the only active union in the industry. It was disbanded in 1934, along with other TUUL affiliates, when their members went into the American Federation of Labor (AFL) as part of the struggle for a single industrial union in the auto industry.

During its existence, the AWU helped spark the fight for reforms which, in a few years, were enacted into law under the "New Deal" administration of President Franklin Roosevelt. Among these reforms were legal recognition of union rights, the shorter work week, social security, unemployment compensation and the minimum wage law.

Running through the book like a red thread is the party's policy of organizing shop clubs, of building left formations, of consistently working to mold the coalition of left and center forces to build an industrial union of auto workers.

The complex problems of maintaining united front relations with socialists, social-democrats and other center forces in the UAW are discussed in some detail by the author. Left-center coalitions were a constant target of the corporations, the FBI and right-wing trade

union officials. At the same time, the phoney "left" of that period, like their successors today, attacked the Communist Party with charges of opportunism for entering into constructive united front relations.

The left-center coalition that kept the UAW on a progressive course was finally wrecked when the center capitulated to the massive anti-communist, red-baiting campaign of the cold war. At that time, thousands of communist and progressive auto workers were fired from their jobs and summarily removed from their union posts. It was in this situation that Walter Reuther gained undisputed control of the UAW.

The author documents the fact that Reuther and his associates opportunistically aligned themselves with the Trotskyites and other bitter anti-communists and supported a governmental anti-communist oath to which anyone holding union office had to swear under threat of five years imprisonment.

The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union thoroughly exposes the falseness of the slander that communists cannot be good trade unionists. Despite the fact that this canard has been discredited among most rank-and-file workers and many trade union officials, and despite the ruling of the courts against the non-communist oath, the constitution of the UAW and some other unions still contains an anti-communist clause restricting the right of communists to hold union office. To this very day, communists and other progressive workers are subject to job-screening and other forms of harassment by the corporations and repressive government agencies like the FBI.

The final chapter of the book effectively demolishes the carefully erected structure of lies and innuendoes that "the communists lost out in the UAW because of their mistakes and opportunism." Such falsehoods are attempts to conceal the unholy alliance between the right wing trade union officials and Big Business in their common opposition to militant trade unionism. They are an attempt to hide the responsibility of class partnership policies for the dangerous decline of the trade union movement since the left was temporarily crushed in the cold war period.

Did the CPUSA make mistakes? Mistakes of growing pains, of coming to maturity were, of course, made. There was a brief period of sectarianism in the early 1930s. In the early stages of World War II, the party was tardy in recognizing the shift from the "phoney war" with its dangerous anti-Sovietism to the beginning of

the people's war against fascism. But the biggest mistake the party could have made was the dissolution of party industrial and shop organizations followed by the brief, but disastrous, dissolution of the Communist Party itself in 1944 under the revisionist policies of Earl Browder. It took a long time to overcome the effects of this gross opportunism.

The setbacks suffered by the party and the left are being overcome. The left is again a growing force in the trade union movement. In the auto union, the communists are actively involved in the growing, militant struggles of the workers against the offensive of the "Big Three," against plant closings, for the shorter work week to create jobs, for a fighting program to defend wages and working conditions.

The class struggle in auto is taking place

within the framework of a mood of rising militancy in the working class and trade unions. The federal budget of President Ronald Reagan, designed to destroy every gain made by organized labor, the civil rights movement and the people generally in the last 50 years, is being met with one mass demonstration after another by outraged workers in the mining, railroad, textile and other industries, among teachers, etc. Important sections of organized workers are demanding a cut in military spending and no renewal of the cold war. The lessons of class struggle trade unionism, so well described in this book, are being re-learned in the mounting anti-monopoly struggles in the United States today.

George Meyers

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Socialism's rising line

Istoria socialisticheskoi ekonomiki SSSR (A History of the Socialist Economy of the USSR) in seven volumes. Editor-in-Chief I.A. Gladkov. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976-1980.

The final, seventh volume of a history of the USSR's socialist economy has appeared. It was prepared by the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a fundamental and comprehensive work unparalleled in Soviet writings on economic history.

Soon after the October Revolution, Lenin said that the experience of the first state of proletarian dictatorship "has gone down in history as socialism's gain, and on it the future world revolution will erect its socialist edifice" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 413).

The question of the historical value and international importance of the theory of socialist construction, as verified and confirmed by the Soviet Union's economic development, continues to be a matter of acute controversy. The opponents of Marxism-Leninism have not blushed to change their arguments and schematize the historical realities depending on the circumstances as they strive to deny the possibility of any other people making use of this theory in our day in any form whatsoever. Thus, in order to back up their idea that the Soviet way is "unacceptable" for the industrialized capitalist countries, they depict tsarist Russia as having been hopelessly backward, and the October Revolution and the subsequent

transformations, as having significance, at best, as one of the means of modernizing the economy, so that the major event of the century is deprived of any social content. When it comes to the choice of orientation by states which a relatively short while ago opted for the way of struggle to overcome backwardness, the reverse argument is used to prove that the Soviet example is "unsuitable": it is claimed that Russia's development level at the beginning of the 20th century was much higher than that of the many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America of our day.

Actually, however, old Russia was both poor and rich, so that bourgeois "sovietologists" deliberately oversimplified the facts when depicting its economy as something homogeneous. It is highly important in this connection that the history under review lays emphasis on showing the diversity, the checkered economic pattern of the various regions which first constituted Soviet Russia and later the USSR. The authors of this history reproduce the level of development in all its diversity, ranging from the large industrial centers, where the basic contradictions of capitalism were focused, to the peripheral areas, where patriarchal and tribal relations existed when they were overtaken by the revolutionary social transformations. This stresses the wealth of the Soviet experience which "shows the ways of building socialism proper both to countries with a high and middle level of development, and to coun-

tries with pre-capitalist relations, ways of transition to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage of development" (Vol. IV, p. 514).

While analyzing the fundamental problems of the Soviet economy as a whole, the authors also present a concrete picture of the dynamic development of its individual sectors. The history is structured on the chronological principle, taking the reader up to 1979.* It contains a wealth of facts and figures, a valuable source of information for foreign students and for all those who take an interest in the Soviet Union's experience.

The analysis of the USSR's economic development is based on Lenin's conception of the building of the new society. The reading of this voluminous work leaves the impression of Lenin as a brilliant theorist who elaborated the basic lines of economic strategy of the world's first workers' and peasants' state, and as an outstanding organizer and practitioner in economic construction. With his rare political instinct, he always identified the central elements which made it possible to exert an influence on the whole chain of economic development in the arduous years of the foreign armed intervention and the civil war, and of the monstrous economic dislocation.

The authors show how economic science in the USSR searched for and found the answers to the most complicated problems in building up the socialist economy. One of these intricate, if not the most intricate and controversial problems was that of commodity-money relations at the initial phase of the communist social formation. The authors give an objective account of the development of economic thinking and make no effort to smooth over the historical facts with the benefit of hindsight. Let us recall that in the 1920s and early 1930s, money and prices were regarded as being purely technical, accounting categories, without any real content. Many theoretical works of that period denied the compatibility of commodity production and socialism, and voiced the view that once the transition period was completed and the multi-sectoral nature of the economy overcome, direct exchange of products would come to replace trade.

Such views were a drag on the shaping of the mechanism of management in socialist production. But despite the fact that the question of commodity-money relations was not settled in

theoretical terms, "the principles of the party's economic policy, and the forms and methods of socialist economic management, as practice showed, sprang from the requirements of the economic laws of socialism and accorded with them. That is what explains the high rate of development of socialist production and the triumph of socialism in every sphere of the economy (Vol. III, p. 60). The authors recall the decisions of the 17th party conference (1932), which stressed the "anti-Bolshevik character of the 'leftist' catchword about transition to 'product exchange' and the 'withering away' of money even at the stage of socialist construction." They also quote the decisions of the 17th congress (1934), which censured the neglect of trade, declared as profoundly erroneous the view of the functioning of money as being no more than an instrument of accounting and distribution, and drew the conclusion that money would continue to function until the first phase of communism was fully completed." The party reached the conviction, the authors say, that the use of commodity-money relations is not a specific feature of the New Economic Policy. It "was regarded as a method of socialist construction, as an element and method of planning work. The USSR's experience has shown that with the development and strengthening of the socialist economy, the sphere in which commodity-money relations are applied tends to expand, and the methods of their use are improved in accordance with the new content, which they acquire with the victory of socialism" (Vol. IV, p. 509).

There is a study of many important aspects of Soviet economic development, a fairly full history of the shaping of the economic mechanism and the improvement of the system of management and administration. The historical approach, in particular, has enabled the authors to examine the origination of the intensive type of social production, which, the authors say, first began in the 1930s, and to show that this law-governed process was interrupted by the war. The readers' attention is also drawn to the analysis of changes in the pace of development and the proportions in the Soviet national economy.

The authors give considerable space to a theoretical characterization of the economy of the mature socialist society, and to the presentation of the concrete forms which it has assumed. Social production has grown tremendously over the past two decades: from 1965 to 1975 alone, the country's economic potential, built up over the preceding half-century, more than doubled. That is the background against

*The first four volumes consider the economic problems of the transition period, the fifth and sixth show the construction of developed socialism, and the seventh gives a description of the economy of the mature socialist society.

which the authors show — in the final volume — the steady rise of the Soviet people's well-being and culture, and the creation of material prerequisites for the development of the individual in the socialist society. There is also an analysis of the USSR's role and place in the development of the socialist community countries, and its participation in socialist economic integration and the whole system of world economic ties.

One aspect of the work which makes it meaningful today is the consistent polemic against the falsifiers of the history of Soviet economic development. This polemic is conducted along the key issues in a business-like tone and with extensive use of facts and figures. Much attention is given, in particular, to exposing the bourgeois interpretations of the problem of the accumulation required for industrialization. Bourgeois propagandists generally assert that the Soviet industrial potential has been built up on the "bones" of the peasantry and at the price of a sharp decline in the living standards of the whole people. The authors refute the idea of some "agrarian colonization," which is designed to discredit the Soviet experience in the eyes of political leaders in countries which, having escaped from colonialism, strive to build up a national industry of their own. The book contains convincing data to show that the very first five-year plan envisaged a reduction in the share of agriculture in accumulation for industrial development and that in the mid-1930s less was being extracted from the countryside than before the revolution (Vol. III, pp. 100-101). The authors present concrete calculations to show that industrialization did not entail any absolute decline in the working people's living standards.

How then were the material prerequisites for the USSR's rapid industrialization created? Let us recall that the ruling classes of tsarist Russia spent tremendous amounts of money on parasitic consumption. The October Revolution, having deprived the landowners and the capitalists of their unproductively used earnings, made it possible to channel the funds so released into the development of industrial production. Among the other measures furthering accumulation, the authors note the ban imposed by the revolutionary power on the export of profits by foreign entrepreneurs and the cancellation of loans contracted by the tsarist and bourgeois provisional governments. While refusing to recognize pre-revolutionary debts, the Soviet state repeatedly expressed its readiness to settle relations with the countries concerned and to

give foreigners partial compensation for their losses, provided the economic and financial blockade was ended. The cancellation of the loans increased the funds going into the development of production and the raising of the Soviet people's well-being.

The sharp reduction in the size of the peasants' payments and taxes as a result of the nationalization of land also had a substantial role to play. The countryside received additional funds for economic development, which enabled it to give up a part of these funds for the needs of industrialization, which was in the interests both of the working class and of the peasantry itself.

The country's industrial might, the authors say, was created by the joint efforts of the working people in town and country. Thus, in the course of the second five-year plan, the labor of workers created between 75 and 80 per cent of the resources used for the needs of industrialization. They also emphasize the great importance which was attached in the period of industrialization to the regime of economies and the thrifty use of resources.

The Soviet people's tremendous efforts to develop the economy, industry in particular, were not only of national but also of worldwide historical importance. They enabled, in particular, the material and technical prerequisites to be created for the USSR's victory in the war against Hitler's Germany. The authors show the changes which occurred in the economic proportions in the course of the third, pre-war five-year period, as compared with the second, and the sharp increase in reserves. They clearly show the main lines on which the Soviet economy was being restructured for the eventuality of a war: the build-up of a complex of facilities required by the army, the ensuring of the conditions for rapidly expanding the defense industry, the development of military hardware, etc. There is a detailed description of the shaping of mobilization stockpiles and reserve capacities, which later so markedly helped in switching peace-time production to a war footing. But they make no effort to obscure the fact that in some respects state stockpiles and reserves were not fully adequate to the requirements of the looming war. They compare the military-economic potential of the USSR and Germany and pinpoint the weak spots in the preparation of the Soviet economy for that ordeal (Vol. V, pp. 95-105).

The work is given a sharp political edge by the authors' urge to examine Soviet economic development not only in itself, but in the context of the competition between countries with

opposite socio-economic systems. This gives the reader a more convincing picture of the tremendous distance travelled by the Soviet Union since the October Revolution, and the rapid rate at which economic backwardness and the ruins of war were overcome. Here is one example: after the civil war, Russia's industrial output stood at only about 1 per cent of that of the United States, and in 1937, at 23 per cent.

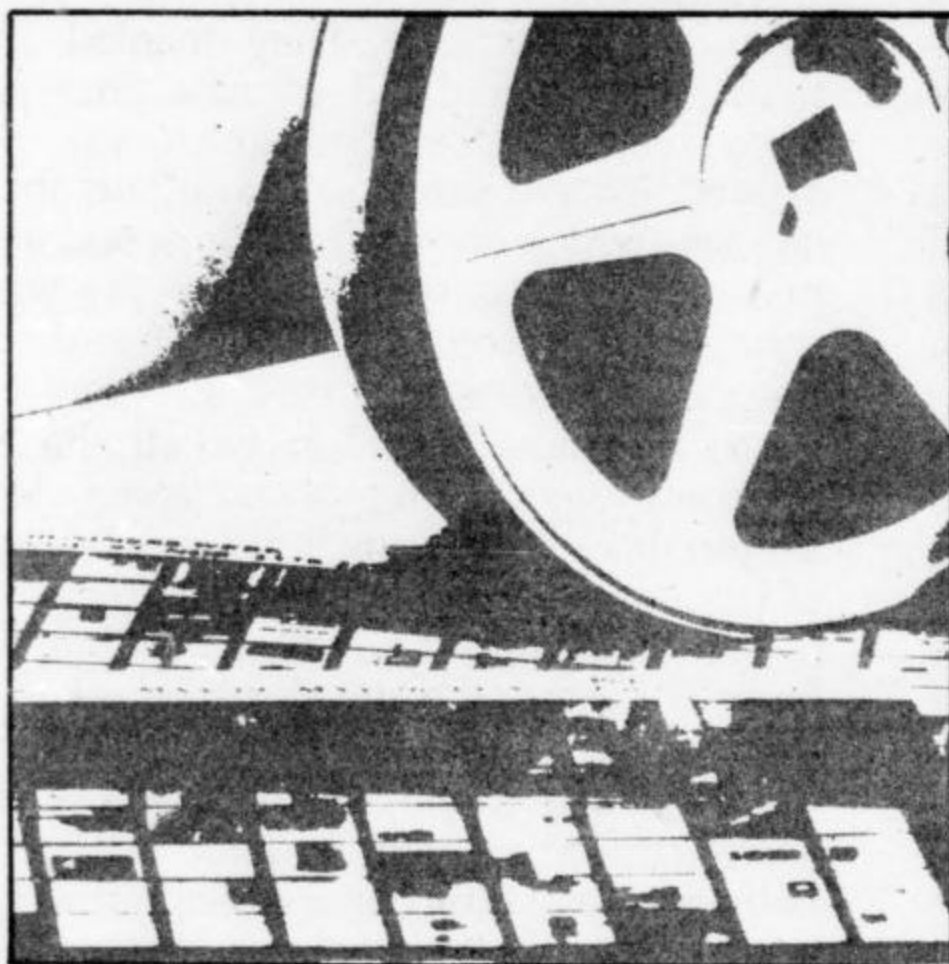
The monograph gives one a vivid feeling of the concatenation of the times. Against the background of the tragic events in Chile, and the difficult situation in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique and other countries which have taken the road of independence and freedom, there is much meaning in the chapters on the

economic blockade of the first socialist state mounted by imperialism, about the sabotage engineered by the overthrown exploiter classes and their foreign patrons, and the measures taken by the Soviet people for its self-defense.

By showing the basic uniformities underlying the creation of a socialist economy, the key lines of the economic strategy and tactics of the CPSU, and the main forms and methods of planned economic management, the authors of this work have made a valuable contribution to the study, summing up and popularization of Soviet experience, and to the struggle against attempts by bourgeois propaganda to smear the achievements of existing socialism.

M. Silvain

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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.

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